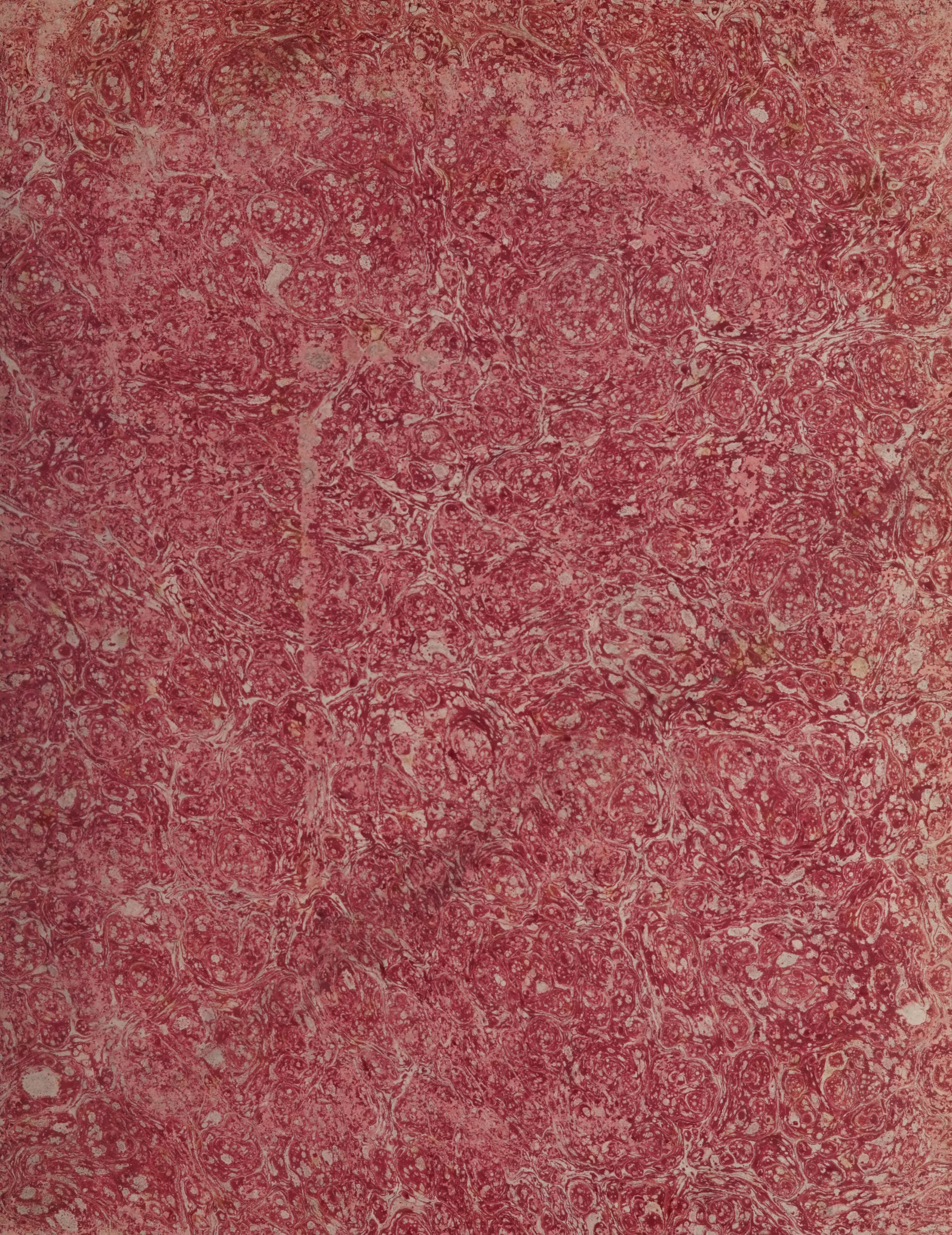




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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY:
A
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SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING
PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT.

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INTERSPERSED WITH
HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL ANNOTATIONS,

BY THE LATE
WILLIAM OLDYS, ESQ.

AND
SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES,

BY
THOMAS PARK, F.S.A.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN WHITE, AND JOHN MURRAY, FLEET-STREET; AND
JOHN HARDING, ST. JAMES'S-STREET.

1809.

THE
HARVEY MISELLANY

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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

The Dutch Usurpation, or a brief View of the Behaviour of the States-General of the United Provinces, towards the Kings of Great-Britain: With some of their Cruelties and Injustices exercised upon the Subjects of the English Nation. As also, a Discovery of what Arts they have used to arrive at their late Grandeur, &c. By William de Britaine.

*Et genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,
At sperate Deos.* Virg.

London, printed in 1672.

[Quarto, containing Thirty-five Pages.]

SIR, To his Royal Highness the Duke of York¹.

COULD I but use my pen, as you your sword,
I'd write in blood, and kill at every word:
The Hogans² then my muse's power should feel,
And find my verse as fatal as your steel.
But sure, great Prince, none can presume to write
With such success as you know how to fight:
Who carry in your looks th' events of war,
Design'd like Cæsar for a conqueror.
The world of your atchievements is afraid,
While Neptune's wat'ry kingdoms you invade;
And that much-courted Mistress th' Ocean's now
Not by the Venetian Duke espous'd, but you.

¹ Lord High-Admiral of England.

² The Dutch.

The Dutch Usurpation.

And now, great Prince, may you victorious be,
 Your fame and arms o'er-spreading land and sea.
 May you our haughty neighbours overcome,
 And bring rich spoils, and peaceful laurels, home;
 Whilst they their ruin or your pardon meet,
 Sink by your side, or fall before your feet.

THE dominion of the Belgick provinces being devolved to Philip the Second, King of Spain, who designing to himself the Western monarchy, and (the best medium to that end) was to reduce those provinces to a kingdom. But they being fortified with great privileges, and many of them inconsistent with monarchy; it was adjudged by sober persons it would prove a work of great difficulty, and that he would never effect that he aimed at. Besides, the reformation of religion, which then began to grow to some strength, moved the King to reduce them back to the church of Rome, by the power and terror of the Inquisition: which when the people violently opposed, the King then resolved to bring them by Spanish rhetorick (that is, by sword and cannon) to obedience³. To that end, King Philip sends the Duke of Alva (an old and expert captain) with a puissant army to be his viceroy amongst them. No sooner was he settled in his new government, but he established the bloet-rod (as they term it), a council of blood, made up most of Spaniards.

Anno 1567, he took off the heads of the Counts of Horn, Egmont, and of divers other persons of quality; citadels were erected, and taxes imposed upon the people to support them: the political government of the country in many things altered, and the people spoiled not of their privileges only, but of their liberties. Amongst the reformed he brought in the Inquisition, and therein behaved himself very tyrannically. This poured oil on the fire, formerly kindled, and put all into a combustion; about five-thousand families quitted their country, some flying into Germany, others into France, and most into England, where they were received with all kindness and civility; churches were appointed them, they being of the reformed religion, and many noble and great privileges were bestowed upon them.

During those troubles, the Prince of Orange and Count Lodowick, his brother, were very active, and gave the Duke of Alva employment.

All Holland, except Amsterdam, followed the fortune and side of the Prince, together with all the towns of Zealand, except Middleburg.

Anno 1573, the Duke of Alva was recalled; afterwards Don Lewis of Requisens was appointed governor: after him, the Prince of Parma, who brought the Hollanders into a worse case than ever.

Yet, anno 1581, they declare, that Philip of Spain was fallen from his government; they renounce and abjure him for their sovereign; they break his seals, change the oath of allegiance, and took a new oath of the people, never to return to the Spanish obedience.

This done, the States (for so they called themselves ever after) chose Francis, Duke of Anjou, to be their prince; during whose unfortunate government, the Duke of Parma prevailed in all places, especially after the death of William Prince of Orange, who was traitorously slain, anno 1584.

Now were the Hollanders truly miserable, desperate of pardon from their enraged Prince, and having no person of courage to head them, none of power to protect them, but such as were likely to regard their own profit, more than their interest. England was the only sanctuary they had now left, to which they sue; offering the Queen⁴ the sovereignty of their Provinces. But that heroic Queen, not intending to herself any thing, saving the honour of relieving her distressed neighbours, anno 1585, took them into her protection; and concluded, amongst others, of these articles, viz.

³ See the wicked practices of the Spaniards against the Netherlands, in Vol. II. p. 411.

⁴ Elizabeth of England.

That the Queen should send them five-thousand foot, and a thousand horse into the Netherlands, to fight for them.

That they should pay her ten pounds *per cent.* for all sums of money, she should lend them, or disburse for them; and interest upon interest.

And likewise five pounds for every English gentleman, or officer, which should die in their service.

All which sums of money were to be paid unto the Queen, at the end of the war.

And that, for the reimbursing of the said monies, the Brill, Flushing, and castle of Ramekins, were to be delivered unto the Queen, as caution and pledges.

The Queen, in performance of her agreement, sent them five-thousand foot and a thousand horse, money, and a governor, the Earl of Leicester, and had the cautionary towns delivered unto her. The renowned Sir Philip Sidney was the first governor of Flushing; who died in their service.

Casimir also, the Elector-Palatine's son, drew down to the assistance of the States an army of fifteen-thousand horse and foot, at the instance and great charges of the Queen.

When the Earl of Leicester came to wait upon the Queen, at his going over to be their governor; she strictly commanded the Earl, that he should have a regard of the English soldiers, and that they served God, and demeaned themselves religiously: which they did with such exemplary zeal, that a sober man might have thought, that the United Provinces then stood in Christendom. And that pious Queen did therein well; for the Christian religion was first planted in Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, by Willibroad, an Englishman, the first Bishop of Utrecht; whence by degrees it gained on the rest of the countries. But since, by the ill practices of some amongst them, they are much fallen from the purity of it.

The Queen now resolveth to set all the royal signatures of her favour upon the United Provinces, and give them the most eminent demonstrations of her bounty and kindness. The staple of English cloth, that was formerly at Antwerp, she settled at Delf, in great quantities; by reason of the great concourse of people, which that trade brought with it, the town became rich, well built, and beautified with spacious streets.

Flushing, before the English came thither, was a very poor town; but, by the countenance of the Queen, the English garrison there, and the trade which the English brought thither, it flourished in a high measure; and, by their means, so did all their great towns and cities there.

She encouraged them in their trades, protected them in their navigation, gave them licences to fish upon the British seas, which before was not permitted unto them; and the English did courageously fight for them, to vindicate their rights, whilst they were employed in fishing, and in their manufactures, by which they increased in wealth. But one infelicity happened unto them, that the King of Denmark, having taken some displeasure against them, laid an embargo upon seven-hundred of their ships, which were passing backward and forward upon the Sound for corn; by reason whereof the people there were now more distressed with fear of a famine, than with the sword of the enemy. But the potent Queen presently gave them relief, for she supplied them with great quantities of corn; and by her interest, with the disbursement of some monies, the ships were discharged, and came home to their several ports, in the United Provinces.

Now was the Queen looked upon as their only patroness; and the English, the best sinews of their wars, and the achievers of the greatest exploits among them. Near Newport was fought that memorable battle betwixt the Archduke Albert, and the State. The victory, next under God, was gained for the States, by the valour of the English, and the excellent conduct of those noble and gallant persons Sir Francis and Sir Horatio Vere.⁵

Ostend was not walled till the Low-country wars, and then with a mud-wall only; and not finished till the Archduke sat down before it. Insomuch, as the Archduchess Isa-

⁵ [For a comparative account of these two valourous brothers, see Fuller's *Worthies of Essex*.]

bella is said to have sworn, that she should not shift her smock till the town was taken, who, had she kept her rash oath, had been very —. For the town being garrisoned by the English, and under Sir Horatio Vere, who was governor thereof, held out against the Archduke a siege of three years, and so many months; the Spaniards at this siege lost one-hundred thousand men.

Breda, a town well fortified, and the barony of the Prince of Orange, from whom being taken by the Spaniards in the beginning of the wars, it was again recovered by seventy valorous English soldiers; who, hiding themselves in a boat covered with turf, were conveyed into the castle, which they easily mastered, and made the Prince lord again of all his dominions and territories there. The speech of one of the soldiers there, upon that occasion, deserves never to be forgotten; who fearing lest by his violent noise in coughing (though he did repress it) he should, together with himself, betray his companions: "Kill me, (saith he,) fellow-soldiers, lest we be killed."

The particular actions, gallantry, and noble attempts of the English, here, would deserve a just volume of themselves. By their valour and courage most of the Spanish soldiers were so wasted and consumed, that the King of Spain was forced (to give a stop to their conquests) to send fifty-thousand veteran soldiers out of Spain and Italy into Flanders. And the Queen did supply the States with answerable numbers of men and money; insomuch, as she maintained for them forty-thousand horse and foot in their service.

She made many naval expeditions into America, and there did much infest the King of Spain; sinking his ships, burning his towns, battering down his forts and castles, and interrupting all his trade and commerce there: all this to bring that King to reason and justice, as to the United Provinces.

The King of Spain, hereat exceedingly incensed, anno 1588, sends his invincible armado⁶ against England, raised a rebellion in Ireland against the Queen, sent many Spanish soldiers to Kingsale, to the assistance of the rebels there, and committed many depredations in Cornwall here; many sanguinary and desperate persons were encouraged to poison, murder, and destroy her, who made many attempts upon her royal person. So this excellent Queen being incircled with so many infelicities and troubles, and beset with so many calamities, and being wearied with the wars in the Netherlands, (because they did so exhaust her treasure, and destroy her brave people,) and finding the States to grow insolent, and to perform no agreements; and withal, observing their subjects to grow rich by the war, of which they made a trade and merchandise, and her kingdoms to be thereby impoverished she resolved to make peace with the Spaniard, being assured the Belgick war was never to be ended by conquest, and to that purpose she signified her royal pleasure unto the States; but finding her Majesty to be in earnest, as she had great reason for it, they were much perplexed. For, if she had deserted them, they had lost their chief and only support; they sent over their ambassadors into England, and, in the most humble manner that could be, petitioned her Majesty that she would not cast off the cause of God and man, and leave sixty towns, with a poor distressed people, a prey to the malice and avarice of the barbarous Spaniard. But she earnestly pressed them for the payment of her money, adding withal threats, that, if she was not obeyed therein, she would take such courses, as her lenity was not used to be acquainted with, and so dismissed them.

Hereat the States were much disturbed; and thereupon, anno 1588, the distressed States sent the Lord Warmond, and others their humble suppliants unto her Majesty; who, in the lowest posture of humility, did acknowledge themselves obliged unto her for infinite benefits.

But herein her Majesty excelled the glory of her ancestors, that, by how much she exceeded others in power, by so much her Majesty excelled them in acts of mercy and piety, by whose means and aid, the French⁷ have gained many victories, and they⁸ more.

⁶ See the history of this armado in Vol. I. p. 119.

⁷ When attacked by Spain.

⁸ The Dutch.

As for the money, which the States owed her, they beseeched her Majesty to consider the dangers daily growing upon them, their poverty and disability to pay; and that, by original agreement with her Majesty, no monies were to be paid, till the wars were ended.

The Queen, understanding their unjust practices and ill dealings with her, told them that she had been often deluded by their deceitful supplications, ungrateful actions, unhandsome cavillings, and pretences of poverty, when their rich cities confuted them; and she hoped God would not suffer her to be a pattern to other princes, to help such a people, who bear no reverence to superiors, nor take care for the advantage, reputation, or safety of any but themselves: and required them to pay her the money they owed her: and advised them for the future, that they should not seek a remedy against growing danger, from old accounts by compulsion; but rather merit new favours by their gratitude and thanks for the former.

At these expressions of her Majesty, the poor distressed States thought themselves confounded, both for their former and future charges. Yet, considering the name of alliance with England was of exceeding advantage unto them, they resolved to submit (as they could not avoid it) to such conditions as her Majesty should lay upon them.

The Queen again pressed them for the payment of her money, and for peace; but she could not incline them to peace, being never disposed to pay her money, which must be at the end of the war. Yet, in compliance with her Majesty, the account was stated. And the principal debt, besides interest upon interest, and the loss of her subjects in their wars, did amount to 8,000,000 crowns; and they did agree to pay her Majesty, during the war, 100,000 pounds yearly, and the remainder, when peace was concluded, and the cautionary towns surrendered; and that, in the mean time, 1500 English soldiers should remain in the garrisons, and that the States should pay them.

The Queen, having her debts stated, began to be more friendly to them, and wished them to follow their trade of fishing upon the British seas; which she gave them leave to do, that they might be the better able to pay her, and support the charges of their war, which they did effectually.

But I could never find, that they ever paid unto her Majesty any of the money they owed her. For it is not to be conceived, that those persons, whom her Majesty, for so many years, could not bring to account, would, at the last, pay her any thing.

But her Majesty being grown into years, and those vigorous and great parts, she formerly had, somewhat declining; they, that the Queen might not exact of them the payment of her money, according to agreement with her, continually by emissaries, which they had about her Majesty, and their pensioners, did infuse jealousies into her head, and what plots and secret designs the King of Spain had against her Majesty, and her dominions; which did so amuse her, that I do not observe her Majesty ever pressed them after for the payment of any money. But from time to time she supplied them with men as they desired, and ever made good to them her own motto, *Semper eadem*.

And as her assistance to them was the first, so it continued to the last, that is, until March 24, 1603, at which time she died, having lost not fewer than 100,000 of her subjects in that war; and having spent in naval expeditions, for their sakes, against the King of Spain, in America, or elsewhere, above a million of money; besides the debt which the States owed her.

King James being proclaimed King, and the undoubted heir and successor to the Queen, the States sent their ambassadors to the King; and, after some compliments to him, they signify to his Majesty, that they had lost her, whose goodness and benefits to them were not to be expressed in words; but they had found his Majesty as the heir of her kingdom, so the imitator of her virtues, and persuaded him to a war with Spain, and begged supplies of him.

But King James being a wise prince, and not to be taken with their arts and cunning, told them, that he had no difference with the Spaniard; and also, that King Philip had

voluntarily offered him his assistance, if any disputes should have arisen concerning his kingdoms. And, for the Archduke, he made war with the Queen, not with the realm.

This highly discomposed the States; but King James treated with the Spaniards, and concluded a league with them. And the States (such kindness had his Majesty for them) were offered by King James to be comprehended in the articles of the treaty; but they refused: yet, by the mediation of King James, a peace was propounded to the States from the King of Spain; but they signified unto his Majesty, that they would not treat with the King of Spain, till they were declared by him free states, abstracted from all right and title unto any of the provinces or places by them possessed, which he might pretend unto. All which, by the great endeavours of King James, were granted unto them by the King of Spain. And so, anno 1609, a peace was concluded between the King of Spain and them.

The provinces in the possession of the States, at the time of the conclusion of the peace, were Holland, Zealand, West-Friesland, Overysse, Groningland, Utrecht, Zutphen, three parts of Gelderland, and so some frontier towns and places of contribution in Brabant and Flanders.

All which provinces, with their frontier towns in Brabant and Flanders, are not so big as Yorkshire, one of our counties in England. And there may be a greater number of stout and gallant men for war raised out of that one county, than they can raise out of all their provinces.

Being now declared free states, and peace concluded with the King of Spain; yet, for their own security, they were forced to maintain an army in their country: the charge whereof could not amount to less than six-hundred thousand pounds yearly, besides other vast expences; as, the preservation of their dikes, &c.

All, or the greatest part thereof, they raised out of the fishing of the British seas, or on the people by excise, and taxes upon every acre of ground. Which is such, that the whole country returns into their hands every third year, and by other impositions, so insupportable in themselves, and amongst men which would be thought to live in a free state, that should any prince in Christendom lay but half so much upon their subjects, it would occasion a revolt.

So that, whereas one of the first causes of their falling off from their Prince was to free themselves from taxes and impositions, illegally, as they said, forced upon them, they have drawn upon themselves more arbitrary and illegal payments, than any nation in the world. So true it is, that, a rebellion once suppressed, the king is more king, and the subjects more subject: but if it thrives, and happen to be *prosperum fœdus*, and to advance itself to a free state, as they call it, tyranny and oppression are the two pillars, which must support it.

The States being now absolute, and having obtained a sovereign dominion, only the cautionary towns stuck in their stomachs, and might prove a curb to them: but, being unwilling to move the King concerning them, by the great sums of money they then owed him, and being not able to pay him, they would by some projection or other, endeavour to gain them: Thereupon they resolved, as the best expedient, not to pay the English soldiers in the cautionary towns, who, being thereby put to distress for want, would be forced to borrow some monies, for their present support, of the States of Zealand, which they did; who therewith advised the States-General at the Hague. They, consulting with Sir Ralph Winwood, ambassador for his Majesty there, who was a favourable instrument to them in this business, sent instructions to the Lord Caroon, then their ambassador in England, to acquaint the Lord-Treasurer herewith. And, in case of no satisfaction from him, to make his addresses to the King, which he did. His Majesty being much incensed, that his subjects and soldiers should starve for the want of their pay in foreign parts, sent for the Lord-Treasurer, who drawing his Majesty aside, and telling him how empty his exchequer was, his Majesty told their Ambassador, that, if his masters would pay him his money they owed him, he would deliver up those towns.

The next day their Ambassador, waiting on the King, to know whether his Majesty persisted in the same resolution, his Majesty answered, that he took the States of Holland to be his good friends and confederates, both in point of religion and policy; therefore he apprehended not the least fear of any difference that should fall out between them. In contemplation whereof, if they would have their towns again, he would willingly surrender them.

The States hereupon made up the money presently, and sent to the King. And so, anno 1616, the cautionary towns were delivered unto them.

The King, such was his royal bounty unto them, remitted the interest, and five pounds for every gentleman, and officer, which died in their service.

But having gotten the possession of their towns (which were the lock and key of their provinces) and having compounded for those exceeding great sums of money which they owed his Majesty (which sober men did think they never had been able to pay, if rightly stated) they presently, from poor distressed people, are swelled up to those spreading and magnificent titles of 'High and Mighty States.'

Now they make their naval expeditions into America, and other parts of the world: and, by the leave and licence of King James, paying some small tribute, they fall to their fishing-trade upon the British seas. Wherein they did so exceedingly thrive, that, towards the latter end of King James's reign, they employed yearly eight-thousand four-hundred vessels of all sorts for their trade of fishing upon the British seas, (which number since is vastly increased) whereby they have a seminary of mariners ready for public service, or navigation. And upon computation it appeared, that they made in one year of the herrings only, caught upon the British seas, the sum of five millions of our pounds; (the custom and tenth of fish advancing to the public treasury no less than eight-hundred thousand pounds;) besides the cod, ling, hakes, pilchard, and other fish, computed to amount unto near three millions more.

By reason of this multitude of ships and mariners, they have extended their trade to all parts of the world, exporting for the most part, in all their voyages, our herrings and fish; in exchange whereof, they return the several commodities of other countries, and sell the same at their own prices. Great part of their fish they sell for ready money, which commonly they export of the finest gold and silver, and, coming home, recoin it of a baser alloy, under their own stamp; which advances a great profit to them. The returns, which they make for their fish in other commodities, amount to a vast sum: and all this wealth, riches, and grandeur, is derived unto them from the indulgency and bounty of the kings of Great-Britain.

The Hollanders now beginning to be considerable in the world, by reason of the many royal favours wherewith they are enriched by the crown of England: the English and they having several factories and places in the isles of Molucca's, Banda, and Amboyna, and elsewhere in the East-Indies, (the English being some years settled there before the Hollanders had made any discovery of those islands,) anno 1619, there was a solemn league and agreement by King James, and the States of the United Provinces, in a strict alliance, and social confederacy of the English East-India Company, and that of the United Provinces; for the better advancing and carrying on of the trade and commerce in those islands, and elsewhere in the East-Indies.

Here are so many marks of kindness, such ample demonstrations of favour, as no people could have greater obligations (if any principles of honour or justice could oblige them) to make returns of gratitude; and give the greatest instance of their sincerity and faithfulness to the kings of Great-Britain, and the English nation. But, with them, favours past are not accounted; they love no bounty, but what is merely future.

At Amboyna (one of the Scyndæ, or Setibe islands, lying near Seran, and hath many lesser islands depending upon it, it is of the circuit of sixty leagues) an island which bears cloves plentifully, for gathering and buying whereof the English company had placed five several factories: the head of all at the town of Amboyna (so called from the island, the chief town in it) two at Hitto, and Larico, in the same island; and two others at Latro,

and Cambello, in the island of Seran. But the Hollanders observing the English to be better beloved by the natives than themselves, and that they began highly to improve and gain by their trade and traffick, hating that any should thrive but themselves; anno 1622, upon pretence of a plot between the English and the Japonese to betray their fortress in the town of Amboyna (which was built at the charge of the English, and for the safety of trade and commerce) the Hollanders having about two-hundred soldiers there (to the end they might ingross the whole trade and traffick of the said islands to themselves) most treacherously murdered, and with fire and water tortured the English there, far exceeding the barbarity of all nations; and seized upon their factories and goods, to the value of four-hundred thousand pounds⁹. All the English and Japonese, which they could meet with, they sent into their own islands to be their slaves.

An act, so horrid! that the Hollanders are infamous to this very day among the rude and savage Indians, for their barbarous inhumanity executed upon the English, the greatest patrons, under God, they ever had in the world. King James, being made acquainted with this barbarous fact, told the States' ambassador, that he never read or heard of a more cruel and impious act. "But I do forgive them, (said the King,) and I hope God will: but my son's son will revenge this blood, and punish this horrid massacre." The King was a wise prince; and, believe it, wisdom is next door to prophecy.

Having thus murdered the English, their insolence and ingratitude did not end there, but they forcibly seized upon the islands of Seran, Nero, Waire, Rosingen, Latyo, Cambello, Nitto, Larica, Lantare, the islands of Poloroone, near neighbouring to the Mollucca's; Polaway, and Machasser, islands of Banda; all which islands were formerly surrendered, by the general consent and act of the natives unto the English, and under the sovereignty of the kings of England. They seize upon their factories and goods there, and possess themselves of one-thousand eight-hundred English, which they disposed of into their own islands.

By this artifice they gained to themselves Amboyna, Banda, the Mollucca islands, Ternate, Tidor, Maner, Rochian, Machiam, and Botono, with some others. In all which, the English had their factories, and some castles, islands productive of cloves, nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, and other rich commodities; from whence the Persians, Turks, Chinese, and Africans fetched them. But, by reason the Hollanders were superior to them in strength, and that horrid act of Amboyna had made a sad impression upon their spirits, (expecting the same measure of cruelty from them, as they of Amboyna) they were forced to quit the said island and factories.

So that these insolent and ingrateful persons have gained to themselves solely the trade of the whole world for spices.

By the loss of which islands, there is drained yearly by them out of the King of England's dominions for spices, four-hundred thousand pounds; besides, the loss of the trade in those islands to the English (which would have much improved and enlarged itself in other places) cannot amount unto less than four-millions of pounds sterling yearly; though formerly some inconsiderable quantities of them did grow in Cupe, Duco, Montio, and Mara, but of late not any. The advantage hereof cannot amount unto the Hollanders less than seven millions of pounds sterling yearly: they setting what rates and prices they please upon these commodities.

By these most unjust practices of the Hollanders, the stock of the English company, which did amount unto about sixteen-hundred thousand pounds, was the greatest part of it lost.

Poloroone, by the general and voluntary act of the chief men of the country, was surrendered into the power of King James, and the possession thereof was given, to his Majesty's use, to Captain Courtrop, December 23, anno 1616. No other nation, at that time, having any interest in it, or pretension to it, being a very rich and plentiful island:

⁹ [A sufficient account of the horrid cruelties practised by the Hollanders, may be seen in Mr. Scott's introductory remarks to Dryden's tragedy of Amboyna.]

from whence the English might have expected great treasure and advantages. The Hollanders, notwithstanding their league and treaty with King James, anno 1619, the English being then in possession of it, with great force entered the said island, demolished all their buildings, pulled up all their nutmeg-trees, and sent them into their own islands to be planted; destroyed all their factories there, and seized upon all their goods, and forced all the English from thence; and to dispeople it, that it might be of no use to the English for the future, under colour of a plot that the Oran-keys and nobles of Poloroone had conspired with the people of Seran to massacre the Dutch, as well at Poloroone as Poloway; the Dutch governor at Poloway sent command to the Oran-keys, that they should come over to him: a priest and seventy Oran-keys immediately took a prow, or small vessel, of their own, and embarked themselves for Poloway. As soon as they were arrived, they were carried prisoners to the castle. Then the governor, with two-hundred soldiers, went to Poloroone, whence he fetched the rest of the Oran-keys, and committed them prisoners to the same castle; and presently were brought to the torture with fire and water, as they served the English at Amboyna. Two of them died in their tortures; the rest, being one-hundred and sixty-two, were all, upon their forced confessions, condemned and executed. The priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words, in the Mallatian tongue: "All ye, great and small, rich and poor, black and white, look to it; we have committed no fault." And when he would have spoken more, he was taken by the head and feet, laid along, and cut in two by the middle. Their wives, children, and slaves, with all their goods, were seized by the Hollanders, and sent into their other islands.

And this the Hollanders did, because the Oran-keys had a great love for the English.

So that we may perceive the sole design of the Hollanders is, to get the riches, trade, and dominion of the whole Indies into their own power: and therefore they think any medium just, subservient to that end.

The Hollanders having forcibly taken the town and castle of Mallaca from the Portuguese, suffer no ships of any king or prince in Europe to pass the Streights of Mallaca, into the South-seas to China, &c. upon pain of seizure, or confiscation of men, ships, and goods.

And to that purpose, they grant their commissions to the captains of their ships, to bring all the Streights of Mallaca, which Streights were free for all ships to pass, till the restraint and usurpation of the Hollanders into Mallaca, or else to sink, or burn them by their sides.

This restraint is loss to the English three-hundred thousand pounds yearly, and advantage to the Hollanders five-hundred thousand pounds yearly.

Anno 1620, Cabo de bon Esperanza¹⁰ was in the possession of the English, and by them taken for the use of King James. But since, the English have been forced out by the Hollanders, where they have a flourishing plantation.

Thereupon, anno 1620, they seized upon two English ships, the Bear and the Star, in the Streights of Mallaca, going to China; and confiscated the ships and goods, valued at fifteen-hundred thousand pounds.

The ship Bona Esperanza, an English vessel, anno 1635, going into China, by the Streights of Mallaca, was violently assaulted by three Dutch men of war; the master and many of his men killed, and brought into Mallaca; and there the ship and goods were confiscated, valued at one-hundred thousand pounds.

The Dragon and Catharine, two English ships of Sir William Curteen, valued at three-hundred thousand pounds, besides their commanders, and others, who had very great estates therein, anno 1636, were set upon by seven Dutch men of war, as they passed the Streights of Mallaca from China, and by them taken. The men were tied back to back, and flung over-board; the goods, being taken out of the said ships, were seized to the use of the States there; and the ships sunk; that it might not be known who committed that cruel fact.

In Aru and Manucado in Sumatia, an Oriental island, the English had several factories

¹⁰ The Cape of Good Hope.

there, by the consent of the King and natives ; but, by the practice of the Hollanders, anno 1625, they were all forced to leave their factories, and the places.

In Pachane, the chief city of Pachane, one of the kingdoms of Siam in India, the English had several factories there ; but, by the unjust practices of the Hollanders, they were compelled to quit the country, and their factories, to an inexpressible loss to the English ; Pachane being a great country for gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, and many other rich commodities.

The Hollanders, anno 1636, made war against the King of Bantam, one of the Kings of Java Major ; for that he had a great kindness for the English, and for that he permitted them to have several factories in Sunda and Jambe for pepper ; and by this art, would have driven the English from thence, and their chief pepper-trade : and so would have shut them out, both of the Streights of Sunda and Mallaca.

Which, from these men we may learn, that those, which study to be great by any means, must by all means forget to be good ; they must dismiss that puny thing, conscience ; for there is no such remora to grandeur, as a coy and squeamish conscience. And it is observed by a learned gentleman, ‘ had Alexander boggled at invading other men’s kingdoms, he had never wept for the scarcity of worlds.’

The oppressions and injuries of these men in India, (not only to the English, but to the subjects of many of the kings and princes in Europe,) are not to be expressed ; and indeed they are fitter for our wonder than our words. It were to be desired, that they would set forth a manifesto to the world of the particular losses they and their subjects have sustained by the insolencies and usurpations of these men. And then they would be as much scorned, by every good man in Europe, as they are now hated by the Indians in America : for the Indians, though they have no kindness for the Spaniard, yet they look upon him as a gentleman ; but the Hollanders they abhor, for their sordid acts, and unjust practices.

As they have made themselves masters of the South-seas ; so having, anno 1662, taken Cochen from the Portuguese, and other ports upon the coasts of Malabar ; they have the sole command upon the North-seas from Malabar to India, Persia, Arabia, the Red-sea, and Mosambique, all along to Cabo de bon Esperanza ; so they will in a short time restrain all kings and princes in Europe, and their subjects, to have a trade or commerce in those parts.

And, whether it may not, by the help of a little logick, be concluded out of their style, to consider, the States-General of the United Provinces of Batavia, Amboyna, Tewan, &c. commanders of all the seas of the world ; protectors of all the kings and princes in Europe ; and supreme moderators of all the affairs in Christendom : for so they style and write themselves in the East-Indies.

Now they are High and Mighty States indeed ! Ambition is never so high, but she thinks still to mount ; that station which lately seemed the top, is but a step to her now ; and what before was great, in desiring, seems little, being once in power.

The Method and Arts which the States have used in India, to enlarge their Dominions, and exclude others from Trade or Commerce there.

1. **THEY** are in a perpetual state of hostility, ever warring upon some prince or other ; and thereby gain either tribute or dominion.
2. When they have to do with any king or prince, they order their affairs so, that he must perform first ; and, when he hath done, they are States, and so are free.
3. They encourage the natives, upon every small occasion of discontent, to arm against their prince ; promising them their assistance, which they exactly perform. When they have conquered the king, and taken his castles and ports, (which they first secure,) making themselves masters of the seas and great rivers ; then they subdue the natives, and so vest in themselves sovereign dominion, and make both king and natives their vassals.
4. If the natives take up arms against their prince (as many times they do), then they

encourage him against his rebellious subjects, and give him their assistance; when the natives are subdued, then they conquer the king himself, or else demand so much for their assistance, that he is not able to pay; and so he must submit himself and his dominions to their boundless ambition.

5. If there be any wars between prince and prince, they will be sure to fall in with one of them, and give him their aid, and so make war in the other prince's dominions. When that prince is subdued, and themselves settled in his dominions, then they reduce the other prince to their obedience; having some castles or ports in his dominions, which do command the whole.

6. If they have any places of concern, and the subjects of any prince in Europe have any factories there, which they cannot fairly dismiss; then they lay such great taxes and impositions upon the natives, that they are forced to arms. When they are subdued, then they charge the subjects of that prince, as conspirators and abettors of the natives; and so seize upon all their goods and factories, and force them to quit the country, or else send them into some of their islands to be slaves.

7. If any prince in Europe make any treaty or league with the States, concerning any affairs in India, they send to the States of Batavia private instructions, contrary to their public agreement; so that all treaties and leagues, as to the affairs of India, are ineffectual.

8. Where they have footing in any island or dominion, they claim by conquest, and so lay what taxes they please upon the natives: and, being in by conquest, they are proprietaries, and so exclude the subjects of any king or prince from trade there.

9. If the subjects of any king or prince in Europe have factories in the dominions of any prince there, if they begin to be considerable, they take some occasion to war against that prince; and, upon treaty, charge those subjects to be the cause of the war; so, if the prince will have peace, he must seize their factories and goods, and banish them his country.

10. They pretend great kindness to their neighbour princes, and enter into a league offensive and defensive with them; and by that means get the favour of those princes to have some ports or strong castles for defence of their trade, as they pretend, in their territories. When that is done, they either make war themselves, and so those princes must aid them, or else persuade the princes their allies to make war upon another prince; which they do, and so fight one prince against another; and, when they are sufficiently weakened, they conquer them all.

11. If they have any difference with any potent king or prince, they get time; if it be for their advantage, they give good words, but part with no money. That done, they make their addresses to some favourite of that prince, which do all in the court of the Indian kings, and so with small charges they effect great matters.

By these steps they have climbed up to those immense pyramids of dominion and power in the Indies, that they are become formidable to the greatest emperors and princes there; ever making good in their practice that lemma of Loyola, the apostle of their state,

Cavete vobis, principes.

They have excluded the subjects of all kings and princes in Europe from traffick and commerce, where they have any territories or power: and, by reason of the dominion they have in the South-seas, and the conquests and fortifications they make upon the North-seas, all their subjects will finally be debarred from any traffick or trade there.

Of what dangerous consequence this will prove, it is very well beseeeming the wisdom of the greatest kings and princes to consider. For they are a generation which are born to be the plague, disquiet, and scourge of Europe; and they gladly sacrifice the public peace of Christendom to their own private interest.

If we consider, how many brave and large dominions in the East-Indies were under the sovereignty of the kings of Great-Britain; what flourishing factories their subjects had

there; how great kings they might have been in treasure and dominion; how rich their subjects; it cannot but discompose an English spirit, that this king should be outed of all those dominions, and his subjects divested of their riches and hopes, by a people who had nothing but the favour of the King of Great-Britain to support them; nor no fortress to defend them but that of Amboyna; and that built by the money of the English company.

Well, we may see what treachery and perfidiousness can do, being accompanied with ambition and industry; but they will, before long, find, that slippery are those foundations of might and greatness, which are not laid upon the principles of justice, and regulated by the maxims of Christian piety.

And as America was the theatre where they acted these tragedies, and unparalleled insolencies; so they have not spared to manifest their ingratitude, affronts, and highest injuries against the Kings of Great-Britain, and the English nation here in Europe.

Anno 1639, when his Catholic Majesty sent his armado with some soldiers into Flanders to strengthen his garrisons there, but by cross winds were driven upon the English coasts; the States equipped out a great fleet of men of war, charged the Spanish armado, ravished his ships out of the harbours of his late Majesty¹¹ at Dover, and destroyed most of that fleet, though in his Majesty's protection and dominions, and against his Majesty's express command; thereby usurping sovereignty to themselves, and giving laws to his Majesty in his own dominions:—a bold affront!

And, certainly, they could not think but his Majesty did highly resent it. But, to keep him busied at home, and that his Majesty might have no opportunity to bring them to justice for their insolence, there being, anno 1639, some distempers¹² in Scotland, they did greatly promote them, and contributed their assistance to them, in all manner of military provisions.

Monarchy, and with that the glory of the English nation, was now¹³ departed; the people model themselves into a commonwealth, they take a full prospect of the usurpations, injuries, and oppressions of the States, which had such a horrid complexion of injustice upon them, that the new Commonwealth¹⁴ denounce war against the old States¹⁵; they obtain many signal victories, and had much disabled their naval forces. Now, the States being not well able to contest with the English valour, they project how they might deliver themselves from the fury of these men. At last, they having by their emissaries first disseminated sedition amongst the people, whereby the commonwealth became a burthen to the nation, and wise men began to be troubled at the ill face of affairs; they adjudged the best expedient was to set up a single person, the States being now sensible of their former error, in not supporting the English monarchy, as their best safety and greatest protection; Oliver Cromwell, as the fittest person for such a bold-faced treason, by their underhand practice, and paying to him some hundred-thousand pounds, is prevailed with to take upon him the government of the nation. The war is continued against them with great success; yet, by their interest, they obtained a treaty. And, thereupon, paying a million of pounds to Oliver, a peace is concluded; but the most dishonourable and unjust that ever was to this nation. But such as it was, it continued till his Majesty's¹⁶ blessed restoration.

Anno 1641, there happening some difference betwixt his late Majesty and his parliament, they sent over their rabbies of sedition here into England, and infused their antimonarchical principles and dangerous doctrines into some giddy heads of the English nation, who thereby became so intoxicated, that they were never at rest, till, like men infected with the plague, they infected others; and, thereby, a great part of the people became disobedient to the laws of the nation, and rebels to their king. An army of these men were raised, they having their chief officers and commanders, and all warlike provisions, out of the United Provinces, to bring destruction to the King, and desolation to the kingdom; thereby that great King being reduced to straits, notwithstanding the many obligations of the States to his Majesty, they could never be induced to contribute any aid or assis-

¹¹ King Charles I.

¹² *al.* disturbances.

¹³ In the time of the grand rebellion of 1641.

¹⁴ Of England.

¹⁵ Of Holland.

¹⁶ King Charles II.

tance to redeem that excellent Prince from so great an abyss of misery, or to preserve the kingdom from ruin and confusion, which with their assistance might have been easily prevented.

But the States were so far from any act of charity or piety, that Amsterdam was made the great emporium or market for the rebels, to sell those rich and costly goods, which they had plundered from his Majesty's best subjects in England; whereas no king or prince in Christendom would suffer them to make use of any of their ports for that purpose, and the best furniture that some of the States have in their houses, at this very day, are many of those stolen goods.

And by this means they brought poverty and misery to this nation, riches and plenty to themselves.

This unfortunate nation being thus in a combustion, and all befried, the Hogan Mogans with joy, (as an ingenious man observed,) did warm their hands at those unhappy flames, which they themselves had kindled, tuning their merry harps, when others were weeping over a kingdom's funeral. In England, there being nothing but confusion and ruin, nothing to be seen but the convulsions of a dying state; his now sacred Majesty, for his own safety and security, withdrew himself out of England, and resolved to live for some time, in his solitudes, in the Belgick provinces: but the States were so far from affording him any comfort, as a distressed prince; or yielding him any kindness, as their best friend and greatest patron; that, if his Majesty had not had timely notice of it, it is credibly said, that he had been delivered up, in their territories, as a sacrifice to the fury of his cruellest enemy.

His Majesty, anno 1660, being restored to his kingdoms, forgetting all their former unkindnesses and ingratitudes, his care was to conclude a strict league with the said States. But no sooner was it concluded, but they return to their usual practice of breaking articles; who expect an exact observance of them from others, but perform none themselves. Thereupon his Majesty, 1664, was stirred up by the complaints of his people, and the unanimous votes of both houses of parliament, to defend the rights of his crown, and the liberties of his people, which the States had most notoriously invaded; yet his Majesty, to prevent the effusion of blood (as tyrants shed blood for pleasure, kings for necessity) spent the whole summer in negotiations to bring them to reason; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual.

Thereupon, anno 1665, ensued the war, and continued to the year 1667, wherein his Majesty obtained so many signal victories, that, by their humble supplications and addresses to his Majesty for peace, he was induced to a treaty; and, his Majesty having the guaranty of the most Christian King, and of the said States, that no act of hostility, during the said treaty, should be attempted by them against his Majesty, or any of his dominions; thereupon his Majesty did forbear to equip his fleet. Yet the said States, (contrary to their faith, during the said treaty,) with their fleet, though not half manned or victualled for any time, most treacherously invaded his Majesty's dominions, burnt and committed destruction upon many of his Majesty's navy royal¹⁷ in his own ports and harbour. Whereas, if his Majesty had set forth his fleet, they had not been able to have put to sea that year, for want of mariners, and other discouragements upon them, having received so many memorable defeats by the valour and courage of his subjects.

No sooner was there a peace concluded, but every article was broken by them; and no wonder, for it is a maxim of their state, that 'all alliance as to them is inconsiderable; the foundation of their greatness and safety consists in their own power and strength;' therefore, to keep any article is of no consideration to them.

Now they invade his Majesty's fishing upon the British seas, without his royal licence; they refuse to strike sail, and dispute the sovereignty of the British seas: affronts so high, and indignities so transcendent, that no king or potentate, except these men, did ever so much as question any of them.

¹⁷ At Chatham, in the river Medway.

It doth appear by the records in the Tower¹⁸, and the municipal laws of this nation, that the kings of England have had ever, from the time of the Romans, an absolute and uninterrupted right, and exclusive property in the sovereignty in the British seas, in the passages and fishing thereof; and have power to make laws, and exercise supreme jurisdiction over all persons, and in all cases, within or upon the said seas, as it was agreed, 26 Edw. I. by the agents and ambassadors of Genoa, Catalonia, Spain, Almaine, Zealand, Holland, Friesland, Denmark, Norway, and divers other places in the empire. And by all the states and princes of Europe, in a case then in question between the King of England and his most Christian Majesty, concerning Rayner Grimbold, his admiral, exercising some jurisdiction upon the British seas.

The laws of Olleron, which (after the Rhodian laws were antiquated, have now near five-hundred years been received by all the Christian world for regulating sea-affairs, and deciding of maritime controversies,) were first declared by King Richard the First, at his return from the Holy-land; and by him caused to be published in the Isle of Olleron, as belonging to the Dutchy of Aquitain.

If the subjects of any king or prince have a right to fish in the British seas, I do desire to be satisfied, what should be the reason that all neighbour princes have by treaty obtained licence from the kings of England, for their subjects to fish in those seas, and have paid tribute, as it doth appear by the licences granted by Henry the Fourth unto the French; by Henry the Sixth unto the Duchess of Burgundy; to those of Brabant and Flanders, by Edward the Fourth; to Francis, Duke of Bretagne, for his subjects: Philip the Second, King of Spain, in the first year of Queen Mary, obtained a licence for his subjects to fish upon the north-coast of Ireland, for the term of twenty-one years, paying yearly for the same a thousand pounds, which was accordingly paid into the exchequer of Ireland.

And the precedents, in Ric. I. King John, Edw. III. and other kings, are almost infinite.

And, if any king, or prince, could pretend to any right, certainly his most Christian Majesty hath as good a pretence as any. But that King, by the special licence of the kings of England, and not otherwise; hath fished upon the British coasts, with a set and limited number of boats; and that for his own family, and being likewise to observe the laws and orders of his own fishermen; for breach whereof, divers of his subjects have been taken and imprisoned in Dover-castle, and elsewhere; as doth appear by many precedents in the times of Edw. III. Hen. IV. Hen. VII. &c. in the Tower.

Neither is this singular in the king of England only; for, in Russia, many leagues from the main, fishermen do pay for their fishing, great taxes to the Emperor of Russia; and, in most places, other nations are prohibited to fish.

The King of Denmark doth the like, and taketh great tribute, both at Wardhouse and the Sound.

And the like he doth now for Norway.

All the bordering princes of Italy do the like, within the Mediterranean seas.

The States do take an imposition upon fish which is taken upon the British seas, and within the streams and dominions of other princes.

The Hollanders do allow the tenth fish, both in Russia, Lappia, and other places, or pay a composition for the same; and do also pay a tribute in the Sound, for passage to fetch the said fish.

But I shall not give myself any trouble in a point so clear. I would desire to know of the Hollanders, by what right or title they fish upon the British seas? If they have a right; why did the earls of Holland, and themselves after the said earls, take licences from the kings of England, for their subjects to fish and pay tribute? as they have done; as it appeareth by many ancient precedents in the Tower.

But now, I remember, it is a principle of their State, 'That if they get the possession of any thing, never to dispute the right; so it be of conveniency or profit to them to keep it.'

¹⁸ *Edw. de Superioritate Maris Anglici.*

The next is the striking of the sail, which is nothing, but an humble acknowledgment of his Majesty's sovereignty of the British seas, and a grateful submission for their liberty to pass upon them. For strangers (by the law and custom of the British seas) being to pass those seas, either in coming to England, or going to any other place (without so much as touching upon any of his Majesty's dominions) have used to take safe-conducts and licences of the kings of England, to secure and protect them in their passage¹⁹. The precedents are exceeding many, amongst the Records in the Tower. The striking of the sail is one of the ancientest prerogatives of the crown of England; for, I observe, in the second year of King John, it was declared at Hastings by the King, with the advice of his Lords-Temporal, for a law and custom of the sea, 'That, if a lieutenant, in any voyage, being ordained by the king, doth encounter upon the sea any ship or vessel, laden or unladen, that will not strike or vail their bonnets, at the commandment of the lieutenant of the king, or of the admiral of the king, or his lieutenant, but will fight against them of the fleet; that, if they can be taken, they be reputed as enemies; and their ships, vessels, and goods, taken and forfeited, as the goods of enemies. And that the common people, being in the same, be chastised, by imprisonment of their bodies for their rebellion.' *Inter Leges Marinas, anno secundo Johannis regis*, amongst the Records of the Tower.

The Hollanders, therefore, refusing to strike sail, do deny his Majesty's sovereignty in the seas (one of the most precious jewels of the crown, and) the principal means of the trade, wealth, and safety of this nation; and which all true Englishmen, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, are obliged to preserve and maintain; for, *Imperator maris est dominus terræ*²⁰.

And, as they have denied his Majesty's sovereignty, so they have, by their artifice, supplanted the trade and traffick of his subjects, which are the only pillars of riches and safety to this nation.

Consult the Muscovia²¹, Turkey, &c. companies, enquire at the Exchange, they will all tell you, it is gone, whither I know not, but into Amsterdam and the United Provinces.

The English are as active and industrious a people as any, but (of a more generous and noble alloy) they abhor to have trade by those base practices, or to gain it by those sordid means, as the Hollanders do. I doubt not but the English nation, being sensible of the injuries and oppressions done them by these men, will, in a short time, by their sword and valour, reduce them to reason.

And, as they have supplanted the trade of his Majesty's subjects, so they have endeavoured to make a diminution of his own glory, by abusive pictures and false libels; not only in their own territories, but in most of the dominions of the kings and princes of Europe, where the name of the King of Great-Britain is renowned. 'Reputation abroad, and reverence at home, are the pillars of safety and sovereignty.'

By these arts, they have endeavoured not only to lessen his Majesty's reputation abroad, but to bring contempt upon him, even amongst his own subjects at home. Without doubt, his Majesty's good subjects have a great sentiment of these indignities; and will not only carry an antidote in their ears against the poison of these libels, but, with their swords, lives, and fortunes, will vindicate his dignity, and bring these ungrateful miscreants to justice.

The States having put so many scorns and indignities upon his Majesty, and abuses upon his subjects in their trade; for which his Majesty was more troubled, than for the indignities done to himself; he was resolved to have satisfaction of them. But they, to give his Majesty disquiet in his own dominions, and for a diversion to him, made their addresses to some persons of the Scottish nation with them for their brotherly assistance, promising them they should be furnished with men, arms, and money, what they pleased: but the Scots, too well remembering their late sufferings and calamities, and having as great a sense

¹⁹ See *Rot. Franciæ* 11 Hen. IV. *de salvo conductu*.

²⁰ i. e. 'Whoever is emperor of the sea, is also lord of the land adjoining thereto.'

²¹ *al.* Russia.

of loyalty and duty for their King, as any people in the world; with the greatest scorn and abhorrence rejected their most impious and rebellious motion.

Not prevailing there, they set upon some factories of sedition in England, and, by their emissaries here, endeavoured to work upon an honest party²² in this nation, though differing, in some minute ceremonies, from the church; but they looked upon it, as the greatest injury and indignity that could be done them, to tempt them from their loyalty to so good and gracious a King.

And, certainly, his Majesty had a very good esteem for them, or else he would never have granted them that act of indulgence; an act so transcendent, and exceeding the bounty and grace of all former kings, that it could not be obtained of them, though there had been many hundred-thousand pounds offered for the purchase of it. But, as his Majesty hath granted them liberty of conscience; so, there is no doubt, they will make conscience of their liberty.

His Majesty of Great-Britain, and the most Christian King, of all princes of Europe, have most studied and endeavoured, for the good of their subjects, to advance trade and commerce; yet their subjects cry out, they have no trade; and well they may, when the Hollanders are the great supplanters of trade, and obstructers of commerce, to all others but themselves, in the world. And no wonder; for it is a prime principle of their State, 'That they must not be like the jackall, which provides food for the lion; but they must imitate the prudent cat, who mouses only for itself.'

Nothing can be more becoming the majesty of two such potent Kings; not only out of charity to deliver the distressed Dutch, an industrious and well-meaning people of themselves, from the tyranny and oppression of those insolent States; but, out of piety towards God, to settle peace in Christendom; which is only by the power of those two great Kings to be effected, and to which all kings and princes are obliged to contribute their assistance.

For, let it be soberly considered, if these men (if we may so call them) since the revolt from their prince, have not made greater distempers and confusions, and caused more effusion of blood, and expence of treasure, in Europe, than the Great Turk hath done for these five-hundred years.

And, as they are more powerful by sea, so they are much more dangerous in their practice; for the Turk is a prince who, with all potentates, doth exactly observe his leagues, and keeps his faith; but it is an apophthegm in their State, that 'It is for kings and merchants to keep their word and faith; but, for states, no longer than it is subservient to their interest.'

And how exactly they make this good in their actions, I appeal to all the kings and princes of Europe, if ever they kept one article, or their faith in any thing, where it was their interest to break it. Certainly these men live, as if great sins would merit heaven by an antiperistasis.

And it is very well becoming the gravest judgments to consider, if these men may not prove, in a short time, a greater terror and plague to Christendom, than the Turk himself; insomuch as his arms are at a great distance, and only land-forces; but these men are seated in the centre of Europe, and, being so potent at sea, and rich in treasure, may cast an army, and, with that, blood and confusion, into any prince's dominion, whom they please to disquiet (especially being first reduced to poverty, which they labour to effect in all their territories, by obstructing of trade:) and they can more speedily and powerfully offend any kingdom by sea, in one month, than the most puissant army is able to march through, in a year.

Well, it is time to reduce these men to justice and reason; prudence teacheth us to set limits to that power, which deservedly may be suspected. For, as they grow in puissance and strength; so the more formidable they will render themselves to all kings and princes. From one great king²³ they have taken so much blood, that he is fallen into a deep consumption; and it is adjudged, by some wise physicians of state, that he will hardly recover.

²² The Presbyterians.

²³ King of Spain.

Did they not lately break the heart of one potent king²⁴, and almost the back of another²⁵? Do they not privately engage prince against prince, and, by that means, bring misery and calamity to them both; and, out of their ruin, create riches and plenty to themselves? Do they not undermine the trade of all Europe, and send nothing but poverty, misery, and complaints, into all princes' dominions?

How dangerous and fatal their greatness will, in a few years, prove to all the kings and princes of Europe, and to their subjects, if not timely prevented; a weak statist, without the help of Galileo's prospective-glass, may easily see. Yet there are a people in the world, which contribute their assistance to them: but let them be assured, that, if these States, by their arts, can extricate themselves from the destruction and calamity which now threaten them, they must (for all their friendly assistance) expect nothing but Polyphemus's courtesy, to be the last that shall be swallowed up. This is too evident by their ingratitude and insolencies to the kings of Great-Britain, and to the English nation.

Nothing can give a check to their growing power, but the naval forces of the King of Great-Britain, whose situation, ports, strength of shipping, courage of people, and experience in sea-fights, have always made him very formidable. And that, Henry the Eighth understood so well, that he assumed to himself this motto, *Cui adhæreo, præest*.

This naval power of the King of Great-Britain is the security and safety of Europe; for, if that were broken, they would look upon all the other as inconsiderable, because they are so far separate, that they might be destroyed before they could unite; and, in case they did, the issue would be very doubtful.

Then they would sacrifice one prince after another, and bring nothing but confusion, poverty, and misery, to prince and people. And, whether this be not more than conjectural, look into their practices in the East-Indies; observe their arts and methods, by which they have reduced so many great kings, with their subjects, vassals, and slaves, to their vast ambition.

I have done; yet I cannot but drop a few tears for some honest people amongst them, who must be inwrapped in the punishment, though innocent as to the guilt.

Now the most formidable and potent kings in Christendom, are drawing their forces against them; all their trade is gone by sea, nothing but horror and confusion in their land; none of their allies durst appear for them. A mournful tragedy! Methinks, like wise patriots, they should seize upon their States, whom they may thank for all their calamities and miseries, and yield them up to justice; set up their prince, whose ancestors have spent so much blood and treasure to vindicate their rights and liberties, and not to serve their ends of him (as all wise men think the States do at this juncture of affairs;) for it is an adage amongst them, that *Leo vinciri liber pernegat*.

And the States do as certainly hate a prince, as a prince doth a free state.

Discite justitiam moniti, &c.

²⁴ King of Sweden.

²⁵ King of Denmark.

A Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, as well in his Voyage, as in, and sithence his Return; and of the true Motives and Inducements which occasioned his Majesty to proceed in doing Justice upon him, as hath been done.

London, printed by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the King's most excellent Majesty, 1618.

[Quarto, containing Sixty-three Pages.]

The execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, for a crime of which he had been convicted fourteen years before, (and then convicted without legal evidence against him, and which, in the opinion of most, was pardoned by the commission, which made him supreme commander, and invested him with judicial authority,) was an act so cruel in itself, so unusual in England, and so plainly intended for the gratification of the Spanish court, that it filled the whole nation with murmurs and discontent, and obliged the King to give his subjects an account, to which he appears not to think them entitled, of the reasons of his conduct.

This account, whoever was the author, is very artfully and elegantly drawn up; nor can it be denied, that the whole behaviour of Raleigh, in his last attempt, appears sufficiently deceitful. Many circumstances are collected to prove that the mine was a mere fiction, and that his original and only design was to plunder the Spanish settlements; which was undoubtedly a violation of his commission, and of natural justice, since the English and Spaniards were then at peace.

There is likewise a recital of the stratagems which he used to facilitate his escape, which, if these had succeeded, would have afforded a very agreeable amusement; but the reflection, that they were defeated by treachery, puts an end to all pleasing thoughts, and it is not without a very melancholy kind of commiseration, that any man can behold the great Raleigh reduced to such little artifices; applauding these stratagems which his agent has discovered, and making sport for his enemies by those practices, by which he imagines himself deceiving them; more than once on the verge of liberty, and then hurried to prison and to death.

It is observed by the author¹ of King James's Character, that he naturally hated a man of valour; and it is probable, that his own cowardice rather than his resentment of Raleigh's conduct, however unjustifiable, prompted the fatal sentence, for which he gives one reason very remarkable, that Raleigh 'attempted to escape, and declined his justice,' and that he was not willing to lie in prison fourteen years longer without a crime.

What were the real views of Raleigh in his pretended quest of the golden mine, it is not easy to determine: the answer which is most obvious, 'that he hoped to find an opportunity of escaping,' is by no means satisfactory; because he made no use of the opportunities that were offered him, but returned to England, when he might undoubtedly have landed in another country, where his reputation would have secured him from being given up to a Prince, who had so little influence among his neighbours. That he did not rather go to any country than his own, has been much wondered at, and sometimes censured; but it appears from Howell's letters, that several of his friends were bound for his return. The question then recurs, if he thought himself obliged to return, Why did he set out? Perhaps

¹ [Sir Anthony Weldon; who wrote that King James "naturally loved not the sight of a soldier, nor of any valiant man."]

he might propose the enterprise before that condition was required, and could not then recede from his own scheme, without betraying his design. The exact dates of all the occurrences, would contribute very much to solve the difficulties that arise on every supposition.

*Many more questions might be started, as, Why, when he was at large, he could not escape, without such an undertaking? Why he projected a design that must necessarily end in his disgrace? And by what necessity he was reduced to trust Manoury, whom he knew but little? But these, and many others, it is perhaps now impossible to answer, and therefore superfluous to mention. — J. **

ALTHOUGH kings be not bound to give account of their actions to any but God alone; yet such are his Majesty's proceedings, as he hath always been willing to bring them before sun and moon, and carefully to satisfy all his good people with his intentions and courses, giving as well to future times, as to the present, true and undisguised declarations of them; as judging, that, for actions not well founded, it is advantage to let them pass in uncertain reports; but for actions, that are built upon sure and solid grounds, such as his Majesty's are, it belongeth to them, to be published by open manifestos. Especially, his Majesty is willing to declare and manifest to the world his proceedings in a case of such a nature as this which followeth is; since it not only concerns his own people, but also a foreign prince and state abroad.

Accordingly therefore, for that which concerneth Sir Walter, late executed for treason, (leaving the thoughts of his heart, and the protestations that he made at his death, to God that is the Searcher of all hearts, and Judge of all truth,) his Majesty hath thought fit to manifest unto the world, how things appeared unto himself, and upon what proofs and evident matter, and the examination of the commanders that were employed with him, in the voyage, (and namely of those which Sir Walter Raleigh himself, by his own letter to Secretary Winwood, had commended for persons of worth and credit, and as most fit for greater employments,) his Majesty's proceedings have been grounded; whereby it will evidently appear how agreeable they have been in all points to honour and justice.

Sir Walter Raleigh having been condemned of high-treason, at his Majesty's entrance into this kingdom; and for the space of fourteen years, by his Majesty's princely clemency and mercy, not only spared from his execution, but permitted to live, as in *libera custodia* in the Tower, and to enjoy his lands and living, till all was by law evicted from him upon another ground, and not by forfeiture; (which notwithstanding, his Majesty out of his abundant grace gave him a competent satisfaction for the same;) at length he fell upon an enterprise of a golden mine in Guiana.

This proposition of his was presented and recommended to his Majesty by Sir Ralph Winwood, then secretary of state, as a matter not in the air, or speculative, but real and of certainty; for that Sir Walter Raleigh had seen of the ore of the mine with his eyes, and tried the richness of it. It is true, that his Majesty, in his own princely judgment, gave no belief unto it; as well, for that his Majesty was verily persuaded, that in nature there are no such mines of gold entire, as they described this to be; and, if any such had been, it was not probable that the Spaniards, who were so industrious in the chace of treasure, would have neglected it so long; as also, for that it proceeded from the person of Sir Walter Raleigh, invested with such circumstances both of his disposition and fortune. But, nevertheless, Sir Walter Raleigh had so enchanted the world, with his confident asseveration of that which every man was willing to believe, as his Majesty's honour was, in a manner, engaged, not to deny unto his people the adventure and hope of so great riches, to be sought and atchieved, at the charge of volunteers; especially, for that it stood with his Majesty's politic and magnanimous courses, in these his

flourishing times of peace, to nourish and encourage noble and generous enterprises, for plantations, discoveries, and opening of new trades.

Hereupon the late Spanish ambassador, the Count de Gondamore, took great alarm; and represented unto his Majesty by loud and vehement assertions, upon iterated audiences, that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of Sir Walter Raleigh to be but hostile and piratical, and tending to the breach of the peace between the two crowns, and danger and destruction of the King his master's subjects in those parts; protesting, in a sort, against the same. To which his Majesty's answer always was, that he would send Sir Walter Raleigh with a limited commission, and that he durst not, upon peril of his head, attempt any such matter; and, if he did, he would surely do justice upon him, or send him bound hand and foot into Spain, and all the gold and goods he should obtain by robbery, and bring home, were they never so great. And, for further caution, his Majesty enjoined Secretary Winwood, to urge Sir Walter Raleigh (upon his conscience and allegiance to his Majesty) to deal plainly, and express himself, whether he had any other intention, but only to go to those golden mines in Guiana; which he not only solemnly protested unto the said Sir Ralph Winwood, but by him writ a close letter to his Majesty, containing a solemn profession thereof, confirmed with many vehement asseverations; and that he never meant, or would commit, any outrages or spoils upon the King of Spain's subjects.

But, notwithstanding his Majesty acquainted the Spanish ambassador with this his protestation, yet the said ambassador would never recede from his former jealousy, and importuning his Majesty to stay his voyage; alleging, that the great number of ships that Sir Walter Raleigh had prepared for that voyage, shewed manifestly, that he had no such peaceable intent; and offering (upon Sir Walter Raleigh's answer thereunto, that those ships were only provided for his safe convoy,) that if Sir Walter Raleigh would go with one or two ships only to seek the said mine, that he would move the King of Spain to send two or three ships with him back again, for his safe convoy hither with all his gold; and the said ambassador's person, to remain here in pledge, for the King his master's performance thereof. But such were the constant fair offers of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and specious promises; as his Majesty, in the end, rejected the importunate suit of the said Spanish ambassador for his stay, and resolved to let him go; but therewithal took order, both that he, and all those that went in his company, should find good security, to behave themselves peaceably towards all his Majesty's friends and allies; and to observe strictly all the articles of the commission, which his Majesty, for that cause, had the greater care to have it well and clearly penned and set down. And, that his Majesty's honest intention may herein the better appear, the words of the commission are here inserted, as followeth:

‘**J**AMES, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and to every of them, greeting.

‘Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea and shipping, unto the South parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people; to the end, to discover and find out some commodities and merchandises in those countries, that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these our kingdoms and dominions, whereof the inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue, by trade and commerce, some propagation of the Christian Faith and Reformed Religion amongst those savage and idolatrous people. And whereas we are credibly informed, that there are divers merchants and owners of ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walter Raleigh in this his enterprise, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their due parts of the profits returned, in respect of the peril of law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth. And, whereas, also, we are informed, that divers other gentlemen, the kinsmen and

friends of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and divers captains and other commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their lives with him, in this his journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

Know ye, that we, upon deliberate consideration had of the premisses, being desirous by all ways and means to work and procure the benefit and good of our loving subjects, and to give our princely furtherance to the said Walter Raleigh, his friends and associates herein, to the encouragement of others in the like laudable journeys and enterprises, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, as well of the conversion of savage people, as of the increase of the trade, traffick, and merchandises used by our subjects of this our kingdom, being most famous throughout all nations: Of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh full power and authority, and free licence and liberty, out of this our realm of England, or any other our dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead for and towards his said intended voyage into the said South parts, or other parts of America, possessed and inhabited as aforesaid; and to travel thither; all such, and so many of our loving subjects, or any others, strangers, that will become our loving subjects, and live under our obeisance and allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, ordnance, ammunition, powder, shot, habiliments, victuals, and such wares and merchandises as are esteemed by the wild people in those parts, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses, and mares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his company, and trade with the people there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts, to give away, sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same goods, merchandises, and premisses to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his company, and such other person, or persons, as shall be adventurers or assistants with, or unto him in this his intended voyage; and from thence to return, import, convey, and bring into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares, or merchandises, or commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient; and the same being so returned, imported, conveyed, and brought into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper use, benefit, and behoof of the said Sir W. Raleigh, and his said company, and other persons, adventurers, and assistants with or to him in this voyage, without the lett, interruption, molestation, and disturbance of us, our heirs or successors, or any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors whatsoever; paying and answering unto us, our heirs and successors, the full fifth part, in five parts to be divided, of all such gold, and silver, and bullion, and ore of gold or silver, and pearl, and precious stone, as shall be so imported; over and besides, and together with such customs, subsidies, and other duties, as shall be due for, or in respect of any other goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, to be imported by the true meaning of these presents. And to the end the said Sir Walter Raleigh may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his enterprise, and all our loving subjects desirous to be adventurers with him, or assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his proceedings; we do hereby, *in verbo regio*, for us, our heirs and successors, covenant, promise, and grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all other persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be adventurers, or assistants, with or to him in this voyage, that no gold, silver, goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever, of what kind or sort soever, by him, or them, or any of them, to be imported into this our kingdom of England, or any other our dominions, from any the said South or other parts of America, possessed or inhabited as aforesaid, shall be attached, seized, or taken by us, our heirs or successors, or to the use of us, our heirs or successors, or by any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors whatsoever; but that the same, and every of them (the fifth part of the said gold, silver, or bullion, and ore of gold, and silver, and pearl, and precious stone, and

other the customs and duties aforesaid, being duly answered and paid) shall be, and remain to the sole proper use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said company, and such persons as shall be adventurers with him, or assistant to him in this his voyage; any law, statute, or act of parliament, proclamation, provision, or restraint, or any right, title, or claim of us, our heirs or successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And further, (of our more especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion,) we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, constitute, and appoint, the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to be the sole governor and commander of all persons that shall travel, or be with him in the said voyage, to the said South, or other parts of America, so possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, or in returning from thence. And we do hereby give unto him, full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule them, or any of them, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions, as by the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall be from time to time established, as well in cases capital and criminal, as civil, both marine and other; so always as the said statutes, ordinances, and proceedings, as near as conveniently may be, be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government, and policy of this our realm of England, and not against the true Christian faith now professed in the Church of England. And because that, in such and the like enterprises and voyages, great inconveniences have grown by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the mariners and sailors employed in the same, for want of sufficient authority to punish them according to their offences; we do therefore by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of rebellion, or mutiny by sea or land, to use and exercise martial law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our lieutenant-general by sea or land, or lieutenants in our counties, within our realm of England, have, had, or ought to have, by force of their commission of lieutenancy. And we do further, by these presents, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to collect, nominate, and appoint such captains, and other inferior commanders and ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering and governing of his company, and the good of the voyage. And further, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, straitly charge and command the warden of our Cinque-Ports, and all the customers, comptrollers, surveyors, searchers, waiters, and other officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, that they, and every of them, do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all person and persons that shall be willing to travel and adventure with him in this voyage with their ships, ammunition, goods, wares, and merchandises whatsoever out of this our realm, or any other our dominions, to pass into the said South, or other parts of America, possessed and inhabited as aforesaid; and from thence to return and import into this our realm, or any other our dominions, any goods, wares, or merchandises whatsoever; and there to sell, or otherwise to dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his company, and such other persons as shall be [adventurers with him in this voyage; paying the fifth part of all gold and silver, bullion, and ore of gold and silver, and of pearl and precious stone imported, and other the customs and duties aforesaid. And these presents, or the inrolment thereof, shall be unto the said warden of the Cinque-Ports, customers, comptrollers, and other the officers and ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. And our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, that these our letters-patents, or the inrolment thereof, and all and singular grants, clauses, and things therein contained, shall be firm, strong, sufficient, and effectual in law, according to our gracious pleasure, and meaning, herein expressed; any law, statute, act, provision, ordinance, or restraint, or any other matter or thing to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding, Although express mention, &c. In witness whereof, &c. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the-six-and-twentieth day of Au-

‘gust, in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftieth.’

Per breve de privato sigillo.

THIS commission so drawn and framed, as you see, his Majesty himself did oft peruse and revise, as foreseeing the future events; the tenour whereof appeareth to be so far from giving Sir Walter Raleigh warrant, or colour, to invade any of the territories, occupied and possessed by the Spaniards, as it tended to a direction, rather of commerce than spoil, even towards the savages themselves. And the better to contain Sir Walter Raleigh, and to hold him upon his good behaviour, his Majesty denied, though much sued unto for the same, to grant him pardon for his former treasons, both to disauthorize him with those that were under his command, in case he should attempt to exceed his commission, and to reserve him to the justice of the law, if, by new offences, he should make himself indigne of former mercies. And as for the good security which his Majesty ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable behaviour in the voyage; his Majesty never heard any thing to the contrary but that it was performed till they were upon their parting; and then was it told him, that every one of the principals, that were in the voyage, had put in security one for another; which, if his Majesty had known in time, he would never have accepted of.

But, howsoever, the commission was penned; and whatsoever the cautions were which his Majesty intended or used, and whatsoever the protestations and promises were, that Sir Walter Raleigh made or exhibited; it appeareth plainly, by the whole sequel of his actions, that he went his own way, and had his own ends. First, to procure his liberty, and then to make new fortunes for himself; casting abroad only this tale of the mine as a lure to get adventurers and followers, having in his eye the Mexico fleet, the sacking and spoil of towns planted with Spaniards, the depredation of ships, and such other purchase; and making account, that if he returned rich, he would ransom his offences, little looking into the nature and character of his Majesty's justice and government; and, if otherwise, he would seek his fortune by flight, and new enterprises in some foreign country.

In execution therefore of these his designs, Sir Walter Raleigh, carrying the reputation of an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, and especially of a great commander at sea, (by the inticement of this golden bait of the mine, and the estimation of his own name,) drew unto him many brave captains, and other knights and gentlemen of great blood and worth, to hazard and adventure their lives, and the whole, or a great part of their estates and fortunes in this his voyage; whose ruins and decays, following, remain as sad and grievous relicks and monuments of his unfortunate journey and unfaithful proceedings.

But, before he went from London, he was not so reserved nor so constant unto his pretence of the mine, but that some sparks broke forth of that light, which afterwards appeared. For he cast forth some words to some particular friends of his company, that he knew a town in those parts, upon which he could make a saving voyage in tobacco, though there were no other spoil. Nevertheless, to make the better faith of that he had given out touching the mine, he promised his company at London, that when he came to Plymouth, he would take a great company of pioneers out of the West, where the best workmen are of that kind, and he maintained this his pretence so far, as he billeted the said pioneers for several ships; but, when he came into the west, this vanished. For it is testified of all parts, and by himself confessed, that he carried none at all; excusing it, that there were many other tall men of the mariners and common soldiers, that he would have made fall to work; which is a slender excuse of omitting so principal a point. As for pickaxes, mattocks, and shovels, for the working of the mine, it is true he carried some small quantity for a show; but, by the judgment of all that were in his company, nothing near sufficient for that which had been requisite for the working of the mine; which he

excused only by saying, that his men never saw them unpacked, and that the mine was not past a foot and a half under ground.

After, when he was once at sea, he did not much labour to nourish and maintain the belief, that he meant to make his voyage upon the profit of the mine; but fell a degree, as if it were sufficient to bring home certainty and visible proofs, that such a mine there was, though he brought not the riches of it. For, soon after his setting forth from Ireland, he professed, that if he brought home but a handful or basket-full of ore, to shew the King, he cared for no more, for it was enough to save his credit: and, being charged therewith, he confessed the speech, with this argument and inference, that, if there had been a handful of the mine, it followed there was a mine to be confessed; as if so many ships, so many lives of men, such charge of provisions, and such an honourable commission, had been but for an experiment.

About the same time, likewise, he began to forget his commission, as well as his pretences of the mine; for he did declare himself to divers of his company, that he meant to take St. Thome, and that he would make his voyage good upon that town, for that it was very rich; so as, whereas it was blown abroad, that the assault of St. Thome was enforced by a kind of necessity, for that our troops were first assailed, it appeareth manifestly, both by his speech at London, of a town indefinitely, and by this his speech early in his voyage at sea, of St. Thome by name, that it was an original design of his from the beginning; and yet, it is confessed by all, that the parts of Guiana, where St. Thome was situate, were planted by Spaniards, who had divers towns in the same tract, with some Indians intermixed, that are their vassals; so as it is plain, both place and persons were out of his commission.

And that this was well known to him, it appears notably in a letter of his own hand, written since his return from his voyage, wherein he complains, that the Spaniards of the same place did murder divers of his men, which came in peace to trade with them, some seven years past; neither doth he in that letter any way decline his knowledge, that those parts were inhabited by the Spaniards, but stands upon a former title, which he would needs now have strengthened by a new possession; notwithstanding that this his pretence is no way compatible with his commission, and that himself, before his going, made no overture, or allegation, of any such pretext; nor so much as intimated, or insinuated, any such design or purpose.

Again, before he came to the islands, he made no difficulty to tell many in express terms, that he meant to surprize and set upon the Mexico fleet, though sometimes he would qualify it, by saying: "If all failed;" or, "If the action of the mine were defeated."

And Sir Walter Raleigh himself, being charged with these speeches, confessed the words, but saith, that, in time, they were spoken after the action of the mine was defeated; and that it was propounded by him, to the end to keep his men together; and, if he spoke it before, it was but discourse at large.

After when he began to be upon the approaches of his pretended design of the mine, and was come to Trinidad, he fell sick in some extremity, and in doubt of life, as was thought; at what time he was moved, by some principal persons about him, upon two points, in case he should de cease: the one, that he would nominate a general to succeed him; the other, that he would give some direction for prosecution of the action of the mine. To the first he made answer, that his commission could not be set over, and therefore left them to agree of that among themselves; but for the mine, he professed he could give them no direction; and staid not there, but told them, there was another course which he did particularize unto them to be a French commission, whereby they might do themselves most good upon the Spaniards.

When he was upon recovery, he dispatched the land-forces pretended for the mine, and had designed Captain Sentleger to command in that expedition; but, by reason of Sentleger's infirmity at that time, he resorted to his kinsman, Captain George Raleigh, who was his serjeant-major; in whose written commission which he gave him, he was wary

enough not to express the taking of St. Thome, but only inserted a clause of commandment; 'That they should in all things obey him, as they would do to himself in person:' yet, in private directions and instructions, he did open himself to divers of his company, that in case they should not receive some advertisement, that the town was re-inforced by new supplies of men, whereby the enterprise might be of too great hazard for their number, they should take the town first; telling them, that the mine was but three miles distant short of the town, and inferring (as Kemish expounded it afterwards) that it was in vain to meddle with the mine, except the town were first taken, and the Spaniards chased; for that otherwise they should but discover it, and work it for the Spaniards: and, when he had opened himself thus far, some of his company, of the more intelligent and dutiful sort, did in plain terms turn it upon him; setting before him, that the taking of the town would break the peace, and that they should go against the commission; whereupon, most falsley and scandalously, he doubted not with confidence to affirm, that he had order by word of mouth from the King and his council, to take the town, if it were any hinderance to the digging of the mine.

But the event did sufficiently expound and manifest the direction; and yet that kind of interpretation little needed, for that young Mr. Raleigh, (who was likeliest to know his father's secret,) when he led his soldiers upon the town, used these or the like words: "Come on, my hearts, here is the mine that you must expect; they, that look for any other mine, are fools:" and, with this did well concur that which followed, in the prosecution of the mine after the town was taken; for this mine was not only imaginary, but moveable, for that, which was directed to be three miles short of St. Thome, was afterwards sought thirty miles beyond St. Thome.

All this while Sir Walter Raleigh staid at Pont de Gallo, for the space of some nine weeks; during which time, it was much noted by those that remained with him, that the speech of the mine was dead, whereas men in expectation do commonly feed themselves with the talk of that they long to hear of: nay, more, after he had received news of the taking of the town, which had been the fittest time to pursue the enterprise of the mine, (in regard the town, that might have been the impediment, was mastered,) he never entertained any such design; but contrariwise, having knowledge at the same time, that his son was slain, who, as it seems, was his only care amongst the land-soldiers, he did move very inhumanly, to remove not a little from Pont de Gallo to Pont-Hercule, in respect of the danger of the current, as he pretended, but to go for the Caribbees many leagues off; accounting, as it seemeth, the land-soldiers but as *fruges consumere natos*, and having his thoughts only upon sea-forces, which how they should have been employed, every man may judge. And whereas some pretence is made by him, as if he should leave some word at Pont de Gallo of direction to what place the land-soldiers should follow him; it is plain, he knew them at that time so distressed for victuals, as famine must have overtaken them, before they could overtake him; at which time one of his captains told him, that he had delivered out fifty-two men to that service, which were then at the enterprise on land, whose lives he held at a dear rate; and that he would not weigh anchor, as long as he had a cable to ride by, or a cake of bread to eat: so, Sir Walter Raleigh finding no consent in that which he propounded, that cruel purpose was diverted.

It was also much observed, that, after that unfortunate return of Kemish, notwithstanding Sir Walter Raleigh did publicly give out, that he would question him for failing to prosecute the mine, he had him at dinner, and supper, and used him as familiarly and as kindly as before. And to George Raleigh the serjeant-major (to whom he did use the like discountenances in public, who took it more tenderly, and complained, and brake with him about it) he did open himself more plainly, telling him, that he must seem to do as much as he did, to give satisfaction.

After all this, when the prosecution of this imaginary mine vanished, and was defeated, and that his company cast a sad eye homewards, finding they were but abused; Sir Walter Raleigh called a council of his captains, and held the same in his cabin, where he

propounded to them, that his intention and design was: First, to make to the Newfoundland, and there to revictual and refresh his ships; and thence to go to the western islands, and there to lie in wait to meet with the Mexico fleet, or to surprize some carracks; and so having gotten treasure, which might make him welcome into any foreign country, to take some new course for his future fortunes, valuing himself as a man of great enterprise and fame abroad; but then, and at divers times, he did directly, and openly declare, that it was no coming for England, for that he knew not how things would be construed, and that he, for his part, would never put his head under the King's girdle, except he first saw the great seal for his pardon.

At which time, his cogitations embracing East and West, rather than any return into his country, he did in particular make promise to a principal commander in his company, to give him a ship to go into the East-Indies, if he would accompany him thither. But, according to his first project, he went to Newfoundland, which he needed not to have done, if his purpose had been for England, for that he had victuals enough, and to spare, for that journey; and there at Newfoundland, his other company having formerly dispersed and forsaken him, his own company which was in his own ship began likewise to mutiny. And, although some old pirates, either by his inciting, or out of fear of their own case, were fierce and violent for the sea, and against the return, yet the far greater number were for the return; at which time himself got a-land, and stood upon the sea-bank, and put it to a question, "Whether they should return for England, or land at Newfoundland?" Whereupon there was a division of voices, the one part to the star-board, and the other to the lar-board; of which that part, which was for the return for England, was two parts of three, and would by no means be drawn to set foot on land, but kept themselves in the ship, where they were sure they were masters; which he perceiving, for fear of further mutiny, professed, in dissimulation, that he himself was for the return into England, and came and stood amongst them that had most voices; but, nevertheless, after that he despaired to draw his company to follow him further, he made offer of his own ship, which was of great value, to his company, if they would set him a-board a French barque. The like offer he made, when he came upon the coast of Ireland, to some of his chief officers there.

But, about the time of his arrival upon the coast of Ireland, the forcing and sacking of St. Thome, and the firing of the town, and the putting the Spaniards to the sword, was noised abroad in all parts, and was by special advertisement come unto the knowledge of the Count de Gondamore, then ambassador for the King of Spain with his Majesty, who thereupon prayed audience of his Majesty, and with great instance demanded justice against the persons, and their goods, who had committed those outrages, and made those spoils upon his Majesty's subjects, according to his Majesty's promise, and the treaty of peace. Whereupon, his Majesty published his royal proclamation for the discovery of the truth of Raleigh's proceedings, and the advancement of justice. Notwithstanding all which, his Majesty used a gracious and mild course towards Sir Walter Raleigh, sending down Sir Lewis Stukeley, vice-admiral of the county of Devon, to bring Sir Walter Raleigh, in fair manner, and, as his health would give leave, by easy journeys to London. For, about this time, Sir Walter Raleigh was come from Ireland into England, into the port of Plymouth, where it was easy to discern with what good will he came thither, by his immediate attempt to escape from thence; for, soon after his coming to Plymouth, before he was under guard, he dealt with the owner of a French barque, pretending it was for a gentleman, a friend of his, to make ready his barque for a passage, and offered him twelve crowns for his pains. And one night he went in a little boat, to have seen the barque that should have transported him: but the night being very dark, he missed of the barque, and came back again, nothing done; wherein, by the way, appears, that it was not any train laid for him by Sir Lewis Stukeley², or any other (as was voiced) to move or tempt him to an escape, but that he had a purpose to fly, and escape, from his first arrival into England.

² [Vice-admiral, &c. See a tract by him, in this Volume, the fourth from the present.]

But, in this his purpose, he grew to be more resolute and fixed, after that the lords of his Majesty's council, observing the delays in his coming up, had sent unto Stukeley some quick letters, for the hastening thereof; but thereupon, as his desire of escape increased, so did the difficulty thereof increase also; for, that Stukeley, from that time forth, kept a better guard upon him; whereof he took that apprehension, in so much, as, knowing Stukeley to be witty and watchful, he grew to an opinion that it would be impossible for him to escape, except he could win one of these two points, either to corrupt Stukeley, or at least to get to have some liberty when he came to London, of remaining in his own house; for guiltiness did tell him, that, upon his coming to London, it was like he should be laid prisoner in the Tower. Wherefore he saw no other way, but, in his journey to London, to counterfeit sickness in such a manner, as might, in commiseration of his extremity, move his Majesty to permit him to remain in his own house; where he assured himself, before long, to plot an opportunity of an escape. And having in his company, one Manoury, a Frenchman, a professor of physick, and one that had many chemical receipts, he practised by crowns, and promised to draw him into his consort, the better to make faith of his counterfeiting to be sick; the story whereof Manoury himself reported to have passed in this manner.

Upon Saturday the twenty-fifth of July, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Lewis Stukeley, and Manoury, went to lie at Master Drake's, where the letters of commission from the privy-council were brought unto Sir Lewis Stukeley, by one of his Majesty's messengers, which caused a sudden departure, with much more haste than was expected before; and the countenance of Sir Walter Raleigh was much changed, after Sir Lewis Stukeley had shewed the commission; for Manoury saw him from the stair-head, (he being alone in his chamber, the door standing half open,) how he stamped with his feet, and pulled himself by the hair, swearing in these words, "God's wounds, is it possible my fortune should return upon me thus again?"

From Master Drake's they went on their journey to the house of Master Horsey, distant from thence four miles, or thereabouts. It was in that hour that Sir Walter Raleigh began first to cause Manoury to be sounded, what was in his heart, by an old domestick of his called, Captain King; who there began to discourse unto Manoury of the infortunity of his master, and, amongst other things, said thus: "I would we were all at Paris;" to whom Manoury answered, "I would we were all at London; alas! what should we do at Paris?" "Because, (quoth King,) that as soon as we come to London, they will commit Sir Walter Raleigh to the Tower, and cut off his head:" whereupon Manoury answered, "that he hoped better than so, and that he was sorry for his ill fortune, and that, according to his small ability, he was ready to do him all honest service he could, so it might be done without offence."

After dinner, it being Sunday, Sir Walter Raleigh departed from Master Horsey's house, and went to Sherbourn; and in the way, when he came within view thereof, turning to Manoury, and shewing him the place, and the territory about it, he said unto him sighing, "that all that was his, and that the King had unjustly taken it from him." He and Stukeley lay not at Sherbourn, but were invited to the house of old Master Parham; Manoury and their train went to lie at Sherbourn, at the sign of the George. The next day, being Monday, the twenty-seventh of July, Manoury went to them, and from thence they took their way towards Salisbury, thirty-five miles from Sherbourn; and arriving there, Sir Walter Raleigh, going a-foot down the hill, addressed himself unto Manoury, and asked him, "if he had any of his vomits, or other medicines;" which he telling him that he had, he prayed him to make one ready against the next morning, and to tell no-body thereof. "I know (quoth he) that it is good for me to evacuate many bad humours, and by this means, I shall gain time to work my friends, give order for my affairs, and (it may be) pacify his Majesty before my coming to London; for I know well, that, as soon as I come there, I shall go to the Tower, and that they will cut off my head, if I use no means to escape it; which I cannot do, without counterfeiting to be sick, which your vomits will effect, without suspicion." For which cause, the same evening, as soon as he

arrived, he laid him down upon a bed, complaining much of his head, and blaming his great day's journey from Sherbourn to Salisbury, notwithstanding he supped very well; but after supper he seemed to be surprized with a dimness of sight, by a swimming or giddiness in his head, and holding his hand before his face, he rose from his bed; and, being led by the arm by Sir Lewis Stukeley, he staggered so, that he struck his head with some violence against a post of the gallery before his chamber; which made Sir Lewis Stukeley think, that he was sick indeed; in which belief Manoury left him for that time.

The next day, in the morning, he sent the lady his wife, and most of his servants, to London, and also Captain King; and, Cuthbert, and Manoury, and Sir Lewis Stukeley, being in Stukeley's chamber, a servant of Sir Walter, named Robin, came and told them, "that his master was out of his wits, and that he was naked in his shirt upon all fours, scratching and biting the rushes upon the planks;" which greatly pitied Sir Lewis Stukeley, who, rising in haste, sent Manoury to him; who, when he came, found him gotten again to his bed; and asking him what he ailed, he answered, "he ailed nothing, but that he did it for the purpose." And, Sir Walter Raleigh asking him for his vomit, he gave it him; who made no bones, but swallowed it down incontinently. At which time, Sir Lewis Stukeley coming in, Sir Walter began again to cry and rave; then Manoury went out of the chamber, and the vomit, which he had given him, was an hour and a half before it wrought; but in the mean time Sir Walter Raleigh began to draw up his legs and arms all on a heap, as it had been in a fit of convulsions, and contractions of his sinews; and that with such vehemency, that Sir Lewis Stukeley had much ado, with the help of others, to pull out straight, sometimes an arm, sometimes a leg; which, against all the strength they had, he would draw up again as it was before; whereat the said Sir Lewis Stukeley took great compassion, causing him to be well rubbed and chafed; which Sir Walter Raleigh himself afterwards told unto Manoury, laughing that he had well exercised Sir Lewis Stukeley, and taught him to be a physician.

This feigned fit being thus past, Sir Walter Raleigh called Manoury, and, when he came, he prayed him to stay by him, and said he would take some rest. Manoury shut the door, and, being alone with him, Sir Walter Raleigh told him, that his vomit had done nothing as yet, and said, that he would take another more violent; but Manoury assuring him, that without doubt it would work, he contented himself, and asked Manoury if he could invent any thing, that might make him look horrible and loathsome outwardly, without offending his principal parts, or making him sick inwardly? Manoury studied a little, and then told him, that he would make a composition presently, of certain things which would make him like a leper from head to foot, without doing him any harm, which at his entreaty he effected speedily: at which time Sir Walter Raleigh gave him the reason why he did it; telling him, that his being in that case would make the lords of the council afraid to come near him, and move them with more pity to favour him. Soon after that Manoury had put this composition upon his brow, his arms, and his breast, Sir Lewis Stukeley came into the chamber, and Manoury went away; and, Sir Lewis Stukeley perceiving the places where Manoury had put this composition to be all pimpled, his face full of great blisters of divers colours, having in the midst a little touch of yellow, and round about like a purple colour, and all the rest of his skin as it were inflamed with heat, he began to apprehend the danger of the disease, that it was contagious; and, being very much astonished at the sudden accident, he asked Manoury what he thought thereof; but Manoury judged it fit to conceal it from him at that time, seeing Sir Walter Raleigh had not yet told him, that he meant to fly out of England, but that it was only to gain time to satisfy his Majesty.

Upon Manoury's uncertain answer to Sir Lewis Stukeley touching Sir Walter Raleigh's malady, Stukeley resolved to go to my Lord Bishop of Ely (now of Winchester), to relate unto him in what case Sir Walter Raleigh was, and brought unto Raleigh two physicians, to see and visit him; who, being come, could tell nothing of what humour the said sickness was composed. There came also a third, a batchelor in physick; who all could not,

by all that they could do, discover this disease; only they gave their opinion and advice, that the patient could not be exposed to the air, without manifest peril of his life; and thereof they made their report in writing, unto which Manoury also set his hand.

Sir Walter Raleigh, seeing that all these things fell out according to his intention, was exceedingly contented thereat, especially that, in the presence of the said physicians, the vomit began to work both upwards and downwards. And, because he doubted that the physicians would ask to see his water, he prayed Manoury to do something to make it seem troubled and bad; which to content him, giving him the urinal into his bed, Manoury rubbed the inside of the glass with a certain drug, which as soon as he had made water therein, the urine, even in the hands of the physicians, turned all into an earthy humour, of a blackish colour, and made the water also to have an ill savour; which made the physicians judge the disease to be mortal, and without remedy, but from Heaven.

He made Manoury also to tie his arms about with black silk ribband, which he took from his poniard, to try if it would distemper the pulse; but that succeeded not, as he thought it would. The day following, he called Manoury, and prayed him to make some more such blisters upon him; as, upon his nose, his head, his thighs, and his legs; which Manoury having done, it succeeded according to his desire: for which he was very jocund and merry with Manoury, and said unto him, that the evacuation, which his physick had caused, had so opened his stomach, that he was exceeding hungry, and prayed Manoury, that he would go and buy him some meat secretly; "for, (quoth he) if I eat publicly, it will be seen that I am not sick:" so, according to his request, Manoury went to the Whitehart in Salisbury, and bought him a leg of mutton and three loaves, which he eat in secret; and by this subtlety it was thought that he lived three days without eating, but not without drink. Thus he continued until Friday, the last of July, seeming always to be sick in the presence of company; and nevertheless, being alone, he writ his declaration or apology, and prayed Manoury to transcribe it, which was since presented to his Majesty.

The same evening, Sir Lewis Stukeley discoursing upon his sickness, and whence it should proceed, Sir Walter Raleigh said in these words, "As God save me, I think I have taken poison where I lay the night before I came to this town. I know that Mr. Parham is a great lover of the King of Spain, and a papist, and that he keeps always a priest in his house; but I will not have any of you speak of it, nor you, Monsieur," (quoth he) speaking to Manoury. Also Sir Walter Raleigh, his chamber-doors being shut, walked up and down, and only Manoury with him, there naked in his shirt; and took a looking-glass, and looking upon the spots in his face, whereat he took great pleasure, and laughing, said unto Manoury these words, "We shall laugh well one day, for having thus cozened and beguiled the King, his council, and the physicians, and the Spaniards and all."

Upon the Saturday that his Majesty arrived at Salisbury, which was the first of August, Sir Walter Raleigh desired to speak with Manoury in secret, and seemed to have a very great apprehension of something; and, having made him shut the doors, prayed him to give him a red leathern coffer, which was within another coffer; which when he had, he was a good while looking in it, and then called Manoury, and, putting nine pieces of Spanish money of gold into his hand, he said thus: "There is twenty crowns in pistolets, which I give you for your physical receipts, and the victuals you bought me; and I will give you fifty pounds a year, if you will do that which I shall tell you; and, if it happen that Sir Lewis Stukeley do ask you, what conference you had with me, tell him, that you comfort me in my adversity, and that I make you no other answer than thus, as is here written." Which he had already written with his own hand, in a little piece of paper, for Manoury's instruction, as followeth:

'Vela M. Manoury l'acceptance de tout mes travaux, pertie de mon estat, et de mon fils, mes maladies et douleurs. Vela l'effect de mon confidence au Roy.' Which paper of Raleigh's hand-writing Manoury produced.

And now Sir Walter Raleigh began to practise with Manoury, and to tell him, that he would fly and get himself out of England, and that if Manoury would aid him in his escape,

it was all in his power; and that Sir Lewis Stukeley trusted in nobody but Manoury. Whereupon, Manoury made him an overture, that at his coming to London, he should keep himself close in a friend's house of Manoury's, in Sheere-lane, in London; whereunto he seemed to incline, and found Manoury's advice good for a while: but, in the end, he told him, that he was resolved otherwise, and that he had already sent Capt. King to hire him a barque below Gravesend, which would go with all winds, and another little boat to carry him to it. "For, (quoth he,) to hide myself in London, I should be always in fear to be discovered by the general searchers that are there; but, to escape, I must get leave to go to my house, and, being there, I will handle the matter so, that I will escape out of the hands of Sir Lewis Stukeley by a back-door, and get me into the boat; for nobody will doubt that I can go on foot, seeing me so feeble, as I seem to be." And then, Raleigh having mused a while, without speaking, Manoury asked him, "Sir, wherefore will you fly? Your apology, and your last declaration, do not they justify you sufficiently?" Then, all in choler, Raleigh answered him in English, thus: "Never tell me more; a man that fears, is never secure." Which fashion of his put Manoury to silence, for that time.

Now there rested nothing but his Majesty's licence to permit him to go to his own house; without which, he said, he could not possibly escape. This licence was after granted him, by the means of master Vice-chamberlain, and master Secretary Naunton; which being obtained, Manoury took occasion to say to him, "That hereby one might see, that his Majesty had no meaning to take his life, seeing that he suffered him to go to his own house to recover his health." "No, (quoth Raleigh) they used all these kinds of flatteries to the Duke of Byron, to draw him fairly to the prison, and then they cut off his head: I know that they have concluded amongst them, that it is expedient that a man should die, to re-assure the traffick, which I have broken in Spain." And thereupon broke forth into most hateful and traitorous words against the King's own person, ending in a menace and bravery, "That, if he could save himself for that time, he would plot such plots, as should make the King think himself happy to send for him again, and render him his estate with advantage; yea, and force the King of Spain to write into England in his favour."

Manoury, at that time, did ask him further, "If he escaped, what should become of Sir Lewis Stukeley? And whether he should be put to death for him, or not? And whether he should lose his office and estate?" "Not to death, (quoth Raleigh,) but he will be imprisoned for a while; but his lands the King cannot have, for that they are already assured to his eldest son; and, for the rest, it was no part of his care." Manoury further asked him, "If it were not treason in himself to be aiding to his escape?" "No, (quoth he,) for that you are a stranger; nevertheless, you must not be known of any thing, for then you will be sure to be put in prison." In conclusion, Manoury demanded of him yet further, "But what if it be discovered, that I had any hand in your escape?" "Why (quoth he) follow me into France, that is your country;" and quit all, and I will make you amends for all.

After, Raleigh went on his journey to Andover, and so to Hertford-bridge, and from thence to Staines; during which time, Sir Lewis Stukeley, being made acquainted by Manoury with Raleigh's purpose to escape, used extraordinary diligence in guards and watches upon him. Which Raleigh perceiving, said to Manoury, at Staines: "I perceive well, it is not possible for me to escape by our two means alone; Stukeley is so watchful, and sets such strait guard upon me, and will be too hard for us, for all our cunning: therefore there is no way, but to make him of our council; and, if we can persuade him to let me save myself, I will give him in hand two-hundred pounds sterling worth." And thereupon, drew forth a jewel, and shewed it to Manoury, and gave it into his hand, made in the fashion of hail, powdered ³ with diamonds, with a ruby in the midst, which he va-

³ [i. e. set or sprinkled.]

lued at an hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and said: "Besides this jewel, he shall have fifty pounds in money; I pray you, go tell him so from me, and persuade him to it; I know he will trust you."

Manoury went presently to Stukeley, and told him as before; and concluded with him, that Manoury should report back to Raleigh, that he would accept of his offer; and bade him tell Raleigh also, that he was content to do as he desired, but he would choose rather to go away with him, than to tarry behind with shame and reproach. And he bade Manoury ask him further, "How he thought he could do this, without losing his office of vice-admiral, which cost him six-hundred pounds? And how they should live afterwards? And to what place they should go? And what means he would carry with him, to furnish this intended journey?" Which Manoury did, and was answered by the said Raleigh; and prayed to tell Stukeley, that if he would swear unto him not to discover him, he would tell him his whole intent; and that, for the first point, though Stukeley should lose his office, yet he should be no loser upon the matter; and, for afterwards, as soon as he was gotten into France or Holland, his wife was to send him a thousand pounds sterling, and that he carried with him only a thousand crowns, in money and jewels, to serve him for the present in escape. But, after supper, Raleigh said unto Manoury, "Oh, if I could escape without Stukeley, I should do bravely. But it is no matter (said he) I'll carry him along; and afterwards I'll dispatch myself of him well enough." And after, Manoury (relating all that had passed to Stukeley) brought them together: at which time, Raleigh shewed the jewel to Stukeley, and he (making shew to be content) prayed him a little respite to dispose of his office. Whereupon, Manoury, seeing them so accorded upon the matter, in appearance, took his leave of them to go to London; and, in the morning, Manoury, upon the taking of his leave, said to Raleigh, "That he did not think to see him again, while he was in England." Whereupon, Raleigh gave him a letter, directed to mistress Herry's of Radford, that she should deliver him an iron furnace, with a distillatory of copper belonging unto it; and charged him to tell every man he met, that he was sick, and that he left him in an extreme looseness that very night.

But Raleigh, having formerly dispatched a messenger to London, to prepare him a barque for his escape, came at last to London; and, having won his purpose (by these former devices of feigned sickness) to be spared from imprisonment in the Tower, and to be permitted to remain at his own house, till his better recovery; there fell out an accident, which gave him great hopes and encouragement speedily to facilitate his intended design for escape. For, as he came on his way to London, in his inn at Brentford, there came unto him a Frenchman, named La Chesnay, (a follower of Le Clere, last agent here for his Majesty's dearest brother, the French King;) who told him, that the French agent was very desirous to speak with him, as soon as might be after his arrival at London, for matters greatly concerning the said Walter's weal and safety: as in effect it fell out, that the very next night after his arrival at London, the said Le Clere and La Chesnay came unto him to his house; and there did the said Le Clere offer unto him a French barque, which he had prepared for him to escape in, and withal, his letters recommendatory for his safe conduct and reception to the governor of Calais; and to send a gentleman expressly, that should attend and meet him there. To which offer of his, Raleigh (after some questions passed) finding the French barque not to be so ready nor so fit, as that himself had formerly provided, gave him thanks, and told him, that he would make use of his own barque; but for his letters, and the rest of his offer, he should be beholden to him, because his acquaintance in France was worn out. So passionately bent was he upon his escape, that he did not forbear to trust his life, and to communicate a secret importing him so near, upon his first acquaintance, and unto a stranger, whom he hath since confessed that he never saw before. And thus, after two nights stay, the third night he made an actual attempt to escape, and was in a boat towards his ship; but was by Stukeley arrested, brought back, and delivered into the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower.

For these his great and heinous offences, in acts of hostilities upon his Majesty's confederates, depredations, and abuses, as well of his commission, as of his Majesty's subjects

under his charge, impostures, attempts of escape, declining his Majesty's justice, and the rest, evidently proved, or confessed by himself, he had made himself utterly unworthy of his Majesty's further mercy. And, because he could not, by law, be judicially called in question, (for that his former attainder of treason is the highest and last work of the law, whereby he was *civiliter mortuus*,) his Majesty was forced, except attainders should become privileges for all subsequent offences, to resolve to have him executed upon his former attainder.

His Majesty's just and honourable proceedings being thus made manifest to all his good subjects, by this preceding declaration, not founded upon conjectures or likelihoods, but either upon confession of the party himself, or upon the examination of divers unsuspected witnesses, he leaves it to the world to judge, how he could either have satisfied his own justice, (his honourable intentions having been so perverted and abused by the said Sir Walter Raleigh,) or yet make the uprightness of the same his intentions appear to his dearest brother the King of Spain; if he had not, by a legal punishment of the offender, given an example, as well of terror to all his other subjects, not to abuse his gracious meanings, in taking contrary courses for the attaining to their own unlawful ends; as also of demonstration to all other foreign princes and states, whereby they might rest assured of his Majesty's honourable proceeding with them, when any the like case shall occur. By which means, his Majesty may the more assuredly expect and claim an honourable concurrence, and a reciprocal correspondence from them upon any the like occasion. But, as to Sir Walter Raleigh's confession at his death, what he confessed or denied, touching any the points of this declaration, his Majesty leaves him and his conscience therein to God; as was said in the beginning of this discourse. For sovereign princes cannot make a true judgment, upon the bare speeches, or asseverations, of a delinquent, at the time of his death; but their judgment must be founded upon examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments, and such like real proofs, as all this former discourse is made up of, and built upon; all the material and most important of the said examinations being taken under the hands of the examiners that could write, and that in the presence of no fewer than six of his Majesty's privy-council, and attested by their alike several subscriptions under their hands; which were my Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Verulam, Lord Chancellor of England, the Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy-Seal, Master Secretary Naunton, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir Edward Coke.

A Narrative of the Imprisonment and Usage of Col. John Hutchinson, of Owthorp, in the County of Nottingham, Esq. now close Prisoner in the Tower of London. Written by himself, on the Sixth of April, 1664; having then received Intimation that he was to be sent away to another Prison; and therefore he thought fit to print this, for the Satisfying his Relations and Friends of his Innocence.

‘ Let the Proud be ashamed, for they deal perversely with me, without a Cause; but I will meditate in thy Precepts.’ Psalm cxix. 78.

Printed in the Year 1664.

[Quarto, containing Twelve Pages.]

The following Narrative¹, being written with an air of the strictest veracity, ought to be preserved among the other materials for history, which we accumulate in these Collections; as it affords a very just idea of the methods of justice, which were at that time in use, and may assist our readers in forming a judgment of the reign of Charles the Second.

One advantage, at least, will be afforded by the perusal of this piece; the reader, amidst this indignation at the cruelties, and his pity of the hardships, which are here recounted, cannot fail to congratulate himself upon the happiness of living at a time, when no such miseries are to be felt, or such practices to be feared.———J.*

UPON the eleventh day of October, 1663, being the Lord’s-day, about seven of the clock at night, there being at that time no one person but my own family in the house with me, a party of horse came to my house at Owthorp in Nottinghamshire, commanded by one Coronet Atkinson; who told me, I must immediately go with him to Newark. I demanded to see his warrant; and, after some dispute, he shewed me a scrip of paper, signed by Mr. Francis Leke, one of the deputy-lieutenants, to this effect, as near as I can remember, for he would not give me a copy of it.

‘ To Coronet Atkinson.

‘ YOU are hereby required, to repair to the house of John Hutchinson, Esq. at Owthorp, with a party of horse, and him to seize and bring forthwith to Newark; and to search the said house for what arms you can find, and bring them away also.’

Having shewed me this order, they searched the house, and found no arms, but four birding-guns of my sons, which hung openly in the kitchen, and them at that time they left; but although the night was very foul and rainy, and I myself was not at that time well, and had not any accommodation for riding, neither of horses, saddles, or other necessities, not having been on horseback for many months before; and though I and my family urged these reasons to them, offering all civil entertainment, if they would but have stayed till the next morning, when I might have gone with the less hazard of my life and health; yet could I not prevail with them: but he forced me to borrow horses, and

¹ [Another narrative of the transactions here recorded, will be found in the interesting Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, written by his widow, and recently published from her original MS. by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson, who seems not to have been aware of the present corroborative statement.]

go out of my house at midnight; and, about four of the clock the next morning, they brought me to the Talbot at Newark; which is twelve miles distant from my house, and set two sentinels upon me in my chamber.

While I was thus kept prisoner at Newark, a greater party of horse than that which fetched me, was sent again to my house at Owthorp, under the command of Tomson the innkeeper where I lay; who, on Tuesday the 13th of October at night, came thither, and made a stricter search all over the house, in every box and trunk, in all the barns, mows, and every hole they could imagine, yet found no more arms than the four guns, which the former party left behind them, but these took away; the rest of the arms, which I had of old, having been all taken away immediately after the act of Oblivion past, which, as I conceive, left me as rightful a possessor of my own goods, as any other Englishman; yet, when I was at London, Mr. Cecil Cooper sent a party of soldiers, and took them all out of my house, leaving me not so much as a sword, though at that time there was no prohibition of my wearing one.

Having been removed out of the chamber where I was first lodged at Tomson's, into a very bad room, (upon pretence that the other looked into the market-place,) I received many more insolences and affronts from the drunken host, till at length I was resolved to bear them no longer; seeing, although I had now been four days at Newark, neither the gentleman by whose warrant I was fetched, though he came every day to the house where I was; nor any of the King's officers came at me, to let me know why I was kept there. Whereupon, being provoked by the insolence of the host to throw something at his head; upon the bustle between us, Mr. Leke came in, and I had then opportunity to tell him that I stood upon my justification, and desired to know my crime, and my accuser; and in the mean time, that I might be kept as safe as they pleased, so I might be delivered out of the hands of this insolent fellow, and have accommodation fit for a gentleman: which when they saw I would no longer want, with much difficulty, after two days, I obtained to be removed to the next inn, where I was civilly treated, with guards still remaining upon me.

On Monday, October the nineteenth, Mr. Leke carried me with a guard of horse to Welbeck, the Marquis of Newcastle's house, where I was honourably entertained by the Marquis; who, upon discourse with me, told me, he heard I desired to know my accuser, which, he said, he knew no more than I: and my Lord (upon the arguments I alleged to him, to evince my innocence, being persuaded of it,) sent me back without a guard, only engaging me to stay one week at home at my own house, in which space, if I heard no more from him, I might be free to go whither I would. I was not willing to have accepted this favour, but rather desired to stay in custody till my accuser was produced, and I could clear myself; but, my Lord pressing it upon me, I could not refuse it: so that night I returned to Newark, and the next day to my own house, where I stayed only till Thursday the twenty-second; on which day, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, I was fetched again prisoner by a party of horse, commanded by Corporal Wilson, with a warrant signed by Mr. Leke, and brought again to Newark to Mr. Twentimans, (where I was last quartered,) and two sentinels again set upon me.

The twenty-third, Mr. Leke came to me, and shewed me a letter he had received from the Marquis of Newcastle, acquainting him, he was sorry he could not pursue the civility he intended me, having received orders from the Duke of Buckingham, that I should be kept prisoner, without pen, ink, or paper; and, to shew the reality of this, there was a copy of the letter that brought the order to the Marquis, wherein there was an expression to this effect: 'That, though the Duke could not make it out as yet, he was confident he should find me to be in the plot.' After Mr. Leke had communicated this to me, he told me, that he himself was to go to London, and the Mayor of Newark was to take me into his charge.

After he was gone from me, the Mayor sent one Robert Beck to tell me, I must go along with him to his house. I asked him who he was; he told me, he was the jailor. I asked if his house were the jail; he told me it had prisoners in it. I asked him what warrant,

mittimus, or order, he had to take me into his custody, as his prisoner; he told me, he had none in writing, but the Mayor's verbal order. I told him, I would not go to jail upon a verbal order; for no magistrate could send me to jail without a mittimus, expressing some crime, as the cause of his so doing; and therefore I desired him to return to the Mayor, and wish him to consider what he did, and to take counsel of any of the lawyers in his own town, whether he could legally carry me to the jail, without calling me before him, or having any complaint against me. But he was resolved, right or wrong, I should go thither; and, after many vain messages to intreat me to go, when I would not be persuaded to it voluntarily, he sent five constables, without any warrant, but his own word, to seize and carry me by force. I admonished them also of their illegal violence upon me; but they were bold to affront the laws, and forced me out of my quarters, along the streets, and into the jail; where I again told the jailor what danger of the law he incurred, by receiving and detaining me prisoner; and asked him if he had any mittimus under any magistrate's hand, to take me into his custody as prisoner? He told me, he had none but the Mayor's verbal order, and he must do it, for the Mayor had promised to bear him out; which I desired the constables, soldiers, and the rest of the company to bear witness of; how that, without any legal commitment, I was forced into the jail, where afterwards the fellow used me, for the time I stayed, as civilly as his house would afford; but, by reason of the plaister-floors, which I was not used to, I fell sick there, where I remained, from Friday at night, October the twenty-third, till Wednesday the twenty-eighth, about ten of the clock in the morning.

Upon the twenty-seventh, Mr. Leke came to me at the jail, and with him the Marquis of Newcastle's secretary, and told me the Marquis had received express orders from the King, to send me up in safe custody to London. But Mr. Leke, finding me very ill, was so civil as to allow me to go up to London by my own house (which was near a road), that I might take accommodations for my journey, and be carried up in my own coach, without which, I had not been able to have gone at that time. Mr. Leke himself, being necessitated to make more haste, went away before the party of horse, that was to guard me up, came into Newark; and left his orders for sending me away with Mr. Atkinson, who first seized me prisoner.

The same twenty-seventh of October, another party of horse came again late in the night to my house, and searched my papers, my wife and I being both at Newark; what cabinets they found not the keys of, they broke open.

On the twenty-eighth, in order to my going to London, I was brought by Beck the jailor back to Twentiman's, to be delivered to the party of horse that was to guard me to London. But, they coming very slowly and unwillingly upon that account, I remained all that day in the custody of the jailor at the inn. At night when I was in bed, the Mayor, being in his cups, sent to command me to be carried back to the jail; but the jailor being then more civil and wise, knowing that I had been some time in bed, refused to disturb me, and offered that he, and his man, would sit up as a guard upon me; which would not satisfy, but they sent two soldiers to be set at my door. The next day, the party commanded to guard me up, not being come into Newark; a mean fellow, which was to command them, came and told me, I must go another way, and not by my own house, nor have the privilege of being carried by my own coach, which Mr. Leke had allowed me. Whereupon I sent to Mr. Atkinson, who had the order from Mr. Leke to send me away, and he having been formerly a great prosecutor of me, though unsuccessfully, to have broken the act of Oblivion upon me. Whether malice, or ignorance how to behave himself, or vexation to find the country so unready in this service, moved him to it, I know not; but he was so obstinate, in a peevish cross humour, to have cut me off from all the humanity that Mr. Leke had shewed me; that, although Mr. Cecil Cooper, and Mr. Penistone Whalley, one a deputy-lieutenant, and both justices of the peace of the county, persuaded him all they could; yet no reasonable thing could be obtained from him, till I (growing as resolute as he) was dispatching a post to the Marquis of Newcastle, to entreat a countermand of his barbarism, who would have forced me on

horse-back when I was so ill that I could not have ridden one stage, without manifest hazard of never being able to ride another. At length, by the renewed civil interposition of Mr. Cooper, he was over-ruled to condescend, that some of the horse appointed for my guard being come in, I should go with them to my own house that night, and there expect the rest the next morning. This contest ending about sun-set, the twenty-ninth day I was brought out of Newark, and the coach overthrown and broken in the night, so that I was forced to stay the next day at Owthorp to mend it; and, on Saturday the thirty-fifth, was brought to Stamford, where I would have rested the Sabbath-day; but, they not suffering me, on Tuesday the third of November, I was brought to the Crown in Holbourn, and the next morning received by Mr. Leke, and immediately carried, with part of the guard that brought me up, to the Tower of London; and, by the same Mr. Leke (now Sir Francis Leke) delivered there a prisoner, by a warrant signed by Secretary Bennet, bearing date the twenty-fifth of October; wherein I stood committed close prisoner for treasonable practices, although the Secretary had never seen nor examined me, nor any other magistrate, to know whether or no I could clear myself from the charge of treasonable practices, if there were any such given against me.

On Friday, November the sixth, I was sent for by Secretary Bennet to his lodgings at White-Hall, which was the first time I was examined; and the questions he asked me were,

1. "Where I had lived these four or five months?"

I answered, "Constantly at my own house in Nottinghamshire."

2. "What company used to resort to my house?"

I told him, "None, not so much as my nearest relations scarce ever saw me."

3. "What company I frequented?"

I told him, "None, for I never stirred out of my own house to visit any."

He said, "That was very much."

4. "Whether I knew Mr. Henry Nevil?"

I answered, "Very well."

He asked, "When I saw him?"

I said, "To my best remembrance, never since the King came in."

Then he asked, "When I writ to him?"

I said, "Never in my life."

"When he writ to me?"

I said, "Never."

"Whether any messages had passed from him to me, or me to him?"

I answered, "None at all."

5. "Whether none had ever moved any thing concerning a republick to me?"

I told him, "I knew none so indiscreet."

6. "What children I had?"

I told him, "Four sons and four daughters."

"What age my sons were?"

I told him, "Two were at man's estate, two little children."

7. "Where I went to church to hear divine service, common-prayer?"

I told him, "No where; for I never stirred out of my own house."

"Whether I had it not read there?"

I answered ingenuously, "No."

"How I then did for my soul's comfort?"

To which I answered, "Sir, I hope you will leave that for me to account between God and my own soul."

He then told me, "I had cut him off of many questions he should have asked me, by my answer to these; and I might return."

So I was sent back again to the Tower, with two of the warders which brought me thither to guard me.

Not long after, at the same time, when Mr. Waters (who was brought prisoner to the Tower out of Yorkshire) was sent for to Whitehall, I was also in very great haste carried thither; but with a stronger guard, and greater formality and strictness, than before; for now I had not only the deputy-lieutenant, and my own keeper, but a guard of musketeers by water with me; and, when I came to land at Whitehall-stairs, there was ready an officer, one Mr. Andrews, to receive me; who, with a file or two of musketeers, carried me to Sir Henry Bennet's lodgings; and there I observed a great deal of care to place the guard at the outward door in the court, that none might peep in, except some few gentlemen, who were admitted to stare me in the face; none being in the room, except Mr. Andrews and myself, for a long time, till at last my keeper thrust in. In which room I thus stayed two hours, concluding that I should now be confronted by some accuser, or at least have an examination more tending to treasonable practices than my first seemed to do; especially understanding that Mr. Waters had been some hours before in the house, and was yet there: but, at last, out comes Mr. Secretary Bennet, who calling a little aside to the window, from Mr. Andrews and my keeper, says, "Mr. Hutchinson, you have now been some days prisoner, have you recollected yourself any thing more that you have to say, than when I last spoke to you?"

To whom I answered, "That I had nothing to recollect, nor more to say."

"Are you sure of it?" said he.

I replied, "Very sure."

"Then, (said he,) you must return to prison."

And accordingly I was carried by the same guard back again to the Tower; where I have ever since been kept close prisoner, with all imaginable strictness, to the ruin of my health and all my affairs.

After Michellmas term had thus past; in the beginning of Candlemas term, I sent my wife to Sir Henry Bennet, to acquaint him what infinite prejudice this close imprisonment was to me, by reason of a mortgage upon my estate, and the advantage that my tenants and all other people made of my close restraint; which hindered me from speaking to my lawyers and others, that it nearly concerned me, to treat with, about my affairs: but the Secretary told her, "that I was a very unhappy person, in regard of my former crimes." To which she answered, "she esteemed me very happy, in that I was comprised in the act of Oblivion." But, he with a doubled reflection on my former crimes, notwithstanding she had put him in mind of the act of Oblivion, said, "He should not move the King to allow me any more liberty, unless he could be secured, it might be more safe for his Majesty, than he could apprehend it." After such a real necessity, as she made it appear to him there was, of suffering persons to come to me, to treat of the concerns of my estate; it bootied her not, to urge the danger of my health, and all other inconveniences which I suffered, by being forced to make provision for my dispersed family in three places, the intolerable charge of it, and the impossibility of procuring supplies, while I was kept thus. All this was neglected, and wrought no other effect, but to turn the undeserved oppressions I groan under, into as unjust a reproach upon me.

I had not written this narrative, but that I understand now (after twenty-two weeks close imprisonment in the Tower), instead of being brought to a legal trial, or set at liberty, I am to be removed from hence to another prison; and though the form and date of the warrant of my commitment close prisoner to the Tower of London, compared with the day of my first being brought to town, together with the times and manner of my examinations by Mr. Secretary Bennet, did clearly let me see, how it was resolved I should be disposed of; before it could possibly be known whether I should appear guilty or innocent, if any accusation was given in against me; not having at that time, nor till some days after I had been close prisoner in the Tower, ever been examined by any man: yet it being still more manifest, by assigning me to a prison, in a place so remote from my family and affairs, and so dangerous to my infirm constitution, (to say nothing of the intolerable charge,) as that is, to which I hear I must go; and indeed, neither this where

yet I am, whilst I am close kept up, nor scarce any other isle or castle that I know of, will be much less mischievous to me in those respects. I hold it a duty I owe to my own innocence, to publish this narrative, whether I be sent away, or stay in this prison; it being equally destructive to my life and family; leaving my blood, if thus spilt, and the ruin of my family, thus occasioned, to cry to Heaven for that justice, which I am not thought worthy of here. And whilst I am yet suffered to breathe, having no other refuge on earth; putting up my petitions to the great Judge of heaven and earth, as one not without hope in God, in the words of the prophet David, Psalm xliii. 'Judge me, O God, and plead my cause,' &c.

From the Tower of London, April 6, at night, 1664.

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

A true Report of the Arraignment, Tryall, Conviction, and Condemnation, of a Popish Priest, named Robert Drewrie; at the Sessions-house in the Old Baylie, on Friday and Wednesday, the Twentieth and Twenty-fourth of February; the extraordinary great Grace and Mercie offered him, and his stubborne, traytorous, and willfull Refusall. Also the Tryall and Death of Humphrey Lloyd, for maliciouslie Murdering one of the Guard. And, lastly, the Execution of the said Robert Drewrie, drawn in his Priestly Habit, and as he was a Benedictine Fryer, on Thursdaie following to Tiborne, where he was hanged and quartered.

London, printed for Jefferie Chorlton, and are to be sold at his Shop adjoyning to the great North Door of Paules, MDCVII.

[Quarto, black letter, containing four Sheets.]

The following account of a priest, who chose rather to die than to take the oath of allegiance to King James the First, (an oath, which many of the secular priests publicly defended, and which very few of the laity refused,) is in itself very remarkable; nor can it be doubted that his firmness will be applauded by some, and his bigotry severely censured by others.

But it will be thought by the reader still more extraordinary, when he has been told, what the author of this narrative does not seem to have known, that this priest was, in some degree, the author of that oath, which he died for refusing.

In the year 1602, a considerable number of the secular priests, who had for some time publicly opposed the principles, and condemned the practices of the Jesuits, resolved yet farther to distinguish themselves from them, by a solemn and authentic protestation of their fidelity and allegiance, and therefore drew up an instrument, by which they confessed: 'That they were all liable by the laws of the land to death, by their coming into the kingdom, after their taking the order of priesthood since the first year of her Majesty's reign; but that,

‘ *whereas it hath pleased their dread Sovereign Lady to take some notice of the faith and loyalty of them, her natural born subjects, secular priests; and her princely clemency hath given a sufficient earnest of some merciful favour towards them, and only demanded of them a true profession of their allegiance, thereby to be assured of their fidelity to her Majesty’s person, crown, estate, and dignity; they whose names are thereunder written, in most humble wise prostrate at her Majesty’s feet, do acknowledge themselves infinitely bound unto her Majesty therefore, and are most willing to give such assurance and satisfaction in this point, as any Catholic priests can or ought unto their sovereign.*’

They then proceed thus :

- I. ‘ *Therefore we acknowledge and confess the Queen’s Majesty to have as full authority, power, and sovereignty over us, and over all the subjects of this realm, as any her Highness’s predecessors ever had.*
- II. ‘ *Whereas, for these many years past, divers conspirators against her Majesty’s person and estate, and other forcible attempts for invading and conquering her dominions, have been made, we know not under what pretence or intendments of restoring the Catholic religion by the sword (a course most strange in the world, and undertaken solely and peculiarly against her Majesty and her kingdoms, amongst other princes departed from the religion and obedience of the See-apostolic no less than she). by reason of which violent enterprises, her Majesty, otherwise of singular clemency towards her subjects, hath been greatly moved to ordain and execute severer laws against Catholicks (which, by reason of their union with the Apostolic-see, in faith and religion, were easily supposed to favour these conspiracies and invasions) than, perhaps, had ever been enacted or thought upon, if such hostility and wars had never been undertaken; we, to assure her Majesty of our most faithful loyalty also in this particular cause, do sincerely protest, and by this our public fact make known, to all the Christian world, that in these cases of conspiracies, of practising her Majesty’s death, of invasion,’ &c.*

They then declared their abhorrence of all such practices and all treasons, and made very solemn protestations of their fidelity and allegiance.

*From this declaration, which was signed by Robert Drewry, and twelve others, was the oath of allegiance formed; by which the government intended not so much to distinguish Protestants from Papists, as one kind of Papists from another. But Robert Drewry, who had signed the declaration in 1602, chose, in 1607, rather to suffer death, than to take the oath.—J.**

A true Report of the Apprehension, Examination, Arraignment, Tryall, Conviction, and Condemnation of Robert Drewrie, a Seminary Priest, and a Fryer, of the Order of Saint Benedict, at the Sessions-house in the Old Baily, on Friday and Wednesday the Twentieth and Twenty-fifth of February. And, lastly, his Execution at Tyborne, on Thursday following, &c.

IN a case deserving so well to be spoken off, concerning injury to God’s glory, and apparant wrong of our countrey (over-run with so many men of such dangerous quality)—I thought it the duty of an honest subject, to say somewhat, so farre as truth would warrant me, because slaunder and detraction are no meane enemies to such maner of proceedings.

Robert Drewrie being apprehended by his Majestie’s messengers at the White-Fryers, and afterward brought before the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord-Bishop of

London; declared himselfe there, as Garnet, his maister, had done before, *multorum nomen*, 'to be a man of many names,' but yet no one of them being good. For, as no lesse than sixe severall names would serve Garnet's turne, so this man had three to shadow him by, viz. Drewrie, Browne, and Hamden; but Drewrie was the last in his owne delivering, and appearing to be his true name indeede.

His aunswers were equivocall and very confused, denying his priesthoode, and seeming so cunning, as if no hold were to be taken of him. But he being better known to the state then himself imagined, and his many daungerous practises sufficiently discovered and scanned; after such private examinations as were thought convenient, time was appointed for his publike tryall, which followed as heereafter shall be declared.

On Friday, being the 20th day of February, in the forenoone, my Lord Mayor, Maister Recorder, and other of his Majestie's justices of the peace, sitting at the Sessions-house in the Old-Baily, by vertue of his Highnesse commission of Oyer and Terminer, for goale deliverie, for London, and the county of Middlesex; Robert Drewrie, priest, and a fryer of the Benedictine order, was brought before the bench. His enditement, according to forme of lawe in that case made and provided, was openly read unto him; whereunto he pleaded, 'Not guilty;' but (for his tryall) did put himselfe upon God and his country. Then was a verie sufficient jurie impannelled for him; to whom (in effect) these speeches were delivered.

Robert Drewrie, the prisoner, standing at the barre, had traytorously, wilfully, and in contempt of the statute made to the contrarie, departed out of this land, wherein he was borne, and at Valedolid in Spayne (where, by Parsons' means, a seminary for English students was erected, as the like were at Rome and Rhemes) hadde bin made a prieste by the Bishop of Leon, by authority derived from the Pope. Sithence which time, he had returned back into this land, to reconcile, seduce, and withdraw his Majestie's subject from their naturall dutie, love, and allegiance, to a forraigne service and obedience.

Having libertie graunted to speake, and aunswere for himselfe what he could, Robert Drewrie very shallowly sought to insinuate, that if it were treason in him to be a priest, then it was the like in Saint Augustine, Saint Bernard, and other reverend fathers of the church, who received their priesthoode by authority from God; and so did he presume to have doone the like, for the salvation of his owne soule, and many others beside; which purposely he came hether to do, according to his office and function. His sillie suggestion was presently reprooved, that notwithstanding the great difference beetweene his priesthoode, and that of the fathers before named, yet priesthoode solie was not imputed to him for treason; for that profession (though neither liked, nor allowed by us) he might use and exercise in the parts beyond the seas, keeping himselfe there; but not heere within his Majestie's kingdome, where, both he, and all other of his ranke, did very well know, and therefore could not plead any ignorance therein, that sundry good and sufficient lawes, heeretofore made, had enacted it to be treason, for any subject borne to forsake his native dutie, and, being made priest by authority derived from the Pope, to come home again into this land, and (in meere contempt of the King and his lawes) to reconcile, seduce, and alienate loyall subjects' harts from love, just regard, and dutie to their soveraigne, and subjecting them in obedience to a forraigne government. Drewrie made aunswere, he could not, neither would he deny, but that he came hether to exercise the office of a priest, according as he had already doone, in winning of soules; but he would not admit, that he had seduced any, or in any sort diswaded them, but only for the good of their soules. Being afterward urged with his Majestie's great mercy, who had to him and all other of his coate, granted his generall pardon; and why did not he (according to the proclamation) depart the land, when it was so expressly commaunded? He made aunswere, "that he wanted means." When it was proved to him, that not only did the King allow such convenient transporting, but also enabled them with mony; and therefore his stay could not be otherwise, but meerely in traytorous contempt of the King's lawes: whereto he could make no reply.

Then divers traitorous and dangerous papers were shewen, which had bin taken in his custody, and whereof he would gladly have acquitted himselfe, but that they were manifestly proved to be his. One of them seemed to be Parsons' opinion concerning the oath in the late made statute, which he utterly disallowed any Catholique to take, appearing to have used the Pope's censure therein; whereupon the bull, or breefe, to that purpose, seemeth to take effect.

The others were also of a traytorous nature, tending to the abuse and corrupting of poore simple soules, and stealing all duty and allegiance from them. There were likewise two letters openly read; the one from certaine priestes, prisoners sometimes in the Clinke¹, to the Arch-priest, Maister Blackwell, requiring his judgement in matters, when they laboured and hoped for tolleration in religion: the other was Maister Blackwell's aunswere therto; both which though he would have cunningly avoyded, yet it appeared what reckoning he made of them.

When he had aunswere for himselfe so much as he could, (relying still upon his priest-hood, and urging that to be the cheefest matter of his offence, though many times the contrary was delivered to him,) the jurie passed [sentence] uppon him, and found him guilty of high-treason; whereupon, he was sent away til the time of judgement: which because it was not til Wednesday following, it shall not be much differing from our purpose to handle, and say somewhat, in the mean while, concerning the tryall and conviction of Humphrey Lloyd, endicted there upon wilfull murder, having slaine Master Thomas Morris, one of the ordinary yeomen of his Majestie's garde, not long before, in Chauncery-lane.

Upon Sunday in the afternoone, being the eighteenth of January, the forenamed Humphrey Lloyd and Thomas Morris meeting together in Aldersgate-streete, in the companie of certaine other of theyr friendes, went into the Halfe-Moone taverne to drink; where they had no such plenty of wine, as to cause distemper, or otherwise (that way) to procure impatience.

But it was delivered in evidence, that some speeches concerning religion passed betweene them; wherein Morris touched Lloyd to be a dissembler, as neither hot nor cold; but, if any thing at all, it was (indeede) best affected to popery; as afterwarde it plainly appeared. It hapned, that the lie was retorted between them, which urged Morris to cast a cuppe of wine in Lloyd's face; and Lloyd, thereupon, threwe a rowle of bread at the head of Morris. A further and more dangerous strife had presently ensued, but that honest friendes on both sides, being present, did so discretely deale with them, that they grew friendes againe, drank to one another, and no hart-burning outwardly perceived; till at length, Lloyde renewing remembrance of the former speeches, a more heavier falling out had thereon hapned, but that the friendes, as before, pacified them again; but yet menacing words passed from eyther, Morris threatening to bee even with Lloyde's bald pate, and Lloyde woulde try acquittance with the other's cod's-head: so that they parted with tearmes of enmity.

On the Wednesday next ensuing, Lloyd and a gentleman, in a white-coloured cloake, standing talking together at Lincoln's-Inn gate, it hapned Morris and a friende of hys with him to passe by; the friende saluted Lloyd, as Lloyd did the like by him; and very soone after, the gentleman in the white cloake, that had stode talking with Lloyd, (being sent by him, as it appeared,) followed Morris, as Lloyd likewise, and, rounding him in the eare, (which the friende then with Morris coulde not heare,) hee perceived an alteration in the countenance of Morris, and the like in Lloyd, who by this time was come to them; which he being desirous to remoove, as standing an equall friende to them both, desired them, if any thinge were amisse betweene them, to let him perswade a friendly agreement, and not to grow into any uncivill behaviour in the open street, to the wounding of their credite and reputation; as also, what danger might otherwise ensue, was doubtful to be gathered. Lloyd made aunswere, "that he was good friendes with his cozen Morris, and loved him as deerly as any in England." Whereto Morris instantly replied, "Wilt

¹ [A prison in Southwark, for offences committed against the hierarchy.]

thou never leave thy dissembling? Dost thou pretend to love me so deerely, and hast even now sent me a challenge by this man?" Lloyd immediately returned him this aunswere: "That, if he hadde sent him a challenge, he was come in person to aunswere it, and would performe it there, or any where els." Thus his malicious intent very plainly appeared. What other words passed betweene them, I know not; neither could they bee heard by any standers-by; but forthwith they drewe out both theyr weapons, notwithstanding all intreaty to the contrary. And indeede Lloyd did drawe too soone, to expresse his bloody and unquencheable malice; for he soon gave to Morris his death's wound, whereupon he fell downe presently, not speaking one word.

And, to wnesse the more his cruell and bloodie hatred, he strake twice or thrice at him, when he was downe; cutting him over the head, and otherwise wounding him; yet he pleaded, that he did all this but in hys owne defence.

All this, which hath bin breefelie reported, being much more circumstantially delivered in evidence, and by oath approved to his face, he sought to extenuate his offence by verie shallow speeches, utterly impertinent, and most against himselfe, in due consideration of his frivolous allegations. For he had bin a man of more dangerous quality, then was conceived in his present tryall, having tasted the King's most gracious mercy, and had beene borne withall beyond his deserving.

It was also told him, how farre he had waded in Watson's treason, and was also a partaker in the Gunne-powder plotte, sending shot, and powder also, to them in Wales: in all which the mercie of his Majesty had looked more mildly upon him, then himselfe could desire, or any way deserve. But the justice of Heaven very manifestly appeared, that so false and hollow a hart, sullied with the detested guilt of treason, must now (in a wilful and malicious act of blood and murder) declare it selfe to the whole worlde; and the upright censure of lawe this way deprive him of life, that had felte mercie before, in a heavier offence. Here is also to be noted, that as the quarel first hapned on talk of the Popish religion, so now Lloyd discovers him in his colours. For, though it was told him, that he had very confidently delivered himselfe to be otherwise, and which himselfe was not able to deny; yet nowe Drewrie the priest (after his judgement) passing away by him in the docket, gave him a publicke noted absolution, with his hand crossing him, and using some close speeches; whereupon, thinking this sufficient to wash off his stayne of murder, he forthwith openly confest, that he is a Catholicke, so he had bin alwayes, and so he would die; as if that very name should give fame to his foul fact, and, where he died a murderer, his owne ydle supposition of popish absolution shoulde make him nowe to die in the case of a martyr, and for his conscience.

When he was drawne in the carte (with others) toward execution, and all the cartes beeing stayed before Saint Sepulcher's church, where the most christian and charitable deed of Master Doove, at every such time, is worthily performed, to move prayer and compassion in men's harts, for such so distressed: all the while that the man spake, Lloyd stopte his eares, not willing to heare any thing; but if any Romaine Catholickes were neere, he desired such to pray for him. And so at Tyborne he did in like manner, calling to Romaine Catholickes to praye with him and for him; but no other prayers would he accept of. But the lawe having censured him, and justice likewise beeing past upon him, what else remains to be thought, or said of him, let it be so charitably, as such a case requireth, and as becommeth all honest Christians; evermore remembering, that flesh and blood is subject to frailty, and he that boasteth most of strength, may soonest fall and be deceived. Therefore let us measure other men's infirmities by a considerate care of what our owne maye be; and, committing all to Him that is the onely judge of all, desire his heavenly help and assistance never to suffer us to be led into the like temptations. Let us nowe remember where we lefte before; and returne to the matter concerning the priest.

In this time of respite since his condemnation, bethinking himselfe, belike, of his present dangerous condition, he solicited sundry great persons by his letters, entreating all possible favour to bee allowed him. Among the rest, he wrote to Sir Henry Mountague, Recorder of London, requiring to have some private speech with him. The gentleman, being of a

milde and mercifull inclination, willing to do good to any, but much more to one at the point of such perill, upon Monday morning, sent for Drewrie downe into the Sessions-house garden to him; where, urging to know what favour he requested, and alleaging the King's great and gracious mercy to any that expressed themselves to be his loving subjects, and would take the oath of duty and obedience to him; Drewrie made voluntary tender of himselfe, that he would take the oath, acknowledging the greatnes of his Majestie's mercy; and humbly required, that the like grace might bee afforded to his brother, William Davies, the other priest, that was condemned with him. Maister Recorder conceived very well of this his submission, and was in his minde perswaded, that if he had put him to the oath presently, without any refusall he would have taken it. But he, as an upright justicer, very wisely considering, that his fact being openly knowne, and the people acquainted with his dangerous practises, his publike submission, and taking the oath; would the better witnesse his obedience and submission, and prove much more pleasing then any thing done in private, deferred it till the time of more conveniency: so Drewrie departed uppe to his chamber again, being used with all kind and gentle respect.

The extraordinary great Grace and Mercy, offered at the Sessions-house to Robert Drewrie and William Davies, Priestes; on Wednesday the Twentieth of February; and, lastly, the Sentence of Death pronounced against them.

ACCORDING to the custome in such cases observed, the tryall and condemnation of Robert Drewrie passing, as hath beene already declared, on the Fryday before; on Wednesday following, being the five-and-twentieth day of February, the prisoner was brought to the barre againe; where it being tolde him, that he had been already arraigned upon high-treason, and had pleaded thereto, 'Not guilty;' but, for his tryall, had put himselfe upon God and his countrey; the countrey had found and delivered him uppe guilty: it now remained to hear what he could say for himselfe, why judgement of death should not be pronounced against him.

He replied, as he had done before, "that he took himselfe not to be convicted of treason, but onely for his priest-hoode; which if the law made treason, he had nothing to say, but appealed to the King's grace and mercy."

Heereupon, his voluntarie offer to take oath on the Monday before, was rehearsed to him. And it was further tolde him, that now it was apparently perceived, how collorably he cloaked his private and pernicious dealing; answering by equivocation, and setting downe one thing under his owne hand, then afterward speaking dyrectly against the same. For prooffe whereof, his owne letter, written sithence the time of his condemnation to a person of great honor, was there read; and as much thereof as concerned the present occasion then in hand, was the more insisted upon. Wherin (if my memory faile me not) it appeared, that he had bin requyred to set downe his censure and opinion (according as himselfe did best gather and conceive thereof) concerning the oath of legalty and allegiance mentioned in the late statute; whereunto (as I remember) his answer was thus: "I freelye confesse, that (in my opinion) every honest and good Catholicke may lawfully and safely take it." Immediately, (because he had made such a free confession of the oathes lawfulness, and safety in taking,) himselfe was willed to take the oath, which he had thus censured; to let the world perceive now publickly, whether his hand and hart held true correspondence together; and whether he were so honest and good a Catholicke, as but to expresse the loyalty of a subject, and give Cæsar his due.

Now plainly appeared, both what he and such of his profession inwardly are; for he plainly refused to take the oath. Having the booke delivered into his owne hands, and willed to take and alledge what exceptions he colde, against any part or particle of the oath; his answer was, "That he did but deliver his opinion of the oath, what any good

or honest Catholicke might do, excluding himselfe out of any such titles. Neither (quoth he) can it be any way advantageable to me, being condemned as I am, and therefore I have no reason to take it." But then, to meet justly with such cunning dissembling and equivocating, and to discover such apparant falshood; that no lesse admired, then most worthy gentleman, Sir Henry Mountague, knight, recorder of the cittie of London, as he had many times before, so still he continued, in displaying the subtil slights of so dangerous a person, and what hurt ensued to the State by such as he was. To drive him nowe from these ydle suggestions, and to lay open the King's most royall mercy, though not so much as in truth it deserved, yet sufficiently able to convince such impudence, he told him, "That he was a poore minister of justice under his Majesty, and hadde such true acquaintance with his ever-royall and mercifull inclination, that hartly sorrow or repentance, in an offender, no sooner colde be discerned, but he was even as readie to give pardon and forgiveness, and rather did super-abound in grace, then seeke after blood; and therefore willed him to let all the people there perceive, whether he would accept of this proffered grace, or no. Nay, more; because every one was not acquainted with the oath contained in the statute, and, perchance, might conceite otherwise thereof, then in equity it deserved; the clearke was commaunded to read it there publickly, and himselfe to except against it whatsoever he could alledge." The clearke accordingly began, as followeth, reading it distinctly, as it is in the booke.

The Oath of every true and honest Subject.

I A. B. do truely and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie, and declare in my conscience, beefore God and the worlde, that our Soveraigne Lorde King James is lawfull and rightfull King of this realme, and of all other his Majestie's dominions and countries: and that the Pope, neither of himselfe, nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other meanes, with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Majestie's kingdomes or dominions; or to authorize any forraigne prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries; or to discharge any of his subjectes of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty; or to give license, or leave, to any of them to beare armes, raise tumult, or to offer violence or hurte to his Majestie's royall person, state, or government, or to any of his Majestie's subjectes within his Majestie's dominions.

Also, I do sweare from my hart, that, notwithstanding any declaration, or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation, made or graunted, or to be made or graunted, by the Pope or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to bee derived, from him or his See, againste the said King, his heires or successors; or any absolution of the saide subjectes from their obedience. I will beare faith and true allegiance to his Majestie, his heires, and successors; and him and them will defende, to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of anie such sentence or declaration, or otherwise; and will doe my best indeavour to disclose and make knowne unto his Majesty, his heires and successors, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies, which I shall know, or hear of, to be against him, or any of them.

And I doe further sweare, that I doe from my hart abhorre, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or anie other whatsoever.

And I doe beleieve, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any parte thereof; which I acknowledge by good and faithfull authority to be lawfully ministred to me; and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plain-

‘ly and sincerely acknowledge and sweare, according to these expresse wordes by me
‘spoken, and according to the plaine and common sence, and understanding to the same
‘words, without equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And
‘I do make this recognition and acknowledgement heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the
‘true faith of a Christian. So help me GOD.’

This oath, which no good subject will refuse to take, having beene very audibly read, well neare in the perfect hearing of every one there present; he was required to alleadge or inferre against any part thereof what he colde. But he insisting vainely, as he had done before, that he had but given his opinion thereof for others, and refusing utterly to take it himselfe, gave evident and manifest testimony, that such priestes, as himselfe was, were not included in the ranke of honest or good Catholickes, but apparant traytors to the King and State, in saying one thing, and dooing the contrary; in making an outward shew of duty and obedience under hand-writing, and reserving a trayterous intention in their close bosome; wherein the grosse deceiving and abusing of too many over-credulous soules (being falsely perswaded of such men, otherwise then they are indeede) is very much to be pitied and lamented. For they do but judge by the exteriour habit of smooth sanctitie and holines, and not by the close seducing of them and their soules. Religion is the cloake cast over intended treason, and holy protestations hide hollow-harted practises, more devillish then (in plaine meaning) can easily be doubted; and far more daungerous, then weake capacities are able to discover; as, very excellently and elegantly, was there plainly approved.

Another allegation also (as impertinent) did Drewrie make, in saying: “That a French priest, or Spanish priest, comming into this land, to exercise their function at either of their lord-ambassadours, or otherwise, they might, in like manner, be tearmed traytors:” whereas all the by-standers were even ready to hisse him, knowing very well, and as it was with good discretion answered him, “that such priestes neither were, or colde be reckoned subjects to this state; nor were they enabled to deal in such daungerous manner with our people, wanting our language and credit, in such a case, to countenance them, as (by their slye insinuating) they being borne subjects, and credited more than be-seemed, did too much prevaile by. And as freely might such ambassadours have men of spiritual office about them, being of their owne countrey; as ours are allowed the like, within their maister’s dominions.” So that still he wolde have maintained, that priesthoode, and not the treacherous complotting and practises of priestes, in his understanding, was to bee held for treason. The same grace and favour, which had been before extended to Drewrie, in as ample mansure was offered to Davies, the other priest; and he was demaunded, whether he would take the oath or no? Hee replyed, “that he was a poor simple ignorant man, and could hardly censure what thereto belonged: for there were many learned priestes, whose judgements (in this case) he would first know, and then, perhaps, he might be otherwise altered.” Wherein appeareth, that one only Romish rule and observation is a lesson or direction to them all; and the bulls or breves of the pope are more regarded and respected by them, than the native loyalty and obedience, they owe to their king and countrey. But mercy hath been over-mild too long, and won no such grace from, as justly was expected; but rather hath armed them with more boldnesse and insolence, than either is fit in them to offer, or standes with the wisdom of so great a State to endure. For,

Nunquid colligunt de spinis uvas, aut de tribulis ficus ?

‘Doo men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?’

When no further good, either by testimonie of their owne shame, or even father-like and most kinde perswasions, could be wrought upon either of them; first a most grave, learned, and judicious admonition was made unto them, containing breefely the many

and extraordinarie great graces of the King's Majestie towarde menne of their condition; and howe, after graunting them first his free and generall pardon, hee never left off, but pursued them still with all favours that could be devised, as not desiring the death of any one, but rather to live quietly, like a godly, peacefull, and religious king; not enacting any new or severe lawes against such daungerous persons, but ratifieng and confirming them that he found at his comming, which Queen Elizabeth (of ever happy memory) compulsively was compelled and enforced to make against them. And yet the justice of those lawes, which had been of seaven and twenty yeers continuance before, his Majesty did forbear to execute; and finding manye, whose lives lay under the forfeit of the law; not onely did he remitte them in grace, but likewise gave his free pardon to all; sending so manie as were in durance away at his own cost and charge, and publishing the like offer to all other, that wolde except of so kind a benefit; as loath to meddle with their blood, that were enemies to his life, and desirous to win them by mercy, if they were not too monstrous. Nor hath he sentenced any priest with death since his comming to the crowne, but such as were men of most daungerous qualitie, and had their hands over deep in most barbarous and inhumaine treasons. But when neither perswasions, sufferances, nor proclamations will serve, to keep such daungerous men out of the land; but even, in spite of the King and his lawes, they will needs come over, and put in practice their treacherous devyses; mercy (of necessity) must give way to justice, and pitty prevaile no longer, when grace is dispised.

The many and excelent parts, contained in Maister Recorder's learned and elegant speech, I am not able to set downe; and, therefore, do humbly crave favour, for but glauncing at these few; which thogh they come farre short of their just merite, yet let my good will excuse al imperfections. Being come to the very jumpe of giving judgement, Drewrie demanded, if (as yet) he might have favour to speak, and (most honourably) it was answered that he might, for the King's mercy was never too late; therefore he was willed, not to trifle the time in frivolous speeches, but, if he wolde yet take the oath, do it, and afterwards speak what further he wolde; which made all the standers-by even confounded with amazement, that grace should be so abundantly offered unto such froward and willfull refusers. Drewrie wolde not yeeld to take the oath; whereupon the sentence of death was pronounced against them both: "To bee conveyed thence to the place from whence they came, and there to be laid upon an hurddle, and so drawne to the place of execution, where they shoulde hang till they were half deade; then to have their secrets cut off, and with their intrailles throwne into the fire before their faces, their heads to be severed from their bodies, which severally should be devided into four quarters, and afterward disposed at his Majestie's pleasure; in mean while, the Lorde to take mercie upon their soules:" and so they were sent backe to prison againe.

A breefe Report of the Execution of Robert Drewrie, drawne on a Hurddle (in his Fryer-Benedictine Habbet) to Tyborne, on Thursday the Twentysifth of Februarie.

ON the next morning, being Thursday, an hurddle being brought to Newgate, Robert Drewrie, (hoping yet for life, and not thinking to die, as by the sequell it plainly appeared,) having put on, after the maner of the Benedictine fryers beyond the seas, a newe suit of apparrell, being made of black stuffe, new shooes, stockings, and garters, and a black new stuffe priest's gown, or cassock, being buttoned downe before by loops and buttons, two and two together, to the verye foote; a new cornered cap on his heade, and under it a fair wrought night-cap; was, in this manner, drawne along to Tyborne, where being by the executioner prepared for death, he was brought up into the cart, and using such ydle speeches as he had don often before, that "he dyed not for treason, but for his priest-hoode;" hee was willed to deal more justly, and not to abuse the world nowe at his death,

in uttering that which was a manifest lie and untruth. He made answer, that "in all his life-time, he had not told a lie;" and then, after a short pause, added "not willingly." There were certain papers shewn at Tyborne, which had bin found about him, of very dangerous and traitorous nature. And amonge them also was his Benedictine faculty under seale, expressing what power and authority he had from the Pope, to make men, women, and children heere, of his order; what indulgences and pardons he colde graunt them, both in this life, and for multitude of yeares after their death; preserving them both from purgatory, and warranting their entrance (by the Pope's keyes) into heaven. He confessed himselfe to be a Romaine Catholick, and a priest; and desired all Romaine Catholickes to praye with him, and for him. And often looking about him, as hopinge there was some mercie for him, for feare appeared very plainely in him; when he felt the cart go away under him, and his expectation to be deceived, he caught fast holde with his left hande on the halter about hys head, and very hardly was inforced to let it goe, but held so for a pretty while. If this were not an apparant hope of life, I refer it to better judgements then mine own. He hung till he was quite dead; and afterwards his body was quartered.

**Love-Letters from King Henry the Eighth, to Anne Boleyn:
And two Letters from Anne Boleyn, to Cardinal Wolsey;
with her Last to Henry the Eighth.**

As these Letters, with a few reflections on them, may give those that have not leisure to turn over large volumes, just notions of the grounds of King Henry the Eighth's divorce, and arm them against the calumnies of the Papists on that subject; I shall give you a faithful copy of them from the originals, now preserved in the Vatican library, (where they are usually shewn to all strangers,) and a true translation of those that were written in French; introducing them with a short view of the most remarkable transactions, which preceded, and gave occasion to them. To which end, it may first be observed¹, that in King Henry the Seventh's time, his eldest son, Prince Arthur, being² past fifteen years of age, was married to the Princess Catharine of Spain, who was elder than himself; that they lived together as man and wife for several months; and then, Prince Arthur dying³, it was resolved, for reasons of state, that Prince Henry should marry his brother's widow. This was opposed by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, as absolutely unlawful; but advised by Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who thought all difficulties would be removed by a dispensation from Rome: accordingly a bull was obtained⁴ to that effect, and they were married, the Prince being yet under age. But Warham had so possessed the King with scruples against this marriage, that the day⁵ on which the Prince was of age, he, by his father's order, protested against it, as null and void; and Henry the Seventh, with his dying breath, persisted in charging his son to break it off entirely. However, when Henry the Eighth came to the crown, it was resolved in council, that he should renew his marriage; which was done⁶ publicly, and he had several children by the Queen, who all died young, except the Lady Mary⁷. After this there appeared no farther disquiet in the King's mind, nor any sign of an intended divorce, till the year 1524; when Cardinal Wolsey, by his legantine mandate,

¹ Hist. Reform. Part I.² November 14, 1501.³ April 2, 1502.⁴ December 26, 1503.⁵ June 22, 1505.⁶ June 3, 1509.⁷ Afterwards Queen of England.

published a bull of the Pope's against those that contracted marriage within the forbidden degrees. This mandate is yet extant in the register of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. What followed, makes this justly suspected to have been done on the King's account: to confirm which suspicion, there is a concurring circumstance, in a letter from Simon Grineus to Bucer, dated September 10, 1531, where he says⁸, 'The King had declared to him, that he had abstained from Queen Catharine, for seven years, upon scruples of conscience.'

However, though the King had scruples at that time, yet he concealed them carefully from the world, for some years: and the immediate occasion of their breaking out, seems to have been given by the French ambassadors, who came⁹ to England to treat of several matters, and particularly of a marriage between the Princess Mary and the French King, or the Duke of Orleans, his second son. This alternative was at last agreed¹⁰, though it remained some time in suspense¹¹, because the president of the parliament of Paris doubted, 'whether the marriage between the King and her mother, being his brother's wife, were good or no¹².' The Bishop of Tarbe made the same objection, and renewed it to the King's ambassadors in France; as appears by King Henry's speech to the mayor and citizens of London concerning his scruples, where he says, 'When our ambassadors were last in France, and motion was made, that the Duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief counsellors to the French King said, "It were well done to know, whether she be the King of England's lawful daughter or not; for well known it is, that he begat her on his brother's wife, which is directly contrary to God's law, and his precept." That this counsellor was the Bishop of Tarbe, is affirmed¹³ by the Bishop of Bayonne, in the account he gives of this speech to the court of France, in a letter dated the 27th of November, 1528; yet this very Bishop of Tarbe was afterwards advanced to be a Cardinal, and was so far from retracting his opinion, that when he was Cardinal of Grandemont, in a letter dated the 27th of March, 1530, he writes to the French court, 'That he had served the Lord Rochford (Anne Boleyn's father) all he could, and that the Pope had three several times said to him in secret, that he wished the marriage had been already made in England, either by the legate's dispensation, or otherwise; provided it was not done by him, nor in diminution of his authority, under pretence of the laws of God.' This conduct shews, that it was not religion, but political views, that turned the court of Rome against the King's cause, which they at first plainly favoured.

And now as to the arguments by which the King fortified himself in these scruples. These, as he himself owned¹⁴, were, that he found by the law of Moses, 'If a man took his brother's wife, they should die childless:' this made him reflect on the death of his children, which he now looked on as a curse from God, for that unlawful marriage. He found Thomas Aquinas (whom he chiefly valued of all the casuists) of opinion, 'That the laws of Leviticus, about the forbidden degrees of marriage, were moral and eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the Pope could only dispense with the laws of the church, but not with the laws of God:' And, when the validity of the marriage came afterwards to be thoroughly canvassed, it appeared that the whole tradition of the church and the opinions of its doctors were against the marriage.

In the year 1527, before Cardinal Wolsey's journey to France, (which he began on the 3d of July, to promote the King's marriage with the Duchess of Alençon,) the King's scruples were become public, as two writers¹⁵ testify almost in the same words: 'This season, (says Hall) began a fame in London, that the King's confessor, the Bishop of Lincoln, called Dr. Langland, and divers other great clerks, had told the King, that the marriage between him and the Lady Catharine, late wife to his brother Prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable.'

And this suspicion, of the Cardinal's going to promote a second match in France, is con-

⁸ See Hist. Reform. Part I.

⁹ March 2, 1527.

¹⁰ April 30, 1527.

¹¹ Hall.

¹² Herbert.

¹³ Hist. Reform. Part III.

¹⁴ Hist. Reform. Part. I.

¹⁵ Stow and Hall.

firmed¹⁶ by a letter of his, dated Feversham, July the 5th, 1527, where he says, ‘Arch-bishop Warham had warned him of the great jealousies which Queen Catharine had of his¹⁷ journey.’ And by another letter, dated August the 1st, 1527; where he labours to satisfy the King, that the Pope’s dispensation was in itself null and void. All these particulars will be the stronger proofs of the Cardinal’s intention, when it shall be proved that the Cardinal could then have no thoughts of Anne Boleyn; whose father, the Lord Rochford, came over to England from France with the Duchess of Alençon’s picture¹⁸, to shew it to King Henry; and it was then, in all probability, that Anne Boleyn came over with him; for, though she had been in England in 1522, yet she did not stay long¹⁹, but returned into the service of Claude Queen of France, where she continued till that Queen died, which was in 1524; and then went into the Duchess of Alençon’s service, which she left probably at this time. Soon after her coming into England, she was taken into Queen Catharine’s court, where the Lord Peirce courted her, and was upon the point of marrying her²⁰, had not Cardinal Wolsey, by the King’s order, prevented it; and as the same author assures us, it was not till after the Cardinal’s return from France, which was on the last day of September 1527, that the King opened his affection for Anne Boleyn to him.

Why then do the Papists pretend to say, “that the King would never have had thoughts of a divorce, or scruples against his first marriage, had not his unlawful passion for Mrs. Boleyn prompted him to them.” Whereas it is plainly proved, that the King’s scruples were infused in him from his infancy, on the justest grounds; that they were revived in him three years²¹ before they were made public, and that they were commonly talked of, and a new match contrived for him to the Duchess of Alençon, before Anne Boleyn appeared at court. All which will still appear more clearly in the ensuing letters. But, before I make any remarks on these, I must first give a short account of the King’s negotiations at Rome, without which some of them cannot be understood. In the end of 1527²², the King solicited the Pope for a commission to judge the validity of his marriage with Queen Catharine²³, which after some time was obtained in a bull, dated the 13th of April, 1528²⁴, empowering Cardinal Wolsey, with the Archbishop, or any other English Bishop, to judge the marriage. But this was not made use of; perhaps because it was thought, that a stranger ought to be employed, that the proceeding might be more impartial. So a new commission²⁵ was desired, and obtained, bearing date the 6th of June, in which the Cardinals Wolsey and Campegio (an Italian) were appointed joint legates to judge the marriage.

And, to make this the surer, there was a pollicitation (or promise) procured on the 23d of July, 1528, ‘That the Pope would never inhibit or revoke this commission to judge the marriage;’ and a decretal bull, which contained an absolute decision of the cause; which was only shewn to the King, and Cardinal Wolsey, by Campegio: but all these precautions (which were admitted of, when the Pope was in a distressed condition,) did not restrain his Holiness from sending one Campana before the end of the year, to see the decretal bull secretly burnt; and from recalling the legate’s commission, and avocating the cause to Rome the next year; when his affairs were more flourishing, and the Emperor (who was Queen Catharine’s nephew) had granted all his demands.

Now as to the letters themselves. It may be presumed reasonably, that if there had been any thing in them that had reflected on the King’s honour, or on Anne Boleyn’s, they would certainly have been published by the Papists at that very time; for they were in their hands soon after they were written, as appears from this passage in Lord Herbert’s history:—

‘When Cardinal Campegio came to take ship, the searchers (upon pretence he carried either money or letters from England to Rome) ransacked all his coffers, bags, and papers; not without hope, certainly, to recover that decretal bull our King so much longed for.’

¹⁶ Herbert.

¹⁷ Hist. Reform. Par. I.

¹⁸ Hist. Reform. Part I.

¹⁹ Camden.

²⁰ Cavendish.

²¹ Viz. 1524.

²² Hist. Reform. Part I.

²³ Hist. Reform. Part III.

²⁴ Rymer, tom. xiv.

²⁵ Herbert.

‘ I find also some relation, that divers love-letters betwixt our King and Mistress Boleyn, being conveyed out of the King’s cabinet, were sought for, though in vain ; they having been formerly sent to Rome.’

To explain this account, it must be supposed that they were taken, not out of the King’s, but out of Anne Boleyn’s cabinet. This is the more probable, because, in fact, they are all letters from the King to her ; whereas, if his cabinet had been rifled, her answers to him would have been more likely to be found there.

As to the time in which the King’s letters to Anne Boleyn were written ; in all probability, it was immediately after her dismissal from the court²⁶, which was done to silence the clamours of the people on her account : but she was sent away in so abrupt a manner, that she determined to absent herself altogether ; which made the King soon repent of his severity, and press her to come back ; but this was not obtained for a long time, nor without great difficulty ; as appears by some of the following letters. The time of her dismissal was not till May 1528, for there is a letter extant²⁷ from Fox to Gardiner, at Rome, dated London, May the 4th, 1528, where he writes, ‘ Of his landing at Sandwich, May the 2d,—His coming that night to Greenwich, where the King lay,—His being commanded to go to Mistress Anne’s chamber in the Tilt-yard—And declaring to her their expedition in the King’s cause, and their hastening the coming of the legate—To her great rejoicing and comfort—Then came the King, to whom he delivered his letters,—And opened his negotiations—Then he went to the Cardinal,’ &c.

Soon after the date of this letter, she was dismissed ; for, in the first of the letters that follow, the King makes excuses for the necessity of their being asunder ; and, in the second, complains of her unwillingness to return to court. In neither of these, is a word of the sweating sickness, which raged violently in June ; and of which he speaks in his third letter, as of a thing that had lasted some time, and of which he had formed many observations from experience. Between this letter, which seems to have been writ in July, and the sixth, which (mentioning the legate’s arrival at Paris) must have been written in the end of September, there are two letters, which by the earnestness of the business, were plainly written within a few days of one another. Probably, soon after, the latter²⁸ of these was sent by the King, where he expressed how much he was pleased with her answer to his earnest desire in the former²⁹ ; in the heat of his gratitude, he paid a visit to his mistress, in which time they wrote a joint letter to Cardinal Wolsey, which is added in the appendix, where the King expresses his wonder, that he has not yet heard of the Legate Campegio’s arrival at Paris ; which makes it probable, this happened in September. The King stayed not long with her after this ; for, when she had received the Cardinal’s answer, she writes a second letter, without mentioning the King’s being there ; and again shews impatience to hear of the legate’s coming, of which, the King gave her the first news soon after. But,

To return to the fourth letter, which from all these particulars may be supposed to have been written in August ; it is the most important in all the collection, for it fixes the time when his affection to Anne Boleyn began. He complains in it, “ That he had been above a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether he shall fail, or find a place in her heart or affection.” Now, by the nature of his complaint, it is visible, that he pleads all the merit that a long attendance could give him ; and, therefore, if instead of a year, he could have called it a year and a half, or two years, he would certainly have done it, to make his argument the stronger. It may likewise be probably concluded from the same words, that he had not then known her much above half a year ; for it would have been an ill compliment in him, to let her understand that he had seen her some time, before he was at all in love with her.

These remarks confirm the account already given, of her coming from France with her

²⁶ Herbert.

²⁹ Letter the fourth.

²⁷ Lately in the Earl of Oxford’s library, 39 B. 4.

²⁸ Letter the fifth.

father; and, by that means, serve to establish the King's vindication from the scandal thrown on him by the Papists, that he had no scruples about his marriage, till he saw Anne Boleyn.

Though it may be here questioned, how the time of any particular letter³⁰ can be known, since they have no date, and therefore may have been put out of their order? Yet those who will read them with any attention, will find a chain of circumstances referred to, that plainly shew they were laid together by one who knew the order in which they were written; very likely by Anne Boleyn herself: and whoever stole them, as he took them all together, so would be careful, no doubt, to keep them in the order he found them in, that the discoveries to be made from them might be the more complete.

It will not be doubted by any who read these letters, that the King's affection to Anne Boleyn was altogether upon honourable terms. There appears no pretension to any favours, but when the legates shall have paved the way. There is but one offence that can be taken at these letters, which is, that there are indecent expressions in them. But this is to be imputed to the simplicity and unpoliteness of that age, which allowed too great liberties of that sort; and it must be owned by his enemies, that there are but three or four of these sallies, in all the collection, and that there are letters which make much more for the King's piety and virtue, than those irregularities can sully his character.

In the fifth letter he tells her, 'God can do it, if he pleases; to whom I pray once a day for that end, and hope, that, at length, my prayers will be heard.'

In the sixth, 'I trust shortly to enjoy, what I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts.'

In the ninth, 'Praying God, that (and it be his pleasure) to send us shortly togydder.' Surely, these religious expressions would have been very improper, to make an unlawful passion succeed.

In the thirteenth, speaking of the ill character of one that was proposed to be made abbess of Wilton, he writes, 'I would not, for all the gold in the world, clog your conscience nor mine, to make her ruler of a house, which is of so ungodly demeanour; nor I trust you would not, that, neither for brother nor sister, I should so destain mine honour or conscience.' The whole letter is of an excellent strain, and would have been a very improper exhortation to one against whose virtue he had a design.

The last of the letters mentions the legate's illness as a reason why he had not yet entered upon his office; which shews, that the correspondence ended at least in May 1529, when the process began.

There is but one thing after the letters, that it seems very material to add here in the King's defence; and that is, the approbation of his cause by the learned men of Europe.

During the trial, Warham and Fisher, who were advocates for the Queen, declared, 'That they having been lately consulted by the King, &c. had answered, that the King's conscience was disturbed and shaken, not without the weightiest and strongest reasons.'³¹

After the legates had trifled some months; and at last, Campegio, under a pretence of the rules of the court of Rome, had adjourned the court for three months; (during which time he obtained an avocation from the Pope;) the King was advised by Cranmer, not to depend longer on the decisions of the See of Rome, but to consult the several universities of Europe, as well as his own, about the validity of his marriage.

One Crook was employed in this negotiation, and he obtained the opinion of almost all the universities³² whither he went, for the nullity of the marriage; yet he complains in his letters that he was in great straits from the small allowance he had. And in an original bill of his accounts it appears, that he never gave above a few crowns to any that writ on the King's side; whereas the Emperor gave a benefice of five-hundred ducats to one, and of six-hundred crowns to another, that writ for the Queen. Yet, though on the one side men were

³⁰ [An additional letter from Anne Boleyn to the King, before her marriage, has been printed from the Cotton MSS. in vol. 1. of Royal and Noble Authors.]

³¹ Rymer, tom. xiv.

³² See Hist. Reform. Part I.

poorly paid for their trouble, and on the other richly rewarded, yet the most eminent men were universally for the King.

It may here be added, that Erasmus, whose name was in the greatest esteem at that time, though he could not be prevailed with to write for the King, for fear of the Pope and the Emperor, in whose dominions he lived; yet he went so far as to give great encomiums of the worth and virtues of Sir Thomas Boleyn, then Earl of Wiltshire, in his book, '*De præparatione ad Mortem*,' which he dedicates to him; and this was all the approbation that his circumstances made it convenient for him to shew of the King's cause.

On this general consent of the learned in his favour, the King was told, he might proceed to a second marriage, the first being of itself null and void; and, accordingly, he married Anne Boleyn, the twenty-fifth of January, 1533³³.

Letters written by King HENRY THE EIGHTH, to ANNE BOLEYN.

* LETTER I. Translated from the French, as follows.

MY mistress and friend, I and my heart put ourselves in your hands, begging you to recommend us to your favour, and not to let absence lessen your affection to us. For it were great pity to increase our pain, which absence alone does sufficiently, and more than I could ever have thought; bringing to my mind a point of astronomy, which is,³⁴ That the farther the Moors are from us, the farther too is the sun, and yet his heat is the more scorching; so it is with our love: we are at a distance from one another, and yet it keeps its fervency, at least on my side. I hope the like on your part, assuring you, that the uneasiness of absence is already too severe for me; and when I think of the continuance of that which I must of necessity suffer, it would seem intolerable to me, were it not for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me: and now, to put you sometimes in mind of it, and seeing I cannot be present in person with you, I send you the nearest thing to that possible, that is, my picture set in bracelets, with the whole device, which you know already; wishing myself in their place, when it shall please you. This from the hand of

Your servant and friend,

H. Rex.

* LETTRE I.

MA maitresse & amie, moy & mon cœur s'en remettent en vos mains, vous suppliant les avoir pour recommander a votre bonne grace, & que par absence votre affection ne leur soit diminué. Car pur augmenter leur peine ce seroit grande pitié, car l'absence leur fait assez, & plus que jamais je n'eusse pensé, en nous faisant rementevoir un point d'astronomie qui est tel. Tant plus loing que les Mores sont, tant plus éloigné est le soleil, & non obstant plus fervent, aussi fait il de notre amour, par absence nous sommes éloignez, & neanmoins il garde sa ferveur au moins de notre coste. Ayant en espoir la pareille du votre, vous assurant que de ma part l'ennuye de l'absence deja m'est trop grande. Et quand je pense a l'augmentation diceluy que par force faut que je soufre, il m'est presque intolérable, s'il n'estoit la ferme espoir que j'aye de votre indissoluble affection vers moy; & pur le vous rementevoir aucune fois cela, & voyant que personnellement je ne puis estre en votre presence, chose la plus approchante a cela qui m'est possible au present je vous envoie, c'est a dire ma picture, mise en brasse-lettes a toute la devise que deja scavez, me souhaitant en leur place quant il vous plairoit, c'est de la main de

Votre serviteur & amy,

H. R.

³³ Hist. Reform. Part III.

³⁴ This is a literal translation of this sentence, but the meaning does not appear.

* LETTER II. Translated from the French, as follows.

To my Mistress.

BECAUSE the time seems to me very long, since I have heard from you, or concerning your health; the great affection I have for you has obliged me to send this bearer to be better informed, both of your health and pleasure, particularly; because, since my last parting with you, I have been told, that you have intirely changed the opinion in which I left you, and that you would neither come to court with your mother, nor any other way; which report, if true, I cannot enough wonder at, being persuaded in my own mind, that I have never committed any offence against you: and it seems a very small return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of a woman in the world that I value the most; and, if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure, the distance of our two persons would be a little uneasy to you: though this does not belong so much to the mistress as the servant. Consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence grieves me; I hope it is not your will that it should be so; but, if I heard for certain, that you yourself desired it, I could do no other than complain of my ill fortune, and by degrees abate my great folly: and so, for want of time, I make an end of my rude letter, desiring you to give credit to this bearer in all he will tell you from me. Written by the hand of your intire servant.

† LETTER III. Translated from the French, as follows.

THE uneasiness, my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and frightened me extremely, and I should not have had any quiet without hearing a certain account. But now, since you have yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as with us; for, when we were at Waltan, two ushers, two valets de chambre, and your brother, master-treasurer, fell ill, and are now quite well; and since we are returned to your house at Hondson, we have been perfectly well, God be praised! and have not, at present, one sick person

* LETTRE II.

A ma Maitresse.

POUR ce qui me semble le temps estre bien long depuis avoir ouy de votre bonne santé, & de vous. La grande affection que j'ay vers vous, m'a persuadé de vous envoyer ce porteur pour estre mieux asserenè de votre santé & volonté, & pour ce que depuis mon partement de avec vous, on m'a averty que l'opinion en quoy le vous laissez est de tout aesteure changè, & que vous vouliez venir en cour ni avec madame votre mere ny autrement aussi. Lequel raport estant vray, je ne sauroy assez émerveillier veux que depuis je m'assure de vous n'avoir jamois faite faute, & il me semble bien petite retribution pour le grand amour que je vous porte de me eloigner & la persome & le personage de la femme du monde, que plus j'estime, & si, vous m'aymez de si bonne affection comme j'espere, je suis surè que la eloignement de notre deux personnes vous seroit un peu ennuyeuse, toute fois qu'il n'appartient pas tant a la maitresse comme au serviteur. Pensez bien, ma mestresse, que l'absence de vous fort me grief, esperant qu'il n'est pas votre volonté, que ainsi ce soit; mais si je entendo y pur verité que volonterement vous la desiriez, je non puis mais faire si non plaindre ma mauvaise fortune en rebattant peu a peu ma grande folie; & ainsi faulte de temps, fay fin de ma rude lettre, suppliant de donner foy a ce porteur a ce qu'il vous dira de ma part. Escrit de la main du tout votre serviteur.

+ LETTRE III.

L'Ennuye que j'avois du doubte de votre santé me troubla & egarra beaucoup, & n'eusse esté gere quiete sans avoir sue la certaintè; mais puisque n'ancors n'avez rien sentu, j'espere qu'il est comme de nous: car nous estant a Waltan, deux vushyres, deux verles de chambre, votre frere mestre tresorere ont tombè malades, & sont d'asture de tout sains, & depuis nous nous sommes reboutès en

in the family; and, I think, if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that in truth in this distemper few or no women have been taken ill; and besides, no person of our court, and few elsewhere have died of it. For which reasons I beg you, my intirely beloved, not to frighten yourself, nor to be too uneasy at our absence. For, wherever I am, I am yours; and yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes; for, whoever will struggle against fate, is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end: wherefore, comfort yourself, and take courage, and make this misfortune as easy to you as you can; and I hope shortly to make you sing for joy of your recall. No more at present for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts. Written by the hand of him, who is, and always will be yours,

my, H. Rex, Lovely.

* LETTER IV. Translated from the French, as follows.

BY turning over in my thoughts the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into a great agony; not knowing how to understand them, whether to my disadvantage, as I understood some others, or not: I beseech you now, with the greatest earnestness, to let me know your whole intention, as to the love between us two. For I must of necessity obtain this answer of you; having been a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from naming you my mistress, since you only love me with an ordinary affection; but if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, body and heart, to me, who will be, as I have been, your most loyal servant, (if your rigour does not forbid me;) I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress; casting off all others that are in competition with you, out of my thoughts and affection, and serving you only. I beg you to give an intire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I

votre mesons de Hondson, la ou nous nous sommes bien trouves, sans aucun malade pour steure, Dieu soit louè, & je pense que si vous vous voulez retirer du lieu Surye, comme nous fimes, vous le passerez sans danger, & aussi une autre chose vous peut comforter, car a la verité comme il visit, peu ou nulle fame ont esté malade, & que encore plus est, nul de nostre cort & peu ailleurs en meurit, par quoy je vous supplie ma entiere aymée de non avoir point de peure, ni de nostre absence vous trop ennuyere. Car ou que je soye, votre suis, & non obstant il faut aucune fois a telles fortunes obeyer. Car qui contre fortune veut luter en tel endroit est bien souvent tant plus éloigné, par quoy recomfortes vous & soyez hardy, & vuidez le mal tant que vous pourrez. Et j'espere bientot de vous faire chanter le renvoye: non plus pour asteure de faute du temps, si non que je vous souhaite entre mes bras, pour vous oster ung peu de vos deresonable pensees. Escrite de la main de iceluy, qui est & toujours sera votre,

ma H. R. aimable.

* LETTRE IV.

EN debatant de par moy le contenue de vos lettres, me suis mis en grande agonie non schachant comment les entendre ou a mon desavantage comme en des aucunes autres je les entendre, vous suppliant de bien bon cœur me vouloir certifiere appresent votre intention entiere touchant l'amour entre nous deux. Car necessité me contraint de pourchasser cette reponce, ayant esté plus qu'ung annee atteinte du dard d'amour, non estant assuré de falier ou trouver place en votre cœur & affection. Certain le quel dernier point m'en a gardé depuis peu temps en ça de vous point nommer ma maitresse avec ce que si vous ne m'aymes d'autre sort, que d'amour commune; mais si'l vous plait de fair l'office d'une vraye loyalle mestresse & amye, & de vous donner, corps & cœur, a moy, qui veus estre & a este votre tres-loyal serviteur (si par rigueur ne me defendes) je vous promes que non seulement le nom vous sera deu, mais aussi vous prendray pour ma mestresse en rebuttant tres tantes autres aupres de vous hors de pensè & d'affection, & de vous seulement servir; Vous suppliant me faire entiere response par a cette ma rude lettre, a quoy & en quoy me puis fier, & si'l ne vous plait de me faire response par

may depend. But, if it does not please you to answer in writing; let me know some place, where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart. Nomore, for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him, who would willingly remain yours,

H. Rex.

* LETTER V. Translated from the French, as follows.

FOR a present so valuable, that nothing could be more (considering the whole of it) I return you my most hearty thanks; not only on account of the costly diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about; but chiefly for the fine interpretation, and too humble submission, which your goodness hath made to me. For I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I was not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have sought, do seek, and will always seek to preserve by all the services in my power; and this is my firm intention and hope, according to the motto, *Aut illic, aut nullibi*, (either here, or no where). The demonstrations of your affection are such, the fine thoughts of your letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose; and assuring you, that, on my part, I will not only make you a suitable return; but out-do you in loyalty of heart, if it be possible. I desire you also, that if at any time before this, I have in any sort offended you, you would give me the same absolution which you ask; assuring you, that hereafter my heart shall be dedicated to you alone; I wish my body was so too; God can do it, if he pleases; to whom I pray once a day for that end; hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short, but I shall think it long, till we shall see one another. Written by the hand of the secretary, who in heart, body, and will, is

Your loyal

and most assured servant.

H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

escrite' assure' moi quelque lieu la ou je la pourroy avoir de bouche, & je m'y trouveray de bien bon cœur. Non plus de peur de vous enuyer. Escrite de la main de celuy, qui volontiers demeureroit votre,

H. R.

* LETTRE V.

DE l'etrene si belle que rien plus (notant le tout) je vous remercy tres cordialement, non seulement pour le beau diamande & navire en quoy la seulette damoiselle est tourmenté, mais principalement pour la belle interpretation, & trop humble submission, par votre benignité en cette casse use, bien pensant, que meriter cela per occasion me seroit fort difficile, si me n' estoit en ayde votre grande humanité & faveur pour laquelle j' ay cherché, cherche, & chercheray par toutes bontes à moy possibles d'y demeurer en quelle mon espoir a mis son immuable intention qui dit, *aut illic aut nullibi*. Les demonstrations de votre affection sont telles, les belles mots de lettre si cordialement couchés qui m' obligent a tout jamais vrayement de vous honorer, aymer & servir, vous suppliant le vouloir continuer en ce mesme ferme & constant propos, vous assurant que de ma part je l' augmenteray plustot que la faire reciproque si loyauté du cœur le peut avancer. Vous priant aussi que si aucunement je vous ay per cy devant offensé que vous me donnez la mesme absolution que vous demandes, vous assurant que d' oranavant a vous seule mon cœur sera dedié, desirant fort que le corps aynsi pouvoit; Dieu le peut faire si luy plait, a qui je supplie une fois le jour pour ce faire. Esperant que a la long ma priere sera ouye, desyrant le temps bref, pensant le long jusques au reveüe d' entre nous deux. Escrite de la main du secretere qui en cœur, corps, & volonte, est

Votre loyal & plus assure serviteur,

H. autre (AB) ne cherche R.

LETTER VI. Original.

THE reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure I also take to know them, causes me to send you now this news. The legat, which we most desire, arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past; so that I trust, by the next Monday, to hear of his arrival at Calais: and then, I trust, within a while after, to enjoy that which I have so longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts. No more to you, at this present, mine awne darling, for lake of time; but that I would you were in myne arms, or I in yours; for I think it long since I kyst you. Written after the killing of an hart, at XI of the clock: Minding with God's grace to-morrow, mightily tymely to kill another, by the hand of him, which I trust shortly shall be yours,

HENRY R.

LETTER VII. Original.

DARLING, though I have skant leasure, yet, remembring my promise, I thought it convenient to certifie you brevely, in what case our affaires stand. As touching a lodging for you, we have gotten wone by my Lord Cardinal's means, the like whereof could not have been found hereabouts for all causes, as this bearer shall more shew you. As touching our other affairs, I ensure you there can be no more done, or more diligence used, nor all manner of dangers better both foreseen and provided for; so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts, the specialities whereof were both to long to be writne, and hardly by messenger to be declared. Wherefor till you repaire hydder, I keep something in store, trusting it shall not be long to. For I have caused my lord, your father, to make his provisions with speed. And thus, for lake of tyme, darling, I make an end of my letter; writeing with the hand of him, which I would were yours,

H. R.

* LETTER VIII. Translated from the French, as follows.

THOUGH it does not belong to a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant; however, in following your desires, I willingly grant it, that so you may be more agreeably in the place that you yourself have chosen, than you have been in that which I gave you. I shall be heartily obliged to you, if you please to have some remembrance of me.
6. N. R. 1. de. R. O. M. V. E. Z.

HENRY Rex.

LETTER IX. Original.

THE cause of my writeing at this time (good sweetheart) is wonly to understand off your good health and prosperity; whereof to know, I would be as glad as in manner myne awne; praying God, that and it be his pleasure, to send us shortly togydder; for I promise you I long for it, howbeit, trust it shall not be long to: and seeing my darling is absent, I can no less do, than to send her some fleshe representing my name, which is harts fleshe for Henry; prognosticating, that hereafter (God willing) you must enjoy some

* LETTRE VIII.

NEANMOINS qu'il n'appartiene pas a'ung gentilhomme pour prendre sa dame au lieu deservante toute fois en suivant vos desirs volontiers le vous outroyeray si per cela vous pussies trouver moins ingrate en la place per vous choysie, qui avezeste 'en la place par moy donne en vous merciant trescordialement si vous plete encore avoir quelque souvenance de moy, 6. N. R. 1. De. R. O. M. V. C. Z.

HENRY R.

of mine; which, if he pleased, I wolde were now. As touching your sister's matter, I have caused Walter Welche to write to my lord mine mind therein; whereby, I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceave Adam. For surely, whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour, but that he must needs take her his natural daughter now in her extreame necessity. No more to you at this tyme, mine own darling, but that with a wishe I would we were togydder one evening; with the hand of your

H. R.

* LETTER X. Translated from the French, as follows.

ALTHOUGH, my mistress, you have not been pleased to remember the promise which you made me when I was last with you, which was, that I should hear news of you, and have an answer to my last letter; yet I think it belongs to a true servant (since otherwise he can know nothing) to send to enquire of his mistress's health; and, for to acquit myself of the office of a true servant, I send you this letter; begging you to give me an account of the state you are in, which I pray God may continue as long in prosperity, as I wish my own: and, that you may the oftener remember me, I send you, by this bearer, a buck killed late last night by my hand; hoping, when you eat of it, you will think on the hunter: and thus for want of more room I will make an end of my letter. Written by the hand of your servant, who often wishes you in your brother's room.

H. Rex.

† LETTER XI. Translated from the French, as follows.

THE approach of the time, which I have so long expected, rejoices me so much, that it seems almost ready come. However, the intire accomplishment cannot be till the two persons meet, which meeting is more desired by me than any thing in this world: for what joy can be greater upon earth, than to have the company of her who is my dearest friend? Knowing likewise that she does the same on her part; the thinking on which gives great pleasure. You may judge what an effect the presence of that person must have on me, whose absence has made a greater wound in my heart than either words or writing can express; and which nothing can cure, but her return. I beg you, dear mistress, to tell your father from me, that I desire him to hasten the appointment by two

* LETTRE X.

TOUTE fois ma mestres quil ne vous pleu de souvenir de la promesse que vous me fites quand je estoy dernièrement vers vous, c'est a dire de scavoire de vos bonnes nouvelles & de scavoire responce de ma derniere lettre, neanmoins il me semble qu'il appartienne au vray serviteur (voyant que autrement il ne peut rien scavoire) d'envoyer scavoire la salute de sa mestres & pur me acquitter de l'office du vray serviteur, je vous envoie cette lettre, vous suppliant de me avertir de votre prosperité, la quelle je prie a Dieu qu'il soit aussi long comme je voudroy la mienne; & pur vous faire en corps plus souvent souvenir de moy, je vous envoie par ce porture ung boucke tué hier soir bien tarde de ma main: esperant que quand vous en mangerez il vous souviendra du chasseur & ainsi a faute d'espace je feray fin a ma lettre. Escrite de la main de votre serviteur, qui bien souvent vous souhaite au lieu de votre frere.

H. R.

† LETTRE XI.

APPROCHANT du temps qui m'a si longement duré me rejoye tante qu'il me semble presque déjà venu. Neanmoins l'entier accomplissement ne se perfera tant que les deux personnes se assemblent, laquelle assemblé est plus désiré en mon endroit que nulle chose mondaine, car que rejoyement peut estre si grand en ce monde comme d'avoir la compagnie de celle qui est la plus chere amye, sachant aussi qu'elle fait la pareille de son côté, la pansé du quel me fait grand plaisir: juges adonque, que fera le personage l'absence du quel m'a fait plus grand mal au cœur que ni langue ni escriture peuvent ex-

days, that he may be in court before the Old Term, or at farthest on the day prefixed ; for otherwise I shall think, he will not do the lover's turn, (as he said he would,) nor answer my expectation. No more at present, for want of time : hoping shortly, that by word of mouth I shall tell you the rest of my sufferings from your absence. Written by the hand of the secretary, who wishes himself at present privately with you ; and who is, and always will be,

Your loyal

and most assured servant,

H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

* LETTER XII. Translated from the French, as follows.

THERE came to me, in the night, the most afflicting news possible. For I have reason to grieve upon three accounts. First, because I heard of the sickness of my mistress ; whom I esteem more than all the world, whose health I desire as much as my own, and the half of whose sickness I would willingly bear to have her cured. Secondly, because I fear I shall suffer yet longer that tedious absence, which has hitherto given me all possible uneasiness ; and, as far as I can judge, is like to give me more. I pray God, he would deliver me from so troublesome a tormentor. The third reason is, because the physician, in whom I trust most, is absent at present, when he could do me the greatest pleasure. For I should hope by him, and his means, to obtain one of my principal joys in this world, that is, my mistress cured ; however, in default of him, I send you the second, and the only one left ; praying God, that he may soon make you well, and then I shall love him more than ever. I beseech you to be governed by his advices, with relation to your illness ; by your doing which, I hope shortly to see you again, which will be to me a greater cordial than all the precious stones in the world. Written by the secretary who is, and always will be,

Your loyal

and most assured servant,

H. (AB) R.

primer, & que jamais autre chose excepté cela peut remedier, vous suppliant ma mestresse de dire à monsieur votre pere de ma part que je luy prie d'avancer de deux jours le temps assiné, qu'il peut estre en court devant le vieille terme, ou au moins sur le jour prefisché ; car autrement, je penseray qu'il ne feroit point le tour des amoureux (qu'il disoit,) ni accordant a mon expectation. Non plus d'asteure de faulte de temps. Esperant bientote que de bouche vous diray le reste des peines par moy en votre absence soustenües. Escrite de la main du secretere qui se souhaite d'asteure privement apres de vous, & qui est, & qui a jamais sera,

Votre loyal & plus assure serviteur

H. autre (AB) ne cherche R.

* LETTRE XII.

NOUVELLES me sont, en nuit soudonement venues, les plus deplesantes qui me pourroient avenir. Car pour trois causes touchant icelle faut il que je lamente : la premiere pour entendre la maladie de ma mestresse, laquelle je estime plus que tout le monde, le santé de quelle je desire autant comme la mienne, & vouloys volontiers porter la moitié du votre pour vous avoir guery. La seconde pour la crainte que j'ay d'estre encore plus longuement pressé de mon ennuyeux absens qui jusques icy m'a fait toute l'ennuie a lui possible, & quand encore puis juger & deliberer de pys faire, priant Dieu qu'il m'en defasse de si importune rebelle. La troisieme pour ce que le medecin en qui plus me fie est absens asteure quant il me pourroit plus grand plaisir. Car j'espereroy par luy & ses moyens de obtenir une de mes principales joyes en ce monde ; c'est a dire, ma mestresse guerrie. Neanmoins en faute de luy je vous envoie le seconde & le tout, priant Dieu que bientot il vous peut rendre saine, & adunques je l'aymeray plus que jamais, vous priant etre gouverné par ses avis touchant votre maladie, en quoy faisant j'espere bientot vous revoir qui me sera plus grand cordiale que toutes les pierres pretieuses du monde. Escrite du secretere qui est, & a j'amaïs sera,

Votre loyal & plus assuré serviteur,

H. (AB) R.

LETTER XIII. Original.

SINCE your last letters, myne awne darling; Water Welche, Master Brown, John Care, Yrion of Brearton, John Cocke the pothecary, be fallen of the swett in this house, and thankyd be God all well recovered, so that as yet the pleague is not fully ceased here; but I trust shortly it shall by the mercy of God: the rest of us yet be well, and I trust shall passe it, either not to have it, or at the least as easily as the rest have don. As touching the matter of Wylton, my Lord Cardinal hath had the nunys before him, and examined them, Master Bell being present; which hath certified me that for a truth, that she hath confessed her self (which we would have had abbesse) to have had two children by two sundry priests; and furder, since hath been keeped by a servant of the Lord Broke, that was, and that not long ago. Wherefor, I would not for all the gold in the world clog your conscience nor mine to make her ruler of a house, which is of so ungodly demeanour; nor I trust you would not, that neither for brother nor sister I should so destain mine honour or conscience. And as touching the pryoresse, or Dame Ellenor's eldest sister, though there is not any evident case proved against them, and that the pryoresse is so old, that of many years she could not be as she was named; yet notwithstanding, to do you pleasure, I have don that neither of them shall have it, but that some other good and well disposed woman shall have it: whereby the house shall be the better reformed (whereof, I ensure you, it had much need) and God much the better served. As touching abode at Hever, do therein as best shall like you; for you know best what aire doth best with you: but I would it were come thereto (if it pleased God) that neither of us need care for that, for I ensure you I think it long. Suche is fallen sick of the swett, and therefor I send you this bearer, because I think you long to hear tydings from us, as we do in likewise from you. Writing with the hand,

De votre seul,

(of yours only)

H. R.

LETTER XIV. Original.

DARLING, these shall be only to advertise you, that this bearer, and his fellow, be dispatched with as many things to compasse our matter, and to bring it to passe, as our wits could imagine or devise; which brought to passe, as I trust, by their diligence, it shall be; shortly you and I shall have our desired end; which should be more to my heart's ease, and more quietnesse to my minde, than any other thing in this world, as with God's grace shortly I trust shall be proved; but not so soon as I would it were: yet I will assure you there shall be no tyme lost, that may be wone, and further cannot be done, for *ultra posse non est esse*. Keep him not too long with you, but desire him for your sake to make the more speed; for the sooner we shall have word from him, the sooner shall our matter come to passe; and thus, upon trust of your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter, mine awne sweetheart. Writne with the hand of him, which desyreth as much to be yours, as you do to have him.

H. R.

LETTER XV. Original.

DARLING, I heartily recommend me to you; assertaining you, that I am not a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you give full credence, for it were too long to write. In my last letters I writ to you that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than with any that is

about me; whereof I not a little mervelle, but lake of descreeet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this tyme; but that I trust shortly, our meeting shall not depend upon other men's light handlings, but upon your awne. Writne with the hand of him, that longeth to be yours,

H. R.

LETTER XVI. Original.

MYNE awne sweetheart, this shall be to advertise you of the great ellingness³⁵ that I find here since your departing; for I assure you, me thinketh the tyme longer since your departing now last, then I was wont to do a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervence of love causeth it; for otherwise I would not thought it possible, that for so little a while it should have grieved me; but now that I am comeing towards you, me thinketh my pains been half released, and also I am right well comforted; insomuch, that my book maketh substantially for my matter, in writing whereof I have spent above IIII hours this day, which caused me now to write the shorter letter to you at this tyme, because of some payne in my head; wishing myself (specially an evening) in my sweetheart's armes, whose pritty duckys I trust shortly to kysse. Writne with the hand of him that was, is, and shall be, yours by his will,

H. R.

LETTER XVII. Original.

TO informe you what joye it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reason, and of the suppressing of your inuite and vain thoughts and fantasies with the bridle of reason, I assure you all the good of this world could not counterpoise for my satisfaction the knowledge and certainty thereof: wherefore, good sweetheart, continue the same not only in this, but in all your doings hereafter; for thereby shall come, both to you and me, the greatest quietnesse that may be in this world. The cause why this bearer stayeth so long, is the business that I have had to dresse up geer for you, which I trust ere long to see you occupye, and then I trust to occupye yours, which shall be recompence enough to me for all my pains and labours. The unfayned sickness of this well-willing legat doth somewhat retard his accesse to your person; but I trust verily, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompence his demurre; for I know well where he hath said (lamenting the saying, and brute³⁶, that he shall be thought imperial) that it shall be well known in this matter, that he is not imperial. And this, for lake of tyme, farewell. Writne with the hand which faine would be yours, and so is the heart.

H. R.

APPENDIX.

Two Letters from Anne Boleyn, to Cardinal Wolsey³⁷.

LETTER I.

MY Lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold, to trouble you with my simple and rude writing; esteeming it to proceed from her, that is much desirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceived by this bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound

³⁵ [Solitariness.]³⁶ [Noise, report.]³⁷ Hist. Ref. Part I. p. 55.

to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompenced on my part, but alonely in loving you, next unto the King's Grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt, but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true; and I do trust you do think the same. My Lord, I do assure you, I do long to hear from you news of the legate; for I do hope, and they come from you, they shall be very good; and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not. And thus, remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter; written with the hand of her, that is most bound to be,

Postscript, by King Henry.

THE writer of this letter would not cease, till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand; desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you, there is neither of us, but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this plague so well; trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse; notwithstanding, we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity, as the writer would.

By your

loving Sovereign and friend,

HENRY K.

Your humble Servant,

ANNE BOLEYN.

LETTER II.

MY Lord, in my most humble wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind letter, and for your rich and goodly present; the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help, of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that, all the days of my life, I am most bound, of all creatures, next the King's Grace, to love and serve your Grace: of the which, I beseech you, never to doubt, that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any breath is in my body. And, as touching your Grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped; and that is the King and you: not doubting, but that God has preserved you both, for great causes known alonely of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much; and, if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end; and then I trust, my Lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which, I must require you, in the mean time, to accept my good will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her, that is most bound to be

Your humble and

obedient servant,

ANNE BOLEYN.

Queen Anne Boleyn's last Letter to King Henry³⁸.

SIR,

YOUR Grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me

³⁸ Records of Hist. Ref. part I. page 154.

{willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine antient professed enemy; I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning: and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your Grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your Queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good King; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges: yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame: then shall you see, either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto: your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But, if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear; and in whose judgment, I doubt not, (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that my self may only bear the burthen of your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight; if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May.

Your most loyal and ever

Faithful Wife,

ANNE BOLEYN.

The humble Petition and Information of Sir Lewis Stukeley, Knight, Vice-Admiral of Devon; touching his own Behaviour in the Charge committed unto him, for the Bringing up of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the scandalous Aspersions cast upon him for the same.

Imprinted at London, by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the King's most excellent Majesty, Anno 1618.

[Quarto, containing Seventeen Pages.]

*The whole story of Sir Walter Raleigh is so affecting, and the justice of his sentence, and the integrity of his conduct, has been so much controverted, that every tract, from which any information concerning him can be attained, ought to be esteemed worthy to be preserved. We have therefore inserted in this Collection, Sir William Stukeley's vindication of himself, from the artifices which were thrown upon him by Raleigh on the scaffold; which probably give occasion to the declaration, which was afterwards published for the vindication of the King. The facts, however disadvantageous to Sir Walter's character, are declared with asseverations sufficient to gain belief; but they appear likewise to have been denied with equal solemnity. The reader must judge therefore from his circumstances, who ought to be credited.—J. **

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

BEING deterred by your Majesty's more important affairs from any hope of redress of those scars cast upon my reputation by Sir Walter Raleigh at his death, without some remonstrance of the business, made by myself; I have presumed to offer, to your most excellent Majesty, a just defence of my carriage in that affair: wherein as I hold it the part of an honest man, to prefer public duty before private affection; so I cannot but keep the heart of a gentleman, which is ever more sensible of a wound given to his reputation, than to his life. I have no pleasure to fight with a ghost: but, seeing an angel of darkness did put on him the shape of an angel of light at his departure, to perform two parts most cunningly; first, to poison the hearts of discontented people; secondly, to blemish me in my good name, a poor instrument of the just desires of the state, with false imputations: give me leave, most gracious Sovereign, to speak for myself; which I do not to insult upon the dead, but to defend myself against the false reports of the living, taken from the dead upon trust to strike me directly, but through my sides indirectly, aiming at a higher mark.

All men have long known, that this man's whole life was a mere sophistication, and such was his death; in which he borrowed some tincture of holiness, which he was thought not to love in his life, therewith to cover his hatred of others in his death. As it appeareth, that he being moved by the Dean of Westminster, and thereupon promising charity to me in the prison, did thus vent his hatred on the scaffold, in shew of charity to the living, to take heed of so dangerous a man. An uncharitable charity; not much unlike that man's repentance, who, purposing to hang himself, writes his repentance of that sin beforehand in his book, which he did purpose to commit.

Yet will not I take upon me to judge of his last repentance; I leave him unto God, to

whom he stands or falls: but I would he had given a better sign of it, than by godly words at his death to gather credit to himself to work upon the compassion of men, thereby to infuse more warily the venom of sedition, into the hearts of as many as he might; and to gain reputation upon his Sovereign, but to spend his malice upon me your poor servant; who did nothing, but execute your just commands, with the peril of my life. Witness his open invitation of divers to his death, wherein he meant, as in his last will and testament, to leave a legacy of his hatred unto me, to be executed upon me by them to my destruction.

But it is nothing, in respect of his general end, to spread by them, whom he had invited, the contagion of his seditious humour unto others, which the event doth manifest: that it grows very questionable, whether this man did more hurt by his life, or by his death: by his life, through his ill example; by his death, through his false testimony, to traduce the justice and instruments of the state. Yea, but it was the testimony of a dying man, now a penitent, as all say; as some say, a saint; even then when, as himself said, it was no time to flatter, or fear princes: yea, but it was the testimony of an enemy, of a perjured, of a condemned man. First, of an enemy, and of an angry enemy, even with your Majesty, that would have justice executed on him, upon his original condemnation; who were satisfied, as he publicly did speak of his innocency in that cause, as privately before he bewrayed his deep discontentment; when it was urged, that the testimony of the Lord Cobham was never retracted, Sir Walter Raleigh did peremptorily deny it. To whom answer was made, that then the public act registered in the council-book would manifest it, for there it appears. So fain would this man cast aspersion upon your justice, for taking the life of an innocent in that cause, wherein he was condemned by his country. When this would not serve his turn, then did he fly to the commission of a general; pleading it as an implicit pardon of that former offence: not considering that, being already a man condemned for treason, he was (as the learned in the law held) incapable of another trial by which he might have been found as *nocent* as before. For, having a commission to go into those parts of America, unpossessed by any Christian prince in league with your Majesty, and no where else, either to plant or trade; he made his design for the river of Oroonoko, where he knew the subjects of the King of Spain were already planted, which, as he confessed under his hand to your Majesty, he concealed from you; and this under pretence of his gold mine, which he did apparently to this end, to break the league, and to imbroider the two states. Many generals have for exceeding their commissions been punished even for good services; how then could he have escaped, for this his disservice, being against his commission, if he might by the law have been tried upon it? It is clear then, that he was angry with your Majesty, for commanding justice to be done upon him: how then could he choose but be angry with me, the poor instrument who brought him back to justice, from whence he intended often to make an escape?

First at sea, upon his return, making motion to be set on shore in France, and to quit his ship to his company in that condition; for the which he was blocked up in his cabin for a month together, as himself hath confessed unto me, and is to be proved by divers of his company. By which it is clear again, that out of his guiltiness, he did not so much trust in your goodness, as he said on the scaffold he did too much, or else he had not suffered death. Next at Plymouth, after he was, by your Majesty's special command, committed to my keeping, he plotted with two French captains; by name with Captain Flory, and Captain Le Grand; to escape in one of their ships, then there in harbour, as he then confessed to the lords commissioners; it being first evidently proved against him: by which it appeareth again, he did not trust your Majesty's goodness, as he wrote and said, at his death. But I am sure by this, he did much wrong my kindness, to my undoing, had not the goodness of Heaven prevented him. Next, he plotted his escape at Salisbury; which my worthy cousin, William Herbert, first discovered to your Majesty. Last, upon the same Saturday, when I received your Majesty's commission, by my cousin Herbert, by whom also I received intelligence, that at that instant he was flying from my custody without my privity; not having as yet made him any semblance of condescent, so that I

almost came on him at unawares, even at the instant that he was putting on his false beard and his other disguisements: which declares he did still distrust your goodness; doubtless, out of the conscience of his guiltiness, whatsoever he wrote or said to the contrary. And is it any marvel then, that he was angry with me at his death, for bringing him back? Besides, that being a man, as he was thought, of so great a wit; it was no small grief, that a man, of so mean a wit as I, should be thought to go beyond him. Yea, but you should not have used such craft to go beyond him. No? *Sic ars deluditur arte. Neque enim lex justior ulla est quàm necis artifices arte perire sud.* But why did not you execute your commission barely to his apprehension on him in his house? Why? my commission was to the contrary; to discover his other pretensions, and to seize his secret papers, &c. And can any honest subject question my honesty, in the performance of such a commission, which tended to the discovery of the secret intentions of an ill affected heart to my Sovereign? How can any dislike this in me, and not bewray his own dishonest heart unto the state? Yea, but though another might have done this, yet how might you do it, being his kinsman, and his friend? Surely, if I had been so; yet in a public employment, and trust laid upon me, I was not to refuse it, much less to prefer private kindness or amity, before my public duty and loyalty. For what did I know the dangerous consequence of these matters which were to be discovered? Or who knows them yet, of those that make themselves my competent judges? But, if there were no kindred or amity between us, (as I avow there never was,) what bond then might tie me to him, but the tie of compassion of his misery? Which was in my Sovereign's heart to distribute, when he saw time, that did command me; and not in the dispensation of me, nor of any other instrument's power that is to be commanded.

Hitherto I have proved he was angry both with your Majesty, and with myself; and therefore his testimony ought not to be of any force against me. It followeth next to prove, that his protestations and oaths concerning others were false, both before he came to the scaffold, and upon the scaffold. *Before*, against Queen Elizabeth, of infinite famous memory, who advanced him with great favour from the dust: for one day myself upbraiding him with the notorious extreme injury he did my father, in deceiving him of a great adventure which my said father had in the Tyger, when he went to the West-Indies with my uncle, Sir Richard Greenville; which was, by his own confession, worth fifty-thousand pounds, which came all to his hands; my father's portion at the least being ten-thousand pounds that he might lawfully claim. He answered, "That the Queen, howsoever she seemed a great good mistress unto him in the eyes of the world, yet was so unjust and tyrannous unto him, that she lay the envy, as well of this, as of many other her oppressions upon him; and that she took all the pearl in a cabinet unto herself, without ever giving him so much as one pearl." This he swore to me, and to Captain Pennington: he did so basely and barbarously rail upon that our most excellent Queen oftentimes, as he can attest, that no man hath cause to believe his oath against others, that would break his oath of allegiance to so excellent a mistress, that had raised him from such meanness to such greatness; as we of his country did well know.

Now that he swore that he was not guilty of the plotting of the Earl of Essex's death, nor did insult upon him being dead, there is a gentleman of worth, which about that time came from out of a long captivity, which he had suffered in Spain; who touched at Sherbourne, and Sir Walter Raleigh asked him, "What they said in Spain of Essex's death?" He answered, "They heard not of it there: but that he was sorry he heard it in the Island voyage, that the Earl had brought him to his mercy." To which Sir Walter Raleigh answered, "But I trust I am now quittance with him:" which this gentleman is ready to attest. Besides, in his letters written to others, he did ordinarily upbraid him, that he died like a craven; and in another, that the great boy died like a calf: and he was often heard to say, that he died like a fool, and like a coward. So persecuting his ghost, and insolently trampling on his ashes; that it thence grew into many men's mouths, that it was better to be a living dog than a dead lion. But a more evident demonstration there cannot be of any thing, than that an old warder of the Tower will depose, that he saw Sir Walter

Raleigh, the night before the Earl's suffering, with his footmen only with him; to come to the Tower, and heard him give strait instructions to the lieutenant of the Tower for execution of the warrant, for that worthy Lord's execution, which shortly followed him. Whether then he forswore not himself, even at his death, for public applause, about the not plotting the destruction, and not insulting on the death of that most noble Earl, and excellent saint of God; whose Christian humility and charity, if Sir Walter had followed, he had not called his repentance and saintship so far into question, as now he hath done; and so seditiously have poisoned the hearts of discontented people, nor so maliciously wounded the reputation of an honest subject: who, upon just reason, believing the disloyal and dishonourable words spoken by such a proud vassal against your sacred person to Monsieur Manoury, as other his disloyal deeds which he intended against you: that, if he had escaped, he was like to prove as dangerous a traitor to his crown, as ever Antonio de Perez was to the crown of Spain; took them to heart, and performed my best *devoyer* to bring him unto justice. But whether, I say, he forswore not himself in these things, I refer myself to them that are better acquainted with the tragedy of that time.

Not to forget, in the end, that which he confessed himself unto me and others, that he took an oath upon the Bible to his company, which he purposed to break; which perjury, his lady hath said, was the cause of all his ruin. And what interpretation can my greatest enemy make of his oath, which voluntarily he swore unto myself in the lieutenant's dining-chamber, the Wednesday after his commitment; which was, "that he loved me as well, as any friend he had in the world:" to which I have substantial witness. But in all these things he used an equivocation, as he doth in these things now concerning me. To which I answer in general, once for all, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, father to his wife, was thought justly to except against the testimony of one Vaughan, brought against him, because he was a condemned man. And may not I then except against the testimony of Sir Walter Raleigh, urged against me upon the scaffold, coming from an outlaw after judgment, even in a case of high-treason? Yet, to answer in particular to the points; he saith, first, I never did receive advice from my Lord Carew to make my escape. And I do now verily believe he never did receive any such advice, as I ever said to the Lords; but that Raleigh told it unto Stukeley; yea, and that many times, I will avow it unto death, and take the sacrament upon it. To the second; I never named my Lord Hay, and my Lord Carew, in other words and sense, than as my honourable friends, amongst other lords, my honourable friends. That is very true; and I would the rest of his honourable friends understood, how far he named them, as well as I do. But as ever I believed, that he did abuse their honourable names, to seduce me, and to draw me to his purpose: so did I promise to myself, that some of the chief of them, being joined in the bond either of blood or affinity with me, a poor gentleman, would be a comfort unto me in the way of my loyalty, and renounce the testimony of such a disloyal man, that was never true to any but to himself. There is no man's displeasure can further hurt me, than he hath threatened me, "that, if I revealed the things he told me in private, I should die for it." And die for this cause I am content, so it be not by an assassinate. But, whensoever I die, there shall die your Majesty's faithful and loyal servant, and one that will part with his blood at as dear a rate as he can. For the third, concerning the shewing of a letter to me about money: his wife, if she were put to her oath, can tell whether it were so or no. But, under the former protestation, I avow it to be true, that he shewed me such a letter; though I think it not true what the letter spake. I omit his perjury in swearing he had no design for France; whenas Sir John Fearne and Captain Pennington are able to testify upon their oaths, that he often told them he had a commission to stand them in stead from the high-admiral of France, which confirms the testimony of M. Manoury, who saw the commission at Plymouth, as he will depose it. I urge not his perjury in that article concerning Sir John Fearne, that he never had it in his thought to go from Trinidado, to leave his company; which Sir John Fearne is ready to prove, by the deposition of sixty persons, that Sir Walter propounded it unto them, whatsoever he intended. And therefore, how this man equivocates at his death, all the world may see. O barbarous cruelty! to

leave so many gentlemen (when he had secretly heard that his son was dead) to the mercy of their enemies, without hope or means to return. Where he also persuaded Captain Pennington to go away, who answered him, "he would rather die, than lay the guilt, upon his soul, of the death of so many gentlemen: but, if I would, you lately swore you had no money left, (quoth Captain Pennington,) without which we cannot victual at Virginia." "Tut, whatsoever I swore, (said Sir Walter,) I have three-hundred pieces in a corner, at a dead lift;" as he confessed also to the Lords, that he gave one-hundred and fifty pieces to his company to come home. And how then can that be true, which he swore at his death, that he carried but sixty pieces with him, and brought home near the same sum. Certainly perjury was but a peccadillo with this man, which he shewed also towards me, when he protested that I persuaded him to go to Sir Edward Parham's father's house, which is most untrue. For Sir Walter Raleigh (having a secret intention, which afterwards appeared, to play the mountebank at Salisbury, to pretend the taking of a dose of poison, by which he deceived me first, that by me he might deceive others, which was a most base, unmanly part) thought Sir Edward Parham's father's house, whom he thought to be a papist, to be a fit subject of suspicion, which he meant to cast upon his friend, who had so lovingly and worthily entertained us. "For, said Sir Walter, though the gentleman would not hurt me, yet there might be priests or Jesuits there that did it. For I remember, after my morning's draught of a cup of ale, which Sir Edward Parham offered me in the hall, I felt presently a kind of excoriation in mine entrails, as if some Jesuit had been the butler." Now, when I saw the pustules break out upon him at Salisbury, my compassion, I confess, was too credulous to report from his mouth so much, wherein I made no lye, but told a lye: *Non mentientis astu, sed compassionis affectu*; which hath been ill requited by him to whom I shewed it. But I am heartily sorry for it, that, being so far abused as I was, I should wrong my true kinsman; which moved me after to no small indignation against Sir Walter, who had thus abused us both. When I heard of his often purposes to escape, to my undoing, to draw him forward to it, which he intended of himself by making a lye, *non amore mendacii, sed officii*; the rather because he had inveigled me to hurt my kinsman, by telling of a lye, which I doubt that divinity would not bear: but reason of state, as the best philosophers do hold, doth bear it to be lawful to tell a lye for the discovery of treason to do service to the common-wealth. Yea, but they say, that he hath not left so sufficient a man behind him, and that therefore his death is a loss to the common-wealth: I doubt much of both. But no man denies but he had many sufficiencies in him: but what are these, but so many weapons of practice, and danger to the state, if he escaped; being so deeply tainted in so many points of discontent, dishonesty, and disloyalty? He knew, as he wrote, that as in nature, so in policy, *a privatione ad habitum non fit regressio*; and therefore, being desperate of any fortune here, agreeable with the height of his mind, who can doubt, but he would have made up his fortune elsewhere upon any terms against his Sovereign and country? No Coriolanus's heart could be more vindicative than he was unto them to whom he did impute his fault. Yea, but he died most resolutely: yea, but he was taken most sheepishly. Never was there man, out of the conscience of his own corruption and guiltiness, so cowed at his taking, as he was; trembling and weeping to come before justice. Yea, but he gathered his spirits afterwards, and died resolutely. Even so hath many a Jesuit done at Tyburn; a cancered enemy to God and his Sovereign: but with this difference, that they died in hope of false martyrdom, and this with a desire of false popular fame.

But he died like a saint too! He hath before very much called his saintship into dispute by the carriage of his life: we may now judge of it, by that he did, a night before his death; who, after his conferences with the Dean of Westminster, for his better instruction, and preparation of his soul for God, called the keeper of the gate-house, Mr. Weekes, to him and was curiously inquisitive to know whether he had any Romish priests under his charge and custody, and what they were; but upon his answer, that he had not any, (whether he mistrusted that Mr. Weekes would not deal plainly with him, or would not be true unto him,) he presently surceased from any further inquisition of that matter; which, whether

it might proceed of an irresolution in the religion wherein he professed himself to die, or out of a popular affectation to insinuate and apply himself to all factions, I leave it to the censure of the judicious reader ; and of such as best observed the whole scene of his action upon the scaffold. But, to go further, they said he died like a soldier and a saint : and therefore then to be believed, not only against me, but against the attestation of the state. O wicked times, to say no more ! But my hope is, that religion and the fear of God, and the conscience of my duty and loyalty to your Majesty, will sway more with the most, and best ; by that time men shall from the state be better informed. *Opinionum commenta delebit dies, veritatis judicia confirmabit*, saith Tully. Wherefore I do here make two most humble petitions to your most excellent Majesty : First, That seeing I, your poor, loyal subject, am burdened and oppressed with the testimony of a bitter enemy, of a perjured and condemned man, which is against all reason, conscience, and law : that I may have your Majesty's leave (to the confirmation of the truth, which I have avowed to be sufficient) to receive the sacrament upon it in your Majesty's chapel. The next is, that your Majesty will be so gracious unto me, as to suffer a declaration to come forth from the state, for the clearing of these matters, and further satisfaction of the world : by which it may appear, that the justice of God, and the justice of the King, did never better meet together in one man. Which my just and humble request, I hope your Majesty will not deny, to

Your Majesty's loyal subject,

and servant,

LEWIS STUKELEY.

A Chronological Catalogue, or short Remembrance of the Princes Electors Palatine of the Rhine, that have been of the House of Bavaria unto this Day ; together with their Succession and Lives.

[The Second Edition. London, printed by William Jones, dwelling in Red-Cross-Street, 1631.]

[Duodecimo, containing Thirty-eight Pages.]

Consecrated and dedicated to the most high and peerless Princess, Elizabeth, Princess of Great-Britain, Queene of Bohemia, Duchess of Bavaria, Princess Palatine Electress, &c. By her Majesty's most affectionated and bound in all humble Duty,

W. H.

OTHO THE ELDER.

OTHO, surnamed the Elder, Earl of Wittelsbach, and governor of the palace of Bavaria, grandfather to Otho the Illustrious, first Elector of his house, being descended of Charles the Great, and of the most antient Dukes and Princes of Bavaria ; was a coura-

geous and valiant prince, a cunning and great warrior ; was endowed with rare and singular virtues both of body and mind ; was employed into Italy and Greece, in divers great ambassages ; was fully given to advance the republick ; was exceedingly addicted to the military art ; he achieved divers noble exploits in Italy. Upon which occasion, Henry the Twelfth being deprived and condemned, he, for his singular virtues, was by the Emperor Frederick the First, created Duke of Bavaria in anno 1180; from the which his predecessors had been rejected, about 231 years before, by Otho the First. He bought Dachau ; annexed to his estate Raning ; built the town of Kelham on the Danube, (where he was born in a castle of that same name) ; founded Landshut upon the river Isara. He died, the 26th of June, anno Christi 1183, while he was yet in controversy with the Bishop of Frissinghen, for some customs of salt ; after he had ruled Bavaria three years. He married Agnes, daughter of Theodorick, tetrarch of Wasserburg, and had these children by her :

Lewis, Prince Palatine of the Rhine.

Sophia, who was joined in marriage to Herman, Landgrave of Hesse.

Mechtildis, joined to Rapoto, the second warden of Krainburg.

LEWIS, DUKE OF BAVARIA.

LEWIS, Duke of Bavaria, succeeded Otho. He was a prince endued with great eloquence, wisdom, piety, and many other virtues : he increased with riches, and beautified much the estate of Bavaria ; built many sumptuous works, planted divers new colonies, and built Straubing, a famous town upon the Danube. He was a great lover of peace and justice, who never made wars, unless he had been forced thereto. Having gone about to repress Albert, Earl of Bogen, (who had invaded and spoiled his country,) he received a great overthrow by him, and was forced to fly : he warred against the Earls of Artenberg, that had broken the peace, and took from them Wasserburg, and Krainburg castle. Otho of Wittelsbach, and Henry Truchses, Baron of Walpurg, being declared rebels to the empire, he spoiled their castles of Wittelsbach and Andeches, and razed them thereafter. From the Emperor, Frederick the Second, he received the County-Palatine of the Rhine ; and, whilst he went about to take possession of the towns and castles thereof somewhat unwarily, he and his company were taken by the inhabitants of the country, and afterwards released for a great sum of money contributed by the Bavarians. Thereafter, being received of them peaceably, within a short time after, he took his journey, and went into the Holy-land with divers other princes, against the infidels ; from whence, having lost many of his people, and his life being spared to him, he returned with a few that remained. In the end, while he was walking on the bridge of Kelhaim, he was stabbed with a knife by one Stichius, a fool, that was offended at his jests, and immediately fell down dead among his nobles, the 15th of September, in anno 1231. He was buried in great state and pomp in Sheyrn. He ruled Bavaria, after his father's decease, forty-eight years and more. He married Louisa, daughter of Primeslaus, King of Bohemia, widow of Albert Boggy ; a princess of great beauty, and of an high spirit. His children by her were these :

Otho, Prince Palatine Elector of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria.

Lewis, slain by the Emperor Frederick the Second.

Isabella, married to the Emperor Frederick the Second.

Anna, married to Rudolph, Duke of Saxony, Angria, and Westphalia.

OTHO THE ILLUSTRIOUS.

OTHO, surnamed the Illustrious, was, in his father's life-time, created both Duke of Bavaria, and Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine. He made wars against Frederick of Austria, a seditious and unquiet prince; spoiled and burnt a great part of his country, with a great slaughter of the inhabitants; took Sherding, and annexed it to his own estate. Being seduced through the persuasion of Pope Gregory, he conspired with other princes against the Emperor Frederick the Second; wherefore, seeing himself to be in such eminent danger, and accused of disloyalty and high-treason; and, fearing the event of the Emperor's displeasure, he turned unto his side again. He joined his forces with the Emperor Conrade, his son-in-law, against Conrade of Wasserburg; vanquished him, took from him all his castles and possessions, and chased him out of the precinct of Bavaria; because he had received and refused to render Albert of Bathaen, a seditious and factious nobleman, and breaker of the peace: Albert, in the end, being taken, he caused his skin to be pulled off him, while he was yet living. He repressed valiantly Albert, Bishop of Regensburg, who plotted against the state. He married Agnes, daughter of Henry, the last Palatine Elector of his family, and niece of Henry, surnamed the Lion; and so was the first Elector Palatine of the house of Bavaria. He died in Landshut, in anno 1269, and was buried in Sheren. He begot these children:

Lewis the Severe, Duke of Bavaria, and Prince Palatine Elector of the Rhine.

Henry Duke of Bavaria, who, after his father's decease, had for his portion and inheritance the country of Nordge, or North Bavaria, and died at Burckhausen, in anno 1290.

Elizabeth, married to the Emperor Conrade the Fourth, and after his death to Meinhard Earl of Tyrol Sophia, married to Gebhard of Hirsperg, for his valour and stoutness shewed against the Bohemians.

LEWIS THE SEVERE.

LEWIS, surnamed the Severe, Duke of Bavaria, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, was born, the fifteenth of April, 1229. The second year after his father's decease, he divided the inheritance with his brother, and had for his part the Palatinate of the Rhine, and Upper Bavaria (whereof the chief towns be Munchen, Wasserburg, and Ingolstadt,) together with the government of Regensburg; to wit, Riettenburg, Stephaning, Lengenfield, Rengstauff, and Kalmunt. He was a very virtuous and religious prince, and a great justiciar; he was of a good wit, and adorned with many singular virtues, both of body and mind. He caused to behead his wife Anne, the Duke of Brabant's sister, for suspicion of adultery: he built Furstenfield, to bury her in honourably. About some five years after, he warred against the Marshals of Pappenheim; took, burnt, and razed Wissenburg, a town in Nordge. After other five years, he built the town Fridberg, for a defence against the citizens of Augsburg. After the Emperor Lewis's death, the empire having continued without a head, during the space of eighteen years, (which was the cause of much sedition, and divers great troubles, both in Italy and Germany) he, with the consent and approbation of all the Princes, had full power and authority given him to choose another Emperor in his place: whereupon he elected Rudolph, Earl of Hasburg, and afterwards married his daughter, and was a constant friend to him, all his life time. In the end, being come to Heidelberg, to make peace between Albert and Adolph (both Cæsars at one time), and being taken with a disease, which had swelled his privy members, and (for shame he had thereof) having neglected the remedies too long, he died in the same chamber where he was born, the first of February, in anno 1294, of his age the sixty-fifth,

having ruled forty years, and was buried in Furstenfield. He had three wives; the first Mary, daughter of the Duke of Brabant, and had no children by her. By his second wife, Anne, daughter of Conrade King of Poland, he had

Lewis, a frugal and virtuous prince, who died at Norenberg, through the stroke of a lance, that he received of Crato, Earl of Hohenloe, while they were running together.

By Mechtildis the Emperor's daughter, his last wife, he had :

Rudolph, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, of whom all the Palatine Electors are descended, that have been since.

Anne, married to Henry, Earl of Catzenelbogen.

Mechtildis, married to Otho, Duke of Lunenburg.

Lewis the Fifth, Emperor, of whom are descended all those other Princes, that, since that time, have ruled Bavaria unto this day.

RUDOLPH THE FIRST.

RUDOLPH the First, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, in the beginning laboured to make peace and agreement between his uncle Albert of Austria, Emperor, and the Emperor Adolph, his father-in-law. But afterwards began to adhere more closely to Adolph, and succoured him in his unfortunate wars against Albert, (both of them contending for the empire,) being kindled with an indignation against his uncle, because he had besieged Alze, a town within his dominions; and, Adolph being slain in the battle, he had much ado to escape with a small number, and save himself in Worms. Having, through the intercession of his mother, obtained free pardon and remission from his victorious uncle, for his former offence; notwithstanding, having, within a short while after, become unmindful of the receipt of so great a benefit, was, among others, one that conspired and plotted against him. Wherefore, being besieged again by his uncle, he was forced to demand pardon of him, and withal paid a sum of money, to have his towns rendered to him again. Finally, having conceived some hatred and malice, against his brother Lewis, for that he was advanced to the imperial dignity; he was chased out of his country by him, and fled into England, where he died, in anno 1319, of his age the forty-fourth. By Mechtild daughter of the Emperor, Adolph, Earl of Wassaw, he had

Adolph, Rudolph the Second, and Rupert the First, Palatine Electors of the Rhine.

ADOLPH THE SIMPLE.

ADOLPH, surnamed the Simple, after his father's decease, was, with the rest of his brethren, received in favour by the Emperor Lewis, their uncle; and, had the Electoral Palatinate rendered to him, together with certain towns of Bavaria, and Nordge or Upper Palatinate. He was a prince void of all ambition, and more given to his private ease and rest, than to take any pains in ordering and ruling the republick. Whereupon he resigned over the Electorate to his brother Rudolph, about the year 1327. Nevertheless, John, Duke of the Lower Bavaria, being deceased without issue, he went about among others to obtain this vacant estate, but was excluded from the same, by the Emperor Lewis, who was a degree nearer to the defunct than he; he died, in anno 1327, and was buried in Shœnau. He married Irmengard, daughter of Lewis, Earl of Oentingén, of whom he begot

Rupert the Second, Palatine Elector, and a daughter, that was married to Meinhard, Earl of Artenburg.

RUDOLPH THE SECOND.

RUDOLPH the Second, surnamed Blind, born at Wolfratzhasen, succeeded his brother Adolph, in the Electoral Palatinate; but died not long after, about the year 1353. He had by his wife, Anne, daughter of Otho Duke of Carinthia, one child only, to wit,

Agnes, married to the Emperor Charles the Fourth, and was crowned with him in Rome.

RUPERT THE FIRST.

RUPERT the First, surnamed Rufus, was Prince Palatine Elector of the Rhine, after his brother's decease; he founded and erected the university of Heidelberg, in anno 1346. Having joined his forces with Lewis, the Elector of Brandenburg, he fought against a certain cozening miller, that had given himself out for Waldemar, Marquis of Brandenburg; he was by him vanquished and taken prisoner, and was released by the Emperor Charles with much difficulty. He had two wives; the first, Elizabeth of Namur, the second, Beatrix of Bergen, and had no issue by them; he died, in anno 1390, and was buried in Heustat.

RUPERT THE SECOND.

RUPERT the Second, surnamed Durus, son to Adolph the Simple, succeeded his uncle Rupert in the Palatine Electorate of the Rhine. After the death of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, having joined his forces with the other Dukes of the house of Bavaria, he made war against the Emperor Vinceslaus, for that he detained certain towns and castles of North Bavaria, which his father had taken in pawn for his wife's portion; wherefore, at the commandment of the Emperor, he was pursued in open warfare, by those of Regensburg, Augsburg, and divers other towns, lying on the Rhine; and, having fought against his enemies near unto Spire, he slew two-hundred, took three-hundred of them, and compelled the rest to fly into the same city. His country having been spoiled and burnt by some wicked and damnable persons, and having apprehended them, he caused to throw them into an hot furnace, being some forty in number; in the end, he gave himself to peace and quietness, and renewed and increased the University of Heidelberg, so far; that it may seem that he was (as it were) the first founder thereof. He was a famous and renowned prince, both in peace and war; he died, in anno 1398, and was buried in Shœnau; he married Beatrix, daughter of Frederick, King of Sicily, of whom he begot

Rupert, the Emperor.

Anne, married to the Duke of Juliers and Bergen.

Elizabeth, married to Procopius, Marquis of Moravia.

RUPERT THE THIRD.

RUPERT the Third, Prince Elector of Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Bavaria, was by the Princes elected Emperor at Bopart, in anno 1406, and sacred by the Archbishop at Cologne, after that Vinceslaus had been deposed from his government. Being very earnestly requested by the Pope to make war against John Galeace, Duke of Milan, whose greatness he feared, he went into Italy; where, having fought in the country of Brescia, against the Duke (who was assisted by such as had not as yet made defection from Vinceslaus), he received an overthrow at his hands, and retired back again, not re-

garding the earnest suit of the Florentines, that intreated for his help and assistance; taking ship at Venice, and returned into Germany; where he spent the rest of his days in beautifying and adorning of the same. He was severe, of an high spirit and great courage, was expert in warfare, and a great justiciar; being withal much addicted to the advancement of the republick, and conserving of the same in her full integrity and glory. Thus, after he had ruled the empire very commendably nine years and (almost) nine months, he died at Oppenheim, the seventeenth of May, in anno 1410, and was buried at Heidelberg, together with his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick, Burgrave of Noremberg; he had six children by her:

Rupert, surnamed Pepin.

Lewis, Prince Elector Palat. of the Rhine.

John, Duke of Neuburg.

Frederick of Amburg.

Otho, Duke of Neumarckt in Bavaria, and Mospach on the Neckar.

Stephen, Duke of Zweibrugken and Obrinca.

LEWIS THE FOURTH.

LEWIS the Fourth, surnamed Barbatus and Pius, succeeding his father in the Electorate, a prince that was famous both in peace and in war. He was president or moderator of the Council of Constance, in anno 1415, warred in the Holy-land, and assisted the order of Teutons in Prussia with some troops of soldiers which he brought unto them. He helped likewise the Earl of Vaudemont against those of Lorrain, by sending unto him a selected company of experimented warriors, who died all in the battle; the French-men, that were on their side, having first begun to fly, and (as it were) betrayed them, in anno 1431; he learned the Greek tongue in his old age, because he had understood that the Emperor Sigismond had found great fault with the barbarous education of unlearned princes. Being very aged, and having waxed blind, he died in anno 1436, and was buried at Heidelberg. He had two wives; the first Blanch, daughter of Henry the Fourth, King of England; the second Mechtild, daughter of Lewis Earl of Piedmont and Savoy, and had by her three sons:

Lewis, Prince Elector Palat. of the Rhine.

Frederick, tutor and administrator of the Palatine Electorate.

Rupert, Archbishop of Cologne.

LEWIS THE FIFTH.

LEWIS the Fifth, called the Younger and Virtuous, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Bavaria, being a religious and peaceable prince, a lover of justice, and very mild and affable withal, was much beloved for his singular virtues. He died in anno 1449, and was buried at Heidelberg. He married Margaret, daughter of Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, and widow of Lewis, Duke of Anjou, (married after his decease to Ulrick Duke of Wirtemberg,) and had, by her,

Mechtild, married to Lewis Duke of Wirtemberg.

Philip, Prince Elector Palatine.

FREDERICK THE FIRST.

FREDERICK the First, surnamed Victorious, born the first of August, in anno 1425, was at first tutor and administrator to the young Prince Philip, his nephew, and afterwards, by adopting of him to his son, became Prince Elector Palatine; he was a most valiant and courageous prince, most constant and invincible at arms, and fought many dangerous combats; he secured his country from all foreign invasion, and purged the highways of robbers; he was a stout defender of the imperial dignity and majesty, against all the subtle and treacherous plots of the popes. He forced Ulrick, Duke of Wirtemberg, to leave off the unlawful suing for his wife's dowry, from Philip, his pupil, which he sought by arms; and afterwards being again invaded by the same Prince, that was assisted by Charles Marquis of Baden and one of his brethren, he vanquished them all in one battle, near unto Heidelberg, and took them prisoners on the first of July, 1462; whom, after a little while, he set at liberty, for a great sum of money, being content with the honour of so famous a victory. He was never married; he died in anno 1476, of his age the fifty-first.

PHILIP.

PHILIP, born after his father Lewis the Younger's decease, and surnamed Ingenuous, was Prince Palatine, Elector of the Rhine, after the death of Frederick the First; before the wars of Bavaria, he was a most potent, rich, and redoubted prince; but having refused to make peace, upon very equitable conditions, which the Emperor Maximilian had offered to him, he was by him declared a rebel; and being left by the Frenchmen, that were the cause and instruments of this war, he lost a great part of his dominions, with many of his nobility and others, which were either slain in the battle, poisoned or executed; he died in anno 1508, and was buried at Heidelberg. He married Margaret, daughter of Lewis the Rich, Duke of Bavaria, and had twelve children by her, whose names be these:

Lewis, Prince Elector Palatine.

Rupert the Virtuous.

Frederick, surnamed Pious, Prince Elector Palatine.

Philip, Bishop of Freisingen.

George, Bishop of Spires.

Henry, Bishop of Utrecht and Worms.

John, Bishop of Regensburg.

Wolfgang, Duke of Newmarckt.

Æmilia, married to George the First, Duke of Stetin and Pomerania.

Helena, married to Henry, Duke of Meckelburg.

Elizabeth, married to William the Younger, Landgrave of Hesse, and, after his death, to Philip the Second, Marquis of Baden.

The fourth daughter was an abbess.

LEWIS THE SIXTH.

LEWIS the Sixth, Prince Elector Palatine, Duke of Bavaria, &c. was a wise and prudent prince, and a great favourer of learning. Having most prudently pacified many tumults and discords, he was called the Peaceable or Peace-maker. He lived fifty-five years and above; died in anno 1544, and was buried at Heidelberg; he married Sybilla, or Sidonia, daughter of Albert the Fourth, Duke of Bavaria, but had no issue by her.

FREDERICK the Second, brother to Lewis the Sixth, and surnamed Pius, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Bavaria, born in December, in anno 1482, excelling in many high and princely virtues, was much admired and praised of all men. He was so much inclined to piety and devotion, that, in anno 1546, he abolished and chased Popery quite out of his dominions, and planted the true and sincere doctrine of Christian¹ religion in place thereof. He loved his country and subjects so dearly, that he desired nothing so much as the good and prosperous estate of such as lived under him, and the safety of whole Germany. He was so much given to peace, that during those domestic and cruel dissensions that were then, he spared neither cost, charges, labour, nor pains to attain thereto, and thereafter to enjoy the same. Not that he was not skilful and expert in warfare; seeing that by the states of the empire he was chosen general of the army, when the town of Vienna was besieged by the Turk, and by his nephew most valiantly defended and freed of all danger; but because he had learned by experience, how blessed and happy a thing peace was. He was, moreover, a great favourer and cherisher of all sorts of good learning, and learned men. In such great and weighty affairs of the empire as he meddled with, he proved wary and careful in enterprising, prudent in managing, and fortunate in the event and success. He died in anno 1556, of his age the 74th. He married Dorothy, daughter of Christiern, King of Denmark, and had no issue by her.

OTHO HENRY.

OTHO HENRY, Prince-Elector Palatine, son to Rupert the Virtuous, and nephew to the Elector Philip, born in April, in anno 1502, succeeded his uncle in the Electoral Palatinate, which he had resigned over to him, while he was dying, in anno 1556; and enjoyed the same scarce three years, but died at Heidelberg in anno 1559, and was buried there also: a prince very commendable in his actions, a stout defender and advancer of true religion, an earnest lover of peace, and withal endued with wisdom and magnanimity. He married Susanna, one of the House of Bavaria, widow of Casimir, Marquis of Brandenburg, and had no children by her.

FREDERICK THE THIRD.

FREDERICK the Third, son of John Earl of Obrinca, Simmeren and Spanheim, the posterity of Lewis, surnamed Pious, having here failed, succeeded by right descent to the Palatine Electorate. He was a peaceable prince, and a singular protector of the Muses. He died in November, in anno 1576, of his age the 62d. He married first Mary, daughter of Casimir, Marquis of Brandenburg, in anno 1537; and afterwards Æmilia, daughter of the Earl of Newenar, and widow of Henry of Brederode, in anno 1569, having no children by her. The first bore unto him these eleven:

Albert, who died in his infancy.

Lewis the Seventh, Prince Elector Palatine, &c.

Elizabeth, married to John Frederick, Duke of Saxony.

Herman-Lewis, Prince Palatine, who was drowned in the river at Bourges in France.

John Casimir, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, &c. tutor and administrator of the Electorate.

Susanna-Dorothy, married to William, Duke of Saxony.

Albert and Charles, who died in their infancy.

Anne-Elizabeth, married to Philip the Second, Landgrave of Hesse.

Cunnegunde-Jacob, wife to John Earl of Nassaw, in Dillemburg.

Christopher, Prince Palatine, slain in the Low-Countries.

¹ Reformed.

LEWIS THE SEVENTH.

LEWIS the Seventh, Prince Elector Palatine, Duke of Bavaria, Earl of Simmeren and Spanheim, born in July, in anno 1539, was a very religious prince, of a sincere and unspotted life and conversation. He brought all the churches of the Palatinate to a most commendable and good order. He increased with great liberality, the revenues of Heidelberg university; and maintained justice and peace with prudent dexterity and policy. He had two wives; the first, Elizabeth, daughter of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, by whom he had many children: the other, Anne, daughter of the Earl of Emden. He died, in anno 1583, of his age the 44th; and was buried at Heidelberg. These be the names of his children:

Anne-Mary, married to Charles, Prince of Summerland, &c.
 Elizabeth, Dorothy, Frederick, and Philip, dead in their infancy.
 John, Frederick, Lewis, and Christian, dead in their childhood.
 Frederick the Fourth, Prince Elector Palatine, Duke of Bavaria, &c.
 Philip and Dorothy died in their first years.

FREDERICK THE FOURTH.

FREDERICK the Fourth, Prince Elector Palatine, Duke of Bavaria, &c. born in anno 1574, after his father's decease, having lived nine years under the rule and government of John Casimir, his uncle and tutor, and being, at his death, in anno 1592, of full age, succeeded his father in the Electorate. He was a virtuous and religious prince, favoured learning much, and was very careful in ordering and settling the estate both of ecclesiastical and civil affairs throughout all his countries. He founded the town and castle of Mannheim between the mouth of the Neckar and the Rhine, in anno 1606, where before stood a mean village and fortress of that name, as a most strong bulwark, and sure defence, against all the assaults of whatsoever enemies. He died in anno 1611, and was buried at Heidelberg. He married Louisa-Juliana, daughter of William Prince of Orange, who liveth still, and had by her these children:

Louisa-Juliana, married to John, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Zuneiburg, and administrator to Catharina-Sophia.
 Frederick the Fifth, King of Bohemia, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, &c.
 Elizabeth-Charlotta, married unto George, Elector of Brandenburg.
 Anna-Leonora, dead in her infancy.
 Lewis-William, dead within a few days after he was born.
 Maurice-Christian, dead in his tender age.
 Lewis-Philip, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, who hath allotted to him for his inheritance Lauterberg, &c.

FREDERICK THE FIFTH.

FREDERICK the Fifth, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, Elector and Arch-sewer of the sacred Roman Empire; and, in vacancy of the same, Vicar thereof; and one of the most noble order of the Garter; born the sixteenth of August, 1596. After his father's decease, having lived for some little space under the rule and government of his cousin, John, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Zuneiburg, and administrator, took upon him the government of the Palatinate: a prince (for his age) surpassing far his pre-

decessors, as being adorned with all singular and rare virtues, which are requisite in a true and perfect prince. He beautified the castle of Heidelberg with an huge and strong tower, and divers other reparations; together with most pleasant, sumptuous, and admirable gardens, walks, water-works, and other princely ornaments, for the most part cut out of the side of the mountain, where the castle standeth. He continued, with exceeding great cost, the building and fortification of the invincible fort of the town and castle of Manheim, founded by Frederick the Fourth, his father. He pacified the civil dissension of Worms, having sent four-thousand men of war into the city, for that purpose. Being assisted by the other princes of the union, he demolished and razed the new fortifications of the town of Udonheim, standing on the Rhine, which the Bishop of Spires had caused to be built, contrary to the privileges of the country. He was, for the great multitude of his heroical and princely virtues, by the general consent of the Bohemian States, elected King of Bohemia, and was crowned in Prague, the five-and-twentieth of October; and the Lady Elizabeth, his spouse, sole daughter of James, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. the twenty-eighth of that same month, anno 1619. He was likewise received and acknowledged for Marquis of Moravia, Duke of Silesia, and Marquis of Lusatia, by all the States of those countries. About a year after, having lost a great battle, which the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria won, not far from Prague, he was forced to leave Bohemia, and the neighbour-countries that belonged unto him, to his victorious enemy; which, within a few months after the same time, took possession of them all. Not long after these things were past, in the end he lost the Palatinate, with his whole inheritance, which the Emperor Ferdinand took from him unjustly, and gave the same to the Duke of Bavaria, that had helped him in all the wars of Bohemia and the Palatinate. He lived to the year 1632 in Holland, and from thence went up unto the King of Sweden, hoping, through God's assistance, for to recover his country again; since the which he is departed this life. The names of his children are these:

Prince Frederick-Henry, chosen king of Bohemia, born at Heidelberg, about midnight, the first of January, 1614. He died the seventh of January, 1629, having newly entered into the fifteenth year of his age.

Prince Charles-Lewis, born at Heidelberg, the twenty-second of December, 1617.

Elizabeth, born at Heidelberg, the twenty-sixth of December, 1618.

Rupert, born at Prague, December the seventeenth, 1619.

Maurice, born at Custrin, the sixth of January, 1621.

Louisa-Hollandina, born at the Hague, the twenty-eighth of April, 1622.

Lewis, born at the Hague, the twenty-first of August, 1623; and died in January, 1625.

Edward, born at the Hague, the sixth of October, 1624.

Henrietta, born at the Hague, the seventh of July, 1626.

Philip, born at the Hague, the sixteenth of September, 1627.

Charlotta, born at the Hague, the nineteenth of December, 1628. She died, the twenty-fourth of January, 1631.

Sophia, born at the Hague, the thirteenth of December, 1630.

Henry-Frederick, born at the Hague, February the third, 1631.

God, of his unspeakable mercy, bless, protect, and defend this noble Queen, with her royal progeny², to the enlargement of his church; to the further ruin of Antichrist; to the comfort of all the godly, dispersed through the world.

² God so far blessed her royal progeny, that they now sit upon the throne of Great-Britain; King George the Third being great-great-grandson to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

Gowrie's Conspiracie : A Discourse of the unnaturall and vyle
Conspiracie, attempted against the King's Majestie's Person,
at Sanct-Johnstoun, upon Twysday the Fifth of August, 1600.

Edinburgh, printed by Robert Charteris, 1600.

Cum Privilegio Regio.

[Octavo, containing Three Sheets and a Half.]

This is one of the earliest accounts of this remarkable conspiracy, and therefore deserves to be reprinted, not only as it is very rarely to be found, but as it is very clear and elegant, with regard to the dialect in which it is written. In the language, though some passages may appear uncouth, no alteration has been made; both because we would not depart from the fidelity that we promised, nor, by changing expressions, give reason to suspect, that we take the same liberty with facts; and because the language may be, to some, no less an object of curiosity, than the events to others.

Of this conspiracy, which, though some have questioned its reality, is by most allowed to be proved beyond contradiction, a very particular account may be found in Spotswood.——J.*

HIS Majestie having his residence at Falkland, (and being daily at the buck-hunting, as his use is in that season,) upon the fifth day of August, being Twysday, hee raid¹ out to the Park, betwixt six and seven hours in the morning, the weather beeing wonderfull pleasant and seasonable. But, before his Majestie could leap on horse-back, his Hienes being now come downe by the equerie, all the huntis men with the houndes attending his Majesty on the greene, and the court making to their horses, as his Hienes self was; maister Alexander Ruthven, second brother to the late Earle of Gowrie, being then lighted in the toun of Falkland, haisted him fast downe to over-take his Majestie before his on-leaping, as he did. Where meeting his Hienes, after a verie low courtesie, bowing his head under his Majestie's knee (althogh he was never wont to make so low courtesy) drawing his Majestie a-part, he beginnes to discourse unto him, but with a verie dejected countenance, his eies ever fixed uppon the earth; "how that it chanced him the evening before to be walking abroad about the fields, taking the air, solitarie allone, without the toun of Sanct Johnstoun, wher his present dwelling was with the lord his brother; and there by accident affirmed to have recounted a base like fellow, unknowne to him, with a cloke cast about his mouth; whome at as he enquired his name, and what his errand was, to be passing in so solitarie a part, being from all waies. The fellow become at the suddain so amased, and his tongue so faultered in his mouth, that, uppon his suspitious behaviour, he begouth more narrowly to look unto him, and examine him; and, perceaving that there appeared some thing to bee hid under his cloke, he did cast by the lappes of it; and so findes a great wyde pot to be under his arme, all full of coyned gold in great peeces: assuring his Majestie, that it was in verie great quantitie. Upon the sight whereof (as hee affirmed), he took back the fellow with his burthen to the toun; where he privatly, without the knowledge of any living, took the fellow, and band him in a privie derved

¹ [Rode.]

house, and, after lōkking many dures² uppon him, left him there, and his pot with him, and had haisted himself out of Sanct-Johnstoun that day, by four houres in the morning, to make his Majestie advertised therof, according to his bound dutie: earnestlie requesting his Majestie, with all diligence and secrecie, that his Majestie might take order therewith, before anie know thereof; swearing and protesting, that he had yet concealed it from all living, yea, from the Earle his owne brother."

His Majestie's first answer was (after thanking him for his good-will), "That it could not become his Majestie to meddle anie wayes in that matter, since no man's treasure, that is a free and lawfull subject, can by the lawe appertaine unto the king, except it bee found hid under the earth, as this was not." Whereunto he answered, "That the fellow confessed unto him, that hee was going to have hid it under the ground," but could not take leasure at that tyme to enquire any further of him. Whereunto his Majestie replied, "That there was great difference betwixt a deed, and the intention of a deed: his intention to have hid it, not beeing alyke as if it had beene found alreadie hid. "Maister Alexander's answer was, "That hee thought his Majestie over scrupulous in such a matter, tending so greatly to his Majestie's profite; and that, if his Majesty deferred to meddle with it, it might bee, that the lord his brother, and other great men, might meddle with it, and make his Majestie the more a-doe." Whereupon the King, beginning to suspect that it had been some forraine gold, brought home by some Jesuites, or practising Papists (therewith to sturre up some newe sedition, as they have oftentimes done before) inquired of the said M. Alexander, "What kinde of coine it was, and what a fellow hee was that carried it?" His answer was, "That, so far as hee could take leasure to see of them, they seemed to bee forraine and uncouth strokes of coine; and, although that the fellow, both by his language and fashion, seemed to bee a Scots fellow, yet hee could never remember, that hee had seene him before." These speaches increased his Majestie's suspition, that it was forraine coyne, brought in by some practising Papists, and to bee distributed into the countrie, as is before said. And that the fellowe, that carried it, was some Scots priest or seminarie, so disguised for the more sure transporting thereof. Whereupon his Majestie resolved, that he would send backe with the said maister Alexander a servand of his own, with a warrand to the provost and baillies of Sanct-Johnstoun, to receave both the fellow and the money off maister Alexander's hand; and, after they had examined the fellow, to retain him and the treasure, till his Majestie's further pleasure were knowne. Whereat the said maister Alexander sturred marvelously, affirming and protesting, "that if either the lord his brother, or the baillies of the toun were put on the counsal thereof, his Majestie would get a verie bad compt of that treasure; swearing, that the great love and affection he bare unto his Majestie, had made him to preferre his Majestie, in this cace, both to himself, and his brother. For the which service he humblie craved that recompence, that his Majesty would take the paines once to ryde thither, that he might bee the first seear thereof himself; which beeing done, he woulde remit to his Majestie's owne honorable discretion, how far it would please his Majestie to consider upon him for that service." His Hienes beeing stricken in great admiration, both of the uncouthnes of the tale, and of the strange and stupide behaviour of the reporter; and the court being alreadie horsed, wondring at his Majestie's so long stay with that gentleman, the morning being so fair, the game alreadie found, and the huntismen so long staying on the fields on his Majestie, he was forced to break off onlie with these wordes: "That hee coulde not nowe staye anie longer from his sporte, but that hee would consider of the matter; and, at the end of his chase, give him a resolute answer, what order he would take therein." Whereupon his Majesty parted in haste from him towardses the place where the game was. Maister Alexander parting from his Majestie verie discontent, that indelaiedlie he raid not to Sanct-Johnstoun, as he desired him; protesting, "That his Majestie would not finde everie day such a choise of hunting, as he had offered unto him; and that hee feared, that his Majestie's long delay, and slowness of resolution, would breed leasure to the fellow, who was lying bound, to cry, or make such din, as would disappoint the secrecie of that hail

² [Doors.]

purpose, and make both the fellow and the treasure to be medled with, before any word could come from his Majestie: as also, that his brother would misse him, in respect of his absence that morning; which if his Majestie had pleased to haste, he might have prevented, arryving there in the tyme of his brother's and the whole towne's being at the sermon; whereby his Majestie might have taken such secrete order with that matter, as hee pleased, before their outcomming from the church." But, his Majestie, without anie further answering of him, leaping on horse-back, and ryding to the dogs, where they were beginning to hunt, the said maister Alexander, stayed still in that place wher hee left his Majestie; and, having two men with him appointed by the late Earle his brother, to carrie back unto him the certaine newes, in al haist, of his Majestie's comming, (as heerafter more particulie shall in this same discourse be declared,) hee directed one of them, called Andrew Henderson, chalmerlane to the said Earle, to ryde in all haste to the Earle; commanding him, as hee loved his brother's honour, that hee shoulde not spare for spilling of his horse; and that hee should advertise the Earle, that hee hoped to move his Majestie to come thither, and that hee should not yet looke for him, the space of three houres thereafter, because of his Majestie's hunting, adding these words: "Pray my lord, my brother, to prepare the denner for us." But his Majestie was no sooner ridden up to a little hil above the little woode, wher the dogs were laid on in hunting, but that, notwithstanding the pleasant beginning of the chase, hee could not stay from musing and wondering upon the newes. Whereupon, without making anie bodie acquainted with this purpose, finding John Nesmith, chirurgian, by chance ryding beside him, his Majestie directed him back to bring maister Alexander with him; who being brought unto his Majestie, and having newlie directed, as said is, one of his men, that was with him, back to my lord his brother, his Majestie (unknowing or suspecting that any man living had come with him,) then tolde him, "that hee had bene advysing with himself, and in respect of his last wordes so earnest with him, hee resolved to ryde thither for that crand in his own person, how soone the chase was ended, which was alreadie begun:" lyke as his Majesty, uppon the verie ending of these words, did ryde away in the chase, the said maister Alexander ever following him at his back; no other living being with his Hienesse, but hee, and John Hammilton of Grange, one of his Majestie's maister-stablers, the reste of the court being all before in the chase, his Majestie onlie being casten back, upon the staying to speak with maister Alexander, as is before said. The chase lasted from seven houres in the morning, until alleven and more, being one of the greatest and sorest chases, that ever his Majestie was at: all which tyme, the said maister Alexander was, for the most part, ever at his Majestie's back, as said is. But there never was anie stop in the chase, or so small a delay, that the said maister Alexander omitted to round to his Majestie, earnestly requesting him to haist the end of the hunting, that he might ryde the sooner to Sanct-Johnstoun. So as, at the death of the buck, his Majestie, not staying upon the curie of the deir, (as his use is,) scarcely took time to alight, awaiting-uppon the comming of a fresh horse to ryde on, the greatnesse of the chase having wried his horse. But the said maister Alexander would not suffer the King to stay in the parke where the buck was killed, whil his fresh horse, which was already sent for, was brought out of the equery to him, although it was not two flight shot of bounds betwixt the part, where the buck was killed, and his Majestie's equerie; but, with verie importunitie, forced his Majestie to leap on againe upon that same horse, that hee had hunted all the day uppon, his freshe horse beeing made to gallop a myle of the way to overtake him; his Majestie not staying so much as uppon his sword, nor whil the Duke and the Earle of Mar, with diverse gentlemen in his companie, had changed their horses; onlie saying unto them, "that hee was to ryde to Sanct-Johnstoun to speak with the Earle of Gowry, and that hee would bee presently back againe before even." Whereupon some of the court galloped backe to Falkland, als fast as they could, to change their horses, and could not overtake his Majestie, whill he come within four myle of Sanct-Johnstoun. Others raid fordward with their horses, wried as they were; wherof some were compelled to alight by the way; and, if they had not both refreshed their horses, bled them, and given them some grasse by the way, they had not carried them to Sanct-Johnstoun. The cause of his Majestie's servands following so fast, undesired by him, being onlie grounded

upon a suspition they had conceived, that his Majestie's intention of ryding was for the apprehension of the maister of Oliphant, one who had latelie done a vyle and proud oppression in Angus; for repairing of the which, they thoght, that his Majestie had some purpose for his apprehension. But the said maister Alexander, seeing the Duke and the Earle of Mar, with divers other of the court, getting fresh horses for following of his Majestie, earnestlie desired him, that hee would publish to his whole traine, that, since he was to returne the same evening, as is before said, they needed not to follow him; especiallie, that he thought it meetest, that his Majestie should stay the Duke and the Earle of Mar to follow him, and that he should onlie take three or four of his owne meane servands with him; affirming, that, if anie noble man followed him, hee could not answere for it, but that they would marre that whole purpose. Wherupon his Majestie, half angerlie, replied, "That he wold not mistrust the Duke, nor the Earle of Mar, in a greater purpose nor that; and that hee could not understand, what hinder anie man could make in that erand." But these last speeches of M. Alexander's maid the King to begin to suspecte what it could meane; whereuppon manie diverse thoughts begouth to enter in the King's minde. But that his Majestie could never suspect anie harme to be intended against his Hienes, by that young gentleman, with whome his Majestie had bene so well acquainted, as hee had, not long before, beene in sute to be one of the gentlemen of his chalmer. So as the farthest, that the King's suspition could reache to, was, that it might bee, that the Earle his brother had handled him so hardlie, that the young gentleman, being of a hie spirit, had taken such displeasure, as he was become somewhat by himself; which his Majestie conjectured aswell by his raised and uncouth stairing, and continuall pensiveness, all the time of the hunting, as likewise by such strange sort of unlykelie discourses, as is alreadie mentioned. Wherupon, his Majesty took occasion to make the Duke of Lennox acquainted with the whol purpose, enquiring of him verie earnestlie, "What he knew of that young gentleman's nature, beeing his brother in law? And, if he had ever perceived him to be subject to any high apprehension?" His Majestie declaring his suspition plainelie to the said Lord Duke, that hee thought him not well settled in his wits; alwaies desiring my Lord Duke not to faile to accompanie him in to that house, where the alledged fellow and treasure was. The Lord Duke wondered much at that purpose, and thought it verie unlikelie; yet he affirmed, that hee could never perceave any such appearance in that gentleman's inclination. But maister Alexander, perceyving his Majestie's privie conference with the Duke, and suspecting the purpose, as it appeared, came to the King, requesting his Majestie verie earnestlie, "that he shoulde makenone living acquainted with that purpose, nor suffer none to go with his Majesty, where he should convoy him, but himselfe onlie; untill his Majestie had once seene the fellowe and the treasure." Whereunto his Majestie, halfe-laughing, gave answere, "That he was no good teller of money, and behooved therefore to have some to helpe him in that erand." His replye was, "That hee woulde suffer none to see it, but his Majestie's selfe, at the first; but, afterward, hee might call in whom hee pleased." These speeches did so encrease his Majestie's suspition, that then he begouth directly to suspect some treasonable devise; yet, manie suspitions and thoughts overwhelming everie one an other in his minde, his Majestie coulde resolve upon no certaine thing, but raid further on his journey, betwixt trust and distrust, beeing ashamed to seeme to suspect in respect of the cleannesse of his Majestie's own conscience, except he had found some greater ground. The said maister Alexander still preasing the King to ride faster; although his owne horse was scarcelie able to keepe companie with the King, for wearinesse, having riden with him, all the chase before: but, as the King was come two miles from Falkland, the said maister Alexander stayed a little behind the King in the way, and posted away the other servand, Andrew Ruthven, to the Earle his brother, advertising him, howe farre the King was on his waye to come thither. Then, how soon soever the King come within a myle to the toun of Sanct-Johnston, he said to his Majesty, "that he would poste in before, to advertise the Earle his brother of his Majestie's comming:" who, at his incomming to him, was sitting at the middes of his denner, never seeming to take knowledge of the King's comming, whill his brother told it him, notwith-

standing of his two servands advertising him thereof before. And, immediatelie upon his brother's reporte, rysing in haste from the borde, and warning al the servands and friendes to accompanie him to meete his Majesty, met him, to the number of three or four score, at the end of the Insh, his Majestie's whole companie and traine not exceeding the number of sixteene persons, and al without any kinde of armour, except swords; no, not so much as daggers, or whingears. His Majestie stayed an houre, after his comming to the said Earle's lodging, in Sanct-Johnstoun, before his denner come in. The longsomesse of the prepairing of the same, and badnesse of the cheare, beeing excused, uppon the sodainty of his Majestie's comming unlooked for there. During the which tyme, his Majestie enquired of maister Alexander, "When it was tyme to him to goe to that private house, for that erand, whereof he had informed him?" Whose answer was, "That al was sure enough; but that there was no haste yet, for an houre, whill his Majesty had dynd at leisure; praying his Majesty to leave him, and not to be seen to round with him before his brother, who, having missed him that morning, might thereupon suspect, what the matter could meane." Therefore his Majesty addressed him to the Earle, and discoursed with him upon sundrie purposes, but could get no direct answer of him, but halfe-words, and imperfect sentences. His Majestie beeing set down to the denner, the said Earle stood very pensive, and with a dejected countenance, at the end of his Majestie's table, oft rounding over his shoulder, whiles to one of his servands, and whiles to another; and oftentims went out and in to the chamber. Which forme of behaviour he likewise kept before his Majestie's sitting downe to denner, but without any welcomming of his Majestie, or anie other hartlie forme of entertainment; the noblemen and gentlemen of the court, that was with his Majesty, standing about the table, and not desired to dyne, as use is, when his Majesty is once set down, and his first service brought up, until the King's Majesty had almost dynd. At the which time, the Earle convoyed them forth to their dinner, but sate not down with them him selfe, as the common forme is, but come back, and stood silent at the end of the King's table, as of before; which his Majestie perceaving, did begin to entertaine the Earle in an homelie manner, wondering that hee had not remained to dine with his guests, and entertaine them there. In the meane tyme, his Majesty beeing ready to rise from the table, and his whole servants beeing in the hal at their dinner, the said maister Alexander, standing behinde his Majestie's backe, pulled quietlie uppon him, rounding in his Majestie's eare, "That it was tyme to goe; but that hee woulde have faine bene quite of the Earle his brother, wishing the King to send him out to the hall to entertaine his guests." Wherupon the King called for a drinke, and, in a merrie and homelie manner, said to the Earle, "That, although the Earle had seene the fashion of entertainment in other countries, yet hee would teach him the Scottishe fashion, seeing hee was a Scottish man; and therefore, since hee had forgot to drink to his Majestie, or to sit with his guests, and entertaine them, his Majestie would drink to him his owne welcome; desiring him to take it foorth, and drinke to the rest of the company; and, in his Majestie's name, to make them welcome." Wherupon, as he went foorth, his Majestie did rise from the table, and desired M. Alexander to bring Sir Thomas Erskine with him; who, desiring the King to go forward with him, and promising that he should make anie one or two follow him, that he pleased to cal for; desired his Majesty to command publikly, that none should follow him. And thus the King, accompanied onelie with the said maister Alexander, commes forth of the chamber, passes through the end of the hal, where the noblemen and his Majestie's servants were sitting at their dinner, up a turne-pyke, and through three or four high chambers, (the said maister Alexander ever lokking behinde him every dore as he past;) and then, with a more smyling countenance nor he had all the day before, ever saying he had him sure and safe enough kept; until at last, his Majesty passing through three or four sondrie houses, and all the dores lokked behind him, his Majestie entered into a little studie, where his Majestie did see standing, with a verie abased countenance, not a bound-man, but a free man, with a dagger at his girdle. But his Majestie had no sooner entered into that little studie, and maister Alexander with him, but maister Alexander lokked to the studie dore behind him, and at that instant, changing his countenance, putting his hat on his

head, and drawing the dagger from that other man's girdle, held the point of it to the King's breast, avowing now, that the King behoved to be in his will, and used as he list; swearing manie bloody othes, that, if the King cried one word, or opened a windoe to look out, that dagger should presently go to his hart: Affirming, "that hee was sure, that now the King's conscience was burdened for the murthering of his father." His Majestie, wondering at so suddaine an alteration, and standing naked, without any kynde of armour but his hunting horne, which hee had not gotten leisure to lay from him, betwixt these two traitors, which had conspired his life, the saide maister Alexander standing, as saide is, with a drawne dagger in his hand, and his sword at his side, but the other trembling and quaking, rather like ane condemned man, then an executioner of such an enterpryse; his Majesty begouth then to dilate to the saide maister Alexander, howe horrible a thing it was to him to meddle with his Majestie's innocent blood; assuring him it would not be left unrevenged, since God had given him children and good subjectes; and, if there were no more, God would raise up stocks and stones to punish so vyle a deed. Protesting before God, that hee had no burthen in his conscience, for the execution of his father; both in respect that, at the tyme of his father's execution, his Majestie was but a minor of age, and guyded at that tyme by a faction, which over-ruled both his Majestie, and the rest of the country; as also, that, whatsoever was done to his father, it was done by the ordinar course of law and justice. Appealing the saide maister Alexander upon his conscience, how well he, at al tymes since, had deserved at the hands of al his race; not only having restored them to al their landes and dignities, but also in nourishing and up-bringing of two or three of his sisters, as it were, in his own bosome, by a continual attendance upon his Majestie's dearest bedfellow in her privy chamber. Laying also before him the terrors of his conscience; especially that he made profession, according to his education, of the same religion which his Majestie has ever professed: and namelie his Majestie remembred him of that holie man, M. Robert Rollock, whose scholler he was; assuring him, that one day the said M. Robert's soule would accuse him, that hee had never learned of him to practise such unnaturall crueltie. His Majestie promising to him, in the worde of a prince, that if hee would spare his life, and suffer him to go out againe, hee should never reveale to any fleshe living what was betwixt them at that tyme, nor never suffer him to incur anie harme or punishment for the same. But his Majestie's feare was, that hee could hope for no spairing at his hand, having such cruelty in his lookes, and standing so irreverently covered, with his hat on; which forme of rigorous behaviour could prognosticat no thing to his Majestie, but present extremitie. But, at his Majestie's perswasive language, hee appeareth to bee somewhat amased; and discovering his head againe, swore and protested, "that his Majestie's lyfe should be safe, if hee would behave him selfe quyetlie, without making noyes, or crying; and that he would onlie bring in the Earle, his brother, to speak with his Majestie." Wherupon, his Majestie enquyring, "what the Earle would do with him; since (if his Majestie's life was safe, according to promise) they could gaine little in keeping such a prisoner?" His answer onlie was, "That hee could tel his Majestie no more, but that his lyfe would bee safe, in case hee behaved him selfe quietlie; the rest the Earle, his brother, whome hee was going for, would tel his Majestie, at his comming." And with that, as hee was going forth for his brother, as hee affirmed, hee turned him about to the other man, saying these wordes unto him: "I make you heere the King's keeper, untill I come back againe, and look that ye keep him upon your owne perill." And therewithall sayes to his Majestie, "Ye must content your selfe to have this man nowe your keeper, untill my back-comming." And with these words he passes foorth, lokking the dore behinde him, and leaving his Majestie with that man he fand there before him. At whome his Majestie then enquyred, "If he was appointed to be the murtherer of him at that tyme? And how far he was upon the counsell of that conspiracie?" Whose answer, with a trembling, and astonished voice and behaviour, was: "That, as the Lord should judge him, hee was never made acquainted with that purpose, but that hee was put in ther perforce, and the dore lokked behinde him, a little space before his Majestie's comming:" as indeede, al the

tyme of the said maister Alexander's menassing his Majestie, he was ever tremblinglie requesting him for God's sake, and with manie other attestations, not to meddle with his Majestie, or to do him anie harme. But, because maister Alexander had, before his forth-going, made the King to sweare, that he should not cry, nor open anie of the windoes, his Majestie commanded the saide fellow to open the windoe with his hand; which he readelie did; so that, although hee was put in there to use violence over the King, yet God so turned his hart at that time, as hee became a slave to his prisoner. While his Majestie was in this dangerous estate, and none of his owne servants nor traine knowing in what part of the worlde he was in, as his Majestie's traine was arysing in the hal from their dinner, the Earle of Gowrie being present with them, one of the Earle of Gowrie's servants commes hastelie in, assuring the Earle his maister, "that his Majesty was horsed and away through the Inshe;" which the Earle reporting to the noblemen, and the rest of his Majestie's traine that was there, they al rushe out together at the gate in great haste; and, some of his Majestie's servants enquiring at the porter, "When his Majestie went forth?" The porter affirmed, "That the King was not yet forth." Wherupon the said Earle looked verie angerlie upon him, and saide he was but a liar; yet, turning him to the Duke and to the Earle of Mar, said, "hee should presentlie get them sure word where his Majestie was." And with that ran throgh the close, and up the staire. But his purpose indeede was to speak with his brother; as appeared verie well by the circumstance of the tyme, his brother having at that same instant left the King in the little studie, and ran down the staire in great haste. Immediately thereafter the Earle cometh back, running againe to the gate wher the noblemen and the rest were standing in a mase, assuring them that the King was out long since at the back-gate, and, if they hasted not them al the sooner, they would not get him overtaken, and with that cried for his horse; whereupon they rushe altogether out at the gate, and makes towardes the Inshe, crying al for their horses; passing al (as it was the Providence of God) under one of the windoes of that studie, wherein his Majestie was. To whome maister Alexander verie spedelie returned; and, at his incomming to his Majestie, casting his hands abroad in a desperate manner, saide, "hee could not mend it, his Majestie behoved to die;" and with that offered a garter to bind his Majestie's hands, with swearing he behoved to be bound. His Majestie at that word of binding said, "Hee was born a free king, and should die a free king." Wherupon hee gripping his Majestie by the wrest of the hand to have bound him, his Majestie releevd him selfe suddainlie of his grips; wherupon, as he put his right hand to his sworde, his Majestie, with his right hand, seized upon both his hand and his sworde, and with his left hand clasped him by the throat, like as hee with his left hand clasped the King by the throat with two or three of his fingers in his Majestie's mouth, to have staid him from crying. In this forme of wrestling, his Majestie, perforce, drewe him to the windoe, which hee had caused the other man before to open unto him, and under the which was passing by at the same tyme the King's traine, and the Earle of Gowrie with them, as saide is; and, holding out the right side of his head and right elbowe, cried, "That they were murthuring him there in that treasonable forme;" whose voice being instantly heard and knowne by the Duke of Lennox, and the Earle of Mar, and the rest of his Majestie's traine there, (but the said Earle of Gowrie ever asking what it meant, and never seeming anie wayes to have seen his Majestie or heard his voice,) they all rushed in at the gate together, the Duke and the Earl of Mar running about to come by that passage his Majestie come in at, but the Earle of Gowrie and his servants made them for another way up a quyet turnpyke, which was ever condemned before, and was onlie then left open, as appeared for that purpose. And in this mean time, his Majestie, with strugeling and wrystling with the saide maister Alexander, had brought him out perforce out of that study, the dore wherof, for haste, he had left open at his last incomming; and his Majestie having gotten with long struggling the saide maister Alexander's head under his arme, and him selfe on his knees, his Majestie did drive him backe perforce, hard to the dore of the same turnpyke; and as his Majestie was throwing his sworde out of his hand, thinking to have stricken him

therewith, and then to have shotte him over the stair, the other fellow standing behind the King's backe, and doing nothing but trembling all the tyme; Sir John Ramsay, not knowing what way first to enter, (after he had heard the King's cry,) by chance finds that turn-pyke dore open, and following it up to the head, enters into the chamber, and findes his Majestie and maister Alexander strugling in that forme, as is before saide; and, after he had twise or thrise stricken maister Alexander with his dagger, the other man withdrew him selfe, his Majestie still keeping his grips, and holding him close to him; immediately therafter he tooke the said maister Alexander by the shoulders, and shotte him down the staire; who was no sooner shotte out at the doore, but he was met by Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hew Hereis, who there, upon the staire, ended him: the said Sir Thomas Erskine being casten behinde the Duke and the Earle of Mar, that ran about the other way, by the occasion of his meddling with the saide late Earle upon the street, after the hearing of his Majestie's cry. For, upon the hearing thereof, hee had clasped the Earle of Gowrie by the gorget, and casting him under his feet, and, wanting a dagger to have stricken him with, the said Earle's men redde the Earle their maister out of his hands; whereby he was casten behinde the rest, as saide is; and, missing the companie, and hearing the saide Sir John Ramsay's voice upon the turn-pyke head, ran up to the said chamber, and cried upon the said Hew Hereis and another servant to follow him; where, meeting with the saide maister Alexander in the turn-pyke, he ended him there, as saide is; the saide maister Alexander onely crying for his last words, "Allace! I had not the wyte of it." But no sooner could the saide Sir Thomas, Sir Hew, and another servant win in to the chamber wher his Majestie was, but that the said Earle of Gowrie, before they could get the dore shutte, followed them in at the back, having casten him directly to come up that privie passage, as is before saide; who, at his first entrie, having a drawne sworde in everie hand, and a steil bonnet on his head, accompanied with seven of his servants, everie one of them having in like manner a drawne sworde, cried out with a great oath, "That they shoulde all die as traitors." At the which tyme his Majestie was still in the chamber, who, seeing the Earl of Gowrie come in with his swordes in his hands, sought for maister Alexander's sworde, which had fallen from him at his out-shutting at the dore, having no sort of weapon of his owne, as saide is; but then was shot backe by his owne servants that were there, into the little studie, and the dore shutt upon him; who, having put his Majestie in safetie, re-encountred the saide Earle and his servants; his Majestie's servants being onlie in nomber four; to wit, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Hereis, Sir John Ramsay, and one Wilsoun, a servant of James Erskine's, a brother of the saide Sir Thomas; the saide Earle having seven of his servants with him: Yet it pleased God after manie strokes on al hands to give his Majestie's servants the victorie, the saide Earle of Gowrie beeing stricken dead with a stroke through the heart, (which the saide Sir John Ramsay gave him,) without once crying upon God, and the rest of his servants flung over the stair with many hurts; as in like manner the saide Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Hereis, and Sir John Ramsay, were all three hurt and wounded. But, all the tyme of this fight, the Duke of Lennox, the Earle of Mar, and the rest of his Majestie's traine were striking with great hammers at the utter doore, wherby his Majestie past up to the chamber, with the said maister Alexander; which also he had lokked in his by-comming with his Majestie to the chamber, but by reason of the strength of the saide double dore, the whole wall being likewise of bordes, and yeelding with the strokes, it did byde them the space of half an houre and more, before they coulde get it broken and have entresse. Who, having met with his Majestie, and (beyond their expectation) his Majestie delivered from so imminent a perill, and the saide late Earle, the principall conspirator, lying dead at his Majestie's feete. Immediatlie therafter his Majestie kneeling downe, on his knees, in the midst of his own servants, and they all kneeling round about him, his Majestie out of his own mouth thanked God of that miraculous deliverance and victory, assuring him selfe, "that God had preserved him from so dispaired a perill for the perfiting of some greater worke behinde to his glorie, and for the procuring by him the wel of his people, that God had committed to his charge." After this the tumult of

the toun, (hearing of the slaughter of the saide Earle of Gowrie, their provost, and not knowing the manner therof, nor beeing on the counsell of his treasonable attempt,) continued for the space of two or thre houres, thereafter; untill his Majestie by oft speaking out to them at the windoes, and beakening to them with his owne hand, pacifying them, causing the baylies and the rest of the honest men of the toun to bee brought into the chamber; to whom having declared the whole forme of that strange accident, hee committed the house and bodies of the said traitors, brethren, to their keeping, untill his Majestie's further pleasure were knowne. His Majestie, having before his parting out of that toun, caused to searche the saide Earle of Gowrie's pockets, in case anie letters that might further the discoverie of that conspiracie, might bee found therein. But no thing was found in them, but a little close parchment bag, full of magicall characters, and words of inchantment, wherin, it seemed, that he had put his confidence, thinking him selfe never safe without them, and therfore ever carried them about with him; beeing also observed, that, while they were uppon him, his wound wherof he died, bled not, but, incontinent after the taking of them away, the blood gushed out in great abundance, to the great admiration of al the beholders: an infamy which hath followed and spotted the race of this house, for manie discent, as is notoriouslie knowne to the whole countrie. Thus the night was far spent, being neir eight houres at evening before his Majestie could (for the great tumult that was in the toun) departe out of the same. But before his Majestie had ridden four myles out of the same towardes Falkland, although the night was verie darke and rainie; the whole way was cled with all sorts of people, both on horse and foote, meeting him with great joy and acclamation. The frequencie and concourse of persons of al degrees to Falkland, the rest of the weeke, and to Edinburgh the next, from al the quarters of the countrie; the testimonie of the subjects' hartie affection and joy for his Majestie's deliverie, expressed every wher by ringing of bells, bonfires, shutting of gunnes of al sorts both by sea and land, &c. with all other things ensuing therupon, I have of set purpose pretermitted, as well knowne to al men, and impertinent to this discourse; contenting my selfe with this plaine and simple narration; adding onlie, for explanation and confirmation therof, the depositions of certaine persons who were either actors, and eie-witnesses, or immediate hearers of those things that they declair and testifie; wherein, if the reader shall finde anie thing differing from this narration, either in substance or circumstance, hee may understand the same to be uttered by the deponer in his owne behoof, for obtaining of his Majestie's princelie grace and favour.

Apud Falkland, 9 August, 1600.

In presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Secretare, Lord Comptroller, Lord Advocate, the Lord Incheffray, and Sir George Home of Spot, Knight.

JAMES Weimis of Bogy, of the age of xxvi. yeare, or therby, sworne and examined uppon the forme and manner of behaviour of late John, Earle of Gowrie, the tyme of his being with him at Straban; or if he had heard the saide Earle make anie motion of the treason intended against his Majestie; depones that hee neither heard nor sawe anie appearance of anie such intention in the said Earle.

Demanded, if hee was in anie purpose with the said Earle anent anie matters of curiositie; depones, that at their being in Strabran, some of their company found an edder, which being killed, and knowledge therof comming to the Earle, the Earle said to this deponer, "Bogy, if the edder had not beene slaine, yee should have seene a good sport; for I should have caused her stand still, and she should not have preissed away, by pronouncing of an Hebrew worde, which in Scottish is called, Holinesse:" but the Hebrew worde the deponer remembers not of; and that the Earle saide hee had put the same in practice oft before. And this deponer enquiring at the Earle, "Where hee did get the Hebrew worde?" the Earle answered, "In a cabbalist of the Jewes, and that it

was by tradition ;" and the deponer enquiring, " What a cabalist meant ?" the Earle answered, " It was some wordes which the Jewes had by tradition ; which wordes were spoken by God to Adam in Paradice, and therfore were of greater efficacie and force nor anie wordes which were excogitate since by prophetes and apostles." The deponer enquiring, " If there was no more requisite but the worde ?" the Earle answered, " That a firm faith in God was requisite and necessarie ; and that this was no matter of marvel amongst schollers, but that al these things were naturall." And that the Earle shew to this deponer, that hee had spoken with a man in Italie, and first hearing by report that hee was a nigromancer, and therafter being informed, that hee was a verie learned man and a deep theologue, he entered in further dealing with him anent the curiosities of nature.

Depones further, that the said Earle reported to him, that, hee being at the musick, hee fell in companie with another man, who stairing in the Earle's face, spake to the rest of the companie things of him, which he could never attain unto, nor be worthie of ; and therfore that the Earle reproached him, and desired him to forbear these speeches. And that he met again with the saide man in a like company, who did begin with the same language which he had spoken before ; and that the Earle saide to him, " My friend, in cace yee wil not hold your peace from speaking lies of mee, I wil make you hold your peace by speaking sooth of you ;" and saide unto him, " Within such a space hee should be hanged for such a crime ;" and so it came to passe. This deponer enquiring of the Earle, " Who told him that ?" hee answered merely, " That hee spake it beguesse ;" and it fell out so. And that the Earle saide further, " That it was no thing to make an herb flesh, which would dissolve in flies ; and that, likewise, it was possible that the seed of man and woman might be brought to perfection otherwise then by the matrix of the woman : " and that this deponer counselled the Earle to bewar with whom he did communicate such speeches ; who answered, " That hee woulde speake them to none but to great schollers, and that hee woulde not have spoken them to this deponer, if he had not knowne him to bee a favourer of him, and a friend of his house, and woulde not reveale the same again, seeing he knew they would be evill interpreted amongst the common sorte."

Sic subscribitur,

J. WEIMIS of Bogye.

Apud Falkland, 20 August, 1600.

In presence of the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Advocate ; Sir George Home of Spot, Sir Robert Melvill, and Sir James Melvill, Knights.

MAISTER William Rynd, sworne and examined ; and demanded, where he first did see the characters which were found upon my Lord ; depones, that hee, having remained a space in Venice, at his returning to Padua, did finde in my Lord's pocket the characters which were found upon him at his death ; and the deponer enquiring of my Lord, " Where he had gotten them ?" my Lord answered, " That by chance he had copied them himselfe : " and that the deponer knowes, that the characters in Latin are my Lord's owne hand write, but he knows not if the Hebrew characters were written by my Lord. Depones further, that when my Lord woulde change his clothes, the deponer woulde take the characters out of my Lord's pocket, and woulde say to my Lord, " Wherefore serves these ?" And my Lord woulde answere, " Can yee not let them bee, they do you no evill : " and further the deponer declares, that sometimes my Lord would forget them untill hee were out of his chamber, and would turn back as he were in an anger, untill he had found them, and put them in his owne pocket. Depones further, that he was sundrie times purposed to have burnt the characters, were not he feared my Lord's wraith and anger, seeing, when the deponer woulde purposelie leave them sometimes out of my Lord's pocket, my Lord would bee in such an anger with the deponer, that for a certaine space he woulde not speak with him, nor coulde finde his good countenance ;

and that, to this deponer's opinion, my Lord woulde never be content to want the characters off him selfe, from the first time that the deponer did see them in Padua, to the houre of my Lord's death.

Being demanded, for what cause my Lord kept the characters so well? Depones, that to his opinion it was for no good, because he heard that, in those parts where my Lord was, they would give sundrie folks breeves.

Depones further, that M. Patrick Galloway did let this deponer see the characters, since hee came to this toun of Falkland; and that hee knowes them to be the verie same characters which my Lord had.

Depones also, that uppon Monday the fourth of August, the maister, Andrew Hendersoun, and the deponer, remained in my Lord's chamber until about ten houres at even, and, after a long conference betwixt the Lord and the maister, my Lord called for Andrew Hendersoun, and, after some speeches with him, dismissed them.

Denies that he knew of the maister's or Andrew Hendersoun's ryding to Falkland, and after Andrew's returne from Falkland upon the morrow, howbeit he did see him booted, yet he knew not that hee was come from Falkland.

Depones that, my Lord being at dinner when the maister come in, the deponer heard my Lord say to the maister, "Is the King in the Inshe?" And with that he did rise, and said, "Let us goe." But the deponer knowes not what the maister said to my Lord.

Being demanded if he did see anie kinde of armour or weapons, except swordes, in the King's companie; depones that he did see none.

It being demanded, how the deponer was satisfied with my Lord's answere made to him concerning the King's comming to Sanct. Johnstoun, saying, that hee knewe not how hee come; declares, that hee thought that my Lord had dissembled with him, and that hee be-hooved to have knowne it; seeing his brother was come with his Majestie before that hee demanded of him, and that hee had conferred with my Lord privilie.

Depones, that hee knew not that the maister was ridden to Falkland, untill after his Majestie's comming to Sanct. Johnstoun; that Andrew Ruthwen told him, because the deponer enquired at Andrew Ruthwen, wher the maister and hee had bene, and that Andrew answered they had bene in Falkland; and that, the maister having spoken with the King, his Majestie come forward with them, and that this conference betwixt the deponer and Andrew Ruthwen was in the yarde, when my Lord was there. And Andrew Ruthwen shew to the deponer, that Andrew Hendersoun was directed by the maister to shew my Lord that his Majestie was comming.

Depones also that, in his opinion, the maister could not have drawne the King to my Lord's house, without my Lord's knowledge; and that, when hee heard the tumult, he was resolved in his heart the maister had done his Majestie wrong; and that no trewe Christian can think otherwise, but that it was an high treason, attempted against his Highnesse by the maister and the Lord.

Depones also that, to his opinion, the King's whole companie was within a dozen of men.

Sic suscribitur,

M. W. RYND.

22 August, 1600.

Maister William Rynd sworne and re-examined, if ever he heard the Earle of Gowrie utter his opinion anent the dutie of an wise man in the execution of an high enterprise? Declares that, being out of the countrie, hee has diverse times heard him reason in that matter; and that hee was ever of that opinion that hee was not an wise man, that having intended the execution of an high and dangerous purpose, communicate the same to any but to him selfe, because, keeping it to him selfe, it could not be discovered nor disappointed; which the deponer declared before un-required to the Comptroller, and maister

William Cowper, minister at Perth; and, hearing the depositions of Andrew Hendersoun red, and being enquiryed uppon his conscience what he thought of the fact that was committed against his Majestie; declares, that uppon his salvation that he beleeves Andrew Hendersoun has declared the circumstances trulie.

Sic subscribitur,

M. W. RYND.

Apud Falkland, 20 August, 1600.

In presence of the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Advocate, Comptrollar, and Sir George Home of Spot, Sir James Melvill, Knights.

ANDREW Hendersoun, sworne and examined, and demanded what purpose was betwixt him and the Earle of Gowrie, upon Monday at night the fourth of this instant, in the said Earle's chamber? Depones, that the Earle enquiryed of him what he would be doing uppon the morrow; and hee answering that hee was to ryde to Ruthwen; the Earle said to him, "You must ryde to Falkland with maister Alexander my brother; and when hee directs you backe, see that ye returne with al diligence, if he send a letter or anie other advertisement with you."

Depones, that the maister directed him to send for Andrew Ruthwen, to be in readinesse to ryde with them the morrow, at four houres in the morning.

Declares, that they comming to Falkland, about seven houres in the morning, the maister stayed in a ludging beside the palice, and directed the deponer to see what the King was doing; and, the deponer finding his Majestie in the close comming forth, he past back and told the maister, who immediatlie addressed him selfe to his Highnesse, and spake with his Majestie a good space beneth the equerie; and, after his Majestie was on horseback, the maister commes to the deponer, and commands him to fetch their horses, and bade him haste him, as he loved my Lord's honour and his, and advertise my Lord that his Majestie and hee would be there incontinent, and that his Majestie would be quiet: and, the deponer enquirying at the maister, if he should go presentlie, hee did bid him leap on and followe him, and not to go away untill he spake with the King; and the maister having spoken with the King, at a breach of the park wal, he turned backe and bade the deponer ride away; and the deponer making his return in al possible haste to Sanct. Johnstoun, he fand my Lord in his chamber about ten houres; who left the companie hee was speaking with, and come to the deponer, and asked, "Hath my brother sent a letter with you?" The deponer answered, "No; but they will be al heere incontinent;" and bade the deponer desire my Lord to cause prepare the dinner. Immediatlie thereafter, my Lord took the deponer to the cabinet, and asked at him, "How his Majestie took with the maister his brother?" The deponer answered, "Very well;" and that his Majestie laide his hand over the maister's shoulder. Therafter my Lord enquiryed, "If there was manie at the hunting with the King?" The deponer answered, "that he took no heed, but they who were accustomed to ride with his Majestie, and some Englishmen were there:" and that my Lord enquired, "what special men were with his Majestie;" and that the deponer answered, "hee did see none but my Lord Duke." And within an houre thereafter, when the deponent came in from his owne house, the Earle bid him put on his secreit and plait-sleeves, for he had an Heylandman to take, which the deponer did incontinent: and about twelve houres, when the deponer was going out to his owne house to his dinner, the steward came to him and shewe him that George Craingelt was not well, and was lyne down, desired him to tary and take up my Lord's dinner; and, about half an houre after twelve, my Lord commanded him to take up the first service; and, when the deponer was commanded to take up the second sevice, the maister and William Blair came into the hal to my Lord.

The deponer remembreth him selfe, that Andrew Ruthwen came before the maister a certaine space, and spake with my Lord quyetlie at the table, but heard not the particu-

lar purpose that was amongst them. And so soone as the maister came to the hal, my Lord and the whole company raise from the table; and the deponer, hearing the noyes of their foorth-going, supponed they were going to Makebreakes for Makilduy; and the deponer sent his boy for his gantlet and steil bonnet; and seeing my Lord passe to the Inshe, and not the Shoe-gate, the deponer did cast the gantlet in the pantrie, and caused his boy take his steil bonnet to his owne house; and he followed my Lord to the Inshe, and returning backe with his Majestie to the lodging; beeing directed to get drinke. And the maister came to the deponer, and did bid him cause maister William Rynd send him up the key of the gallerie chamber; who past up and delivered the key to the maister: and immediatlie my Lord followed up, and did speak with the maister, and came downe againe; and directed maister Thomas Cranstoun to the deponer to come to his Lordship in his Majestie's chamber. And that my Lord directed him to go up to the gallerie to his brother; and immediatlie my Lord followed up, and commanded the deponer to byde there with his brother, and to doe anie thing that hee bade him. The deponer enquiryed at the maister, "What have yee to do, Sir?" The maister answered, "Yee must goe in heere, and tarry untill I come backe, for I will take the key with mee." So he lokked the deponer in the rounde within the chamber, and took the key with him. Shortly thereafter, the maister returned, and the King's Majestie with him, to the saide cabinet in the rounde; and the maister, opening the dore, entered with the King into the said rounde; and at his verie entrie, covering his head, pulled out the deponer's dagger, and held the same to his Majestie's breast, saying, "Remember you of my father's murther? Yee shall now die for it;" and minting to his Hienes' heart with the dagger, the deponer threw the same out of the maister's hand, and swore, that, as God shall judge his soule, if the maister had retained the dagger in his hand the space that a man may go six steppes, he would have striken the King to the hilts with it. But wanting the dagger, and the King's Majestie giving him a gentle answere, hee saide to the King's Majestie with abhominable oathes, "That, if hee would keep silence, no thing should aile him, if hee woulde make such promise to his brother as they would crave of him:" and the King's Majestie enquirying what promise they would crave? he answered, "that he would bring his brother." So he goes forth, and lokkes the dore of the rounde upon his Majestie and the deponer; having first taken the King sworne that hee should not cry, nor open the windoe.

And his Majestie enquirying at the deponer what he was? he answered, "A servant of my Lord's." And his Majestie asking at the deponer, "If my Lord woulde doe anie evill to him?" the deponer answered, "As God shall judge my soule, I shall die first." And, the deponer preising to have opened the windoe, the maister entered, and said, "Sir, there is no remedie, by God, you must die;" and, having a loose garter in his hand, preised to have bound his Majestie's hands, and the deponer pulled the garter out of maister Alexander's hand. And then the maister did put one of his hands in his Majestie's mouth, to have staid him to speak, and held his other arme about his Hienes' neck: and that this deponer pulled the maister's hand from his Hienesse' mouth, and opened the windoe: and then his Majestie cried out therat, wherupon his Hienes' servant came in at the gate, and this deponer did run and open the dore of the turn-pyke heade, wherat John Ramsay entered; and the deponer stode in the chamber until he did see John Ramsay give the maister ane stroke, and thereafter privilie convoyed him selfe downe the turnpyke to his owne house; and the deponer's wife enquirying of him what the fraie meant? the deponer answered, that the King's Majestie would have been twice stikked, were not he releevd him.

Sic subscribitur,

ANDREW HENDERSOUN, with my hand.

Further, the saide Andrew Hendersoun depones, That after his returning from Falkland upon the fifth of this instant, maister John Montcrief enquirying of him, "where he had beene?" He answered, "That he had bene beyond the Bridge of Erne; and sayes,

that he gave that answere to maister John, because my Lord commanded him to let no man knowe that he was to ride to Falkland; and that my Lord's direction to him was to come backe with his brother maister Alexander's answere, and to leave Andrew Ruthwen to await upon the maister."

Sic subscribitur,

ANDREW HENDERSOUN, with my hand.

Further, the saide Andrew Hendersoun depones, that when hee had taken the maister's hand out of the King's Majestie's mouth, and was opening the windoe, maister Alexander said to him, Will thou not helpe? Wo betyde thee, thou will make us all die.

Sic subscribitur,

ANDREW HENDERSON, with my hand.

A Letter to a Member of Parliament; with two Discourses inclosed in it: 1. The One shewing the Reason why a Law should pass to punish Adultery with Death. 2. The Other shewing the Reasons why the Writ, *de Hæretico comburendo*, should be abolished.

*Non partis studiis agimur, sed sumsimus arma
Consiliis inimica tuis, ignavia fallax.*

Printed Anno 1675.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

The Publisher's Advertisement.

THESE Papers are made public, not in presumption to inform the Parliament, but only to give them an occasion to think of the subjects they treat of, it being wholly unimaginable but that the united wisdom of the nation will find out better and other reasons for the establishment of the things they propose.

The following short letter contains two proposals for the improvement of our laws, of which, that, for the abolishing the Writ *de Hæretico comburendo*, was soon after complied with.

Among the arguments for punishing adultery with death, he omits the authority of Cromwell, and his parliament, who passed the same law, which he so warmly recommends. As this writer, whoever he was, could not be probably much a favourer of the court-principles of that time, it is probable that he forgot this precedent, rather than contemned it; or per-

haps he might think, that the introduction of a name so odious as that of Cromwell, would make his arguments less regarded. J——*.

My dear Friend,

WHEN I review alone the grand entertainments of learning I used to meet with in your conversation, the wit of the poets, the reason of the philosophers, your excellent observations upon the actions of persons illustrious in arms, who have lived in the several ages of the world, my affliction is almost unimaginable to be separated from you. When you went up to the parliament, there was nothing could have staid me (who can scarce be happy a moment of my life without you) behind you in the country, but my infirmity of health, and a certain desire of enjoying the comfort and pleasures of the spring. You know, when we parted, how I conjured you always to bear in mind that grand rule, *Inter pericula libertatis, aut veritatis, silent amicitiae et inimicitiae*, and then the light of your own mind will dispel and overcome the darkness of others without noise or tumult. This world is governed by particular hatreds and friendships, not by the reasons of things; and there is nothing can keep you constant in your integrity, but the having a perpetual eye to that rule. I also then told you, you should look abroad as well as at home, keeping your eye on foreign affairs; for, although Hannibal be not yet *ad portas*, Philip is at Olynthus. I have herein inclosed the papers I promised you, in which I claim no property against your absolute power over them, do what you will with them. You know, the one contains a discourse shewing the reasons why adultery should be punished with death; the other, why the writ, *de Hæretico comburendo*, should be abolished. Adultery is the greatest of all thefts, a theft of which no restitution can be made:

——— *Nulla reparabilis arte,
Læsa pudicitia est, deperit illa semel.*

Marriage of late hath been looked upon as an engine, a toil to catch mankind in; the magistrate had need to encourage it, to prevent depopulations; and to be always secure and certain of our wives, is, in my judgment, the best of encouragements. As to the abolishing the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, you know, I ever have had a pity and charity of mankind, acknowledging in all a communion of minds and morality, and particularly for those that dissent from me in religion. *Omnis animus veritate invitatus privatur*: No beauty is so pleasant, so agreeable to the eye, as truth is to the soul; and all would love it, if they could discover it. As there is but one certain existence of things, so there is but one determinate truth of them, the same to all understandings, God's and man's both. If, after all my search and labour in knowledge, I cannot discover a beam of truth to guide and lead me into an unity of mind with God, am I to be made a criminal, and dealt with as a malefactor? He is infinite, and knows all things; but my poor understanding knows one thing, and doubts of a thousand: We are here in the body, *tristi et obscuro domicilio*; and the inspired Apostle himself saith, 'We see darkly, and but through a glass.' God hath unfolded himself in as great variety in the minds of men, as he hath done in the material world: the seed of religion springs up variously in human souls, as we see the seminal forms do, out of the earth; and would it not be madness or folly to destroy and cut up all trees and plants but the oak? I am not without all jealousy, that it is possible, we in England may return back to the church of Rome; not only because I see in history monarchies more subject to changes than common-wealths in matters of religion, and observe how indefatigable that infallible church (in its own judgment) is to revenge our schism from it upon us, and so may weary us out at last; and how unsafe they apprehend themselves at Rome, while the power of the sea is in the hands of the hereticks; but chiefly from the wild philosophy and atheism of the present age; atheism being a preparation to receive

any colour or tincture in religion. I would have the law of burning of hereticks repealed, lest we should see that day. It is a law sanguinary with a witness, written like Draco's, in characters of blood, as barbarous as that of Ordeal, or tryal by Battail; built upon no reason, but upon a self-opinion every sect hath, that it hath a monopoly of God to itself, and upon no Scripture I know of, but the monkish gloss, *Hæreticos de vitâ*.

My dear friend, although gentlemen of fine parts are sooner debauched in popular assemblies under a monarchy, than men of plainer wisdom; as native beauty is less subject to be tempted by others, than beauty accompanied with the ornaments of art: I doubt not at all your integrity in this parliament, you are not a man of fluttering principles betwixt knavery and honesty, you will herd in your vote with no cabal, but go with the squadron *volante*, as reason upon every debate appears to you; I know you account a liberty of judgment in an uninterested indifference of mind, without fears or hopes, a grandeur and excellence above the rewards of wealth from the court, or of fame from the people; nor am I afraid that, amidst the pleasure or business of the city, you will depart from the contemplative life, but be alone with your own mind, and drink of the spring of truth there, which overflowed so constantly your conversations with me in the country:

*Non Venus, aut vinum sublimia pectora fregit,
Officiumve fori—*

And as for our friendship, which has been a communion of minds and fortunes for several years, I have no cloud, no umbrage of jealousy towards you. Friends in this world are not like satyrs or centaurs, without real existence, as Cardan (under a melancholy) complains they are; I am sure I have found one, which (as he says) he never was so happy in his life to do. I will detain you no longer from the care of the public affairs. I am,

Dearest Sir,

April 17, 1675.

Your most sincerely affectionate Friend.

A short Discourse why a Law should pass in England, to punish Adultery with Death.

*Publicus assertor, vitiis suppressa levabo
Pectora, vindictæ quisq; favete suæ. OVID.*

IT will be necessary, before I give my reasons why such a law should pass, that I do explain what adultery is, the notion of it being ordinarily mistaken.

Adultery is the lying of a single or married man with another man's wife, and not the lying of a married man with a single woman. Thus it was constantly apprehended among the Jews, to whom God gave the law, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' And David's sin was the taking the poor man's ewe-lamb from him, which lay in his bosom, when he had flocks enough of his own. I presume, there is none doubts the Christian magistrate's power to make such a law: death is already amongst us the penalty for less crimes. We punish boldly with death a horse-stealer, or a cut-purse, without any scruple at all; and is not my property in my wife of nearer and dearer concern to me, than my horse, or a little pocket-money?

The primary law of nature is the observance of our contracts: for indeed, without this, there could be no government; the state of nature would still have continued: this crime intrenches highly on this law, dissolving the family-government; it is a breach of the solemnest contract (entered into *pro bono publico*, marriage being *seminarium reipublicæ*) imaginable. That is the nature of the crime, but the magistrate is chiefly to concern himself in the consequences of it; and they are more mischievous where the woman breaks the

contract on her part; for thereby a spurious issue, that robs the husband by wholesale of his estate, of all his own and his ancestors' acquisitions, is brought into his family. The crime is then a complication of all the wickedness in lust, breach of faith, and robbery; and therefore I may justly infer, that, seeing men equally concur with women to transact it, they are justly equally punishable.

If a man shall violate the companion of the king, or the companion of the eldest son and heir of the king, it is high-treason. By this, we see the care of the law, no spurious issue should inherit the crown: Should we not take some proportionable care of our own estates?

We may do well to reflect upon the example of other nations, as of the Jews (for many ages the only known people of God), amongst whom adultery was punished with death; upon the example of the *gentes moratiores* among the Heathens; of the Athenians, who upon Solon's law punished this crime capitally; of the Romans, who, in imitation of Solon's law, set down for their law in the twelve tables, *Mæchum in adulterio deprehensum necato*. Afterwards in the Roman state it was lawful for the husband, until the *Lex Julia* in his Augustus's time, *uxores in adulterio deprehensas sine judicio impunè necare*.

We may also consider what the Christian church has done for the suppression of this sin. In the first and best times of Christianity, they did all they could; having not *jus vitæ et necis* against it. The penance then for it was perpetual to the hour of death. Zepherinus, Bishop of Rome, anno 216, moderated the penance; but the African churches, and particularly the grand Tertullian, opposed it as an innovation.

The Ancyran council, anno 315, ordains seven years penance for it. And the council of Eliberis ordains, that he that commits adultery again, after penance for the first fault, should not be taken into communion at the hour of death.

In after-ages, when the Roman church was resolved upon a celibacy in her clergy, it was necessary the sin should be looked on with a gentle eye, and now it is dwindled down into a peccadillo; but is, in truth, like the peccadillo of not believing in God at all; for, if ever he gave a law to man, it is one to prohibit adultery. Several of the reformed countries (who have recovered themselves from under the empire of wit and fraud over their consciences by that church) punish the crime at this day with death.

As for us in England, our present law is not without the infusions of the Roman church upon it in this case; all the remedy, the injured husband hath by our law, is to sue a divorce in the spiritual court, and to be cozened with a sentence of separation *à mensâ et thoro*; a crafty invention against the plain gospel.

If the husband kill the adulterer, or his wife, found by him *in ipso actu*, the law excuseth him in this case from murder, but condemns him of man-slaughter; and hangs him, if he cannot read. What a poor remedy hath the injured man? If he kill the adulterer deliberately, not provoked by ocular demonstration, it is murder. Besides all this, the present law being so defective, the crime grows upon it; it is common; and this age gives it the soft and gentle French names of *gallantry* and *divertisement*, in apology for it! What ought the magistrate to do in this case, but to pursue this crime as far as his hand can reach, to the grave itself, and then *expectet Deum ultorem*?

A short Discourse, shewing why the Writ, *de Hæretico comburendo*, should be abolished.

*Chrysippus non dicit idem, nec mite Thaletis
Ingenium, dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto.* JUVENAL.

Pœna errantis est doceri. PLATO, cited by Grotius.

BEFORE I give my reasons, it will be necessary to shew the state of the law at present upon this writ. Before the statute, 2 Henry the Fourth, cap. 15, 'No person could be

‘ convicted of heresy, but by the archbishop, and all the clergy of the province ; but, by that statute, any particular bishop might in his diocese convict of heresy, and issue forth his precept to the sheriff, to burn the person he had convicted.’ A law whereby the clergy had gained a dominion over the lives of the subjects, independent upon the crown. It was repealed by the statute, 25 Henry the Eighth, cap. 14. ‘ But so as particular bishops may still convict ; but without the King’s writ, *de Hæretico comburendo*, first obtained, no person convict can be put to death :’ and so the law stands at this day.

My REASONS are these :

I. The continuance of this writ in force amongst us, is a standing reproach to the Christian religion we profess, (a religion of love and peace.) If it be not to be propagated in the whole by force and blood-shed, certainly a part of it, as a particular point of faith in it, is not. In the Gospel of Christ all the punishment of heresy, and of infidelity itself, are adjourned over, and left to the other world.

II. If an act pass to abolish this writ, it will be an act of indulgence in part, and give an assurance to all persons of a different judgment from the present established church, that they are secure as to their lives under the government.

III. If popery should ever return back into England, there must a parliament sit to repeal such an act, before any Protestant for his opinion could be put to death.

IV. Such an act would leave the power of the present church to convict, excommunicate, and imprison untouched ; only would take away their barbarous execution of her sentence.

If it be objected, ‘ The writ is grown obsolete and disused, and so need not be taken away :’ the answer is obvious. Not so obsolete neither ; it was used in King James’s time. However, it is fit it should not remain as a snare among our law, for the case concerns life or death ; and the Papists use the writ constantly against the Protestants, but they never against them.



Declaration of great Troubles pretended against the Realme, by a Number of Seminarie Priests and Jesuits, sent and very secretly dispersed in the same, to worke great Treasons under a false Pretence of Religion. With a Provision very necessarie for Remedie thereof. Published by this her Majesties Proclamation.

Imprinted at London, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie. MDXCI.

[Quarto, containng Fourteen Pages.]



The following proclamation, which I do not remember in any history, exhibits a just representation of the incessant malice of the papists, against Queen Elizabeth, and of the vigilance which was necessary to secure her from their attempts, and therefore contributes to illustrate other accounts, which this Collection will afford.

It is likewise valuable, if we regard the study of policy, as well as history ; since, perhaps, there cannot be any method of securing peace more efficacious, than that of obliging those, who are innocent, to be likewise vigilant ; by condemning them, to answer in some degree for the faults of those, whom they might have detected or restrained. J—.*

ALTHOUGH we have had probable cause to have thought, that now (towards the end of thirty-three yeeres), being the time wherein Almighty God hath continually preserved us in a peaceable possession of our kingdomes ; the former violence and rigour of the malice of our enemies (specially of the King of Spaine) woulde, after his continuance in seeking to trouble our estate, without any just cause so many yeeres, have waxed faint and decayed in him, and all others depending on him, and bene altered into some peaceable humor, meete to have disposed him to live in concord with us, and other Christian princes his neighbors ; and by such good meanes to establish an universal peace in Christendome ; nowe by his warres onely, and no otherwise disturbed. Yet, to the contrary, wee finde it, by his present mightie actions, so great as hee never before this time attempted the like. Whereby it so pleaseth the Almighty God of Hostes (as wee are perswaded) to suffer the ruine or correction of such as will not be content to live in peace with their owne : and to that ende, to permit the saide King, now in these his declined yeeres, meetest for peace, and when he ought to be satisfied without seeking of more kingdomes, by violence and armes, (seeing he possesseth, at this day, more crownes, kingdomes, and countries, and more earthly wealth then any of his progenitours, or any other prince Christian ever had), nowe to beginne a most unjust and a daungerous warre for al Christendome against the present French King. As in like manner appeared hee meant, two yeeres past, to have doone the like against us, by invading of our kingdomes, in the very time of a treatie of peace with us : whereof God gave him, and his whole army, a just cause of repentance.

2. And therefore seeing wee doe now manifestly understand, that hee hath of late (to fortifie these his strange violent attempts with some newe coulour) procured a Milanois, a vassaile of his owne, to bee exalted into the papacie of Rome, and hath seduced him, without consent of the college of cardinals to exhaust the treasures of the church, and therewith to levie forces in Italie (which had no sounde of warre in it these many yeares), and in many other places, to be guyded by his nephewe, and sent to invade France, a kingdome that hath bene alwayes a maintainer of that church in al their oppressions. And for that this warre, so generally, and mightily against France, concerneth our estate very greatly, and cannot but be directly very daungerous to our dominions : and that it is also knownen to us, that by sundry meanes, besides the preparation of other great forces for the seas, against our crowne and dominions, the same bee greater for this yeere to come, than ever hee had before. And, for furtherance thereof, hath also lately, by coulour of this his peculiar Pope's authoritie, which hee hath now hanging at his girdle, practised with certaine principall seditious heades (being unnaturall subjects of our kingdome, but yet very base of birth) to gather together, with great labours upon his charges, a multitude of dissolute young men, who have partly for lacke of living, partly for crimes committed, become fugitives, rebelles, and traitours ; and for whome there are in Rome, and Spaine, and other places, certaine receptacles made to live in, and there to bee instructed in schoole pointes of sedition, and from thence to bee secretly and by stealth conveyed into our dominions, with ample authoritie from Rome, to moove, stirre up, and perswade as many of our subjectes, as they dare deal withall, to renounce their naturall alleageance due to us and our crowne, and upon hope by a Spanish invasion to bee enriched and endowed with the possessions and dignities of our other good subjectes. For which purpose, they do binde our subjects (with whom they practise) by othes, yea by sacramentes, to forswear their naturall alleageance to us ; and yeelde their obedience, wyth all their powers, to this King of Spaine, and to assist his forces. And, for the more forcible attraction of these un-

naturall people (being weake of understanding) to this their bend; these seedemen of treason bring certaine bulles from the Pope, some of indulgences pretending to promise heaven to such as will yeelde, and some of cursinges, threatning damnation and hell, to such as shall not yeelde to their perswasions. And though these manner of popish attempts have bene of long time used, yet in some sort also they have bene impeached, by direct execution of lawes against such traitours for meere treasons, and not for any pointes of religion, as their fautours woulde coulour falsely their actions; which are most manifestly seene and heard at their arraignements, howe they are neither executed, condemned, nor endited, but for high treasons; affirming, that, amongst other things, they will take parte wyth anie armie sent by the Pope against us and our realme. And of this, that none doe suffer death for matter of religion, there is manifest prooffe; in that a number of men of wealth in our realme, professing contrary religion, are knowne not to bee impeached for the same, eyther in their lives, landes, or goods, or in their liberties, but onely by payment of a peculiar summe, as a penaltie for the time that they doe refuse to come to church; which is a most manifest course to falsifie the slaunderous speeches and libelles of the fugitives abroad. Yet now it is certainly understoode, that these heades of these dennes and receptacles, (which are by the traitours called seminaries, and colleges of jesuits,) have very lately assured the King of Spaine, that though heretofore hee had no good successe with his great forces, against our realme, yet if now hee will once againe renewe his warre this next yeere, there shall bee found ready secretly, within our dominions, many thousands (as they make their accompt for their purpose) of able people that will be ready to assist such power as hee shall set on land; and, by their vaunting, they doe tempt the King hereto, who otherwise ought in wisdom, and by his late experience, conceive no hope of any safe landing here: Shewing to him in Spaine, (by the speciall information of a schooleman, named Parsons, arrogating to himselfe the name of the King Catholikes confessor; and to the Pope at Rome, by another scholler called Allen, now for his treasons honoured with a cardinales hatte,) certayne skroles or beadrolles of names, of men dwelling in sundry partes of our countries, as they have imagined them, but specially in the maritimes; with assurance, that these their seedmen, named seminaries, priestes, and jesuites, are in the sundry partes of the realme, secretly harboured, having a great part of them bene sent within these x or xii moneths, and shall bee ready to continue their reconciled people, in their lewde constancie, to serve their purpose both with their forces, and with their trayterous enterprises, when the Spanish power shall be ready to land; upon which their impudent assertions to the Pope, and to the King of Spaine, (though they knowe a great part thereof to bee false), they have now very lately advertised into divers partes by their secret messengers; whereof some are also very lately taken, and have confessed the same, that the King upon their informations and requestes hath promised to imploy all his forces that he can, by sea this next yeere, to attempt once againe the invasion of this realme. Wherewith, because some of his wisest counsellors doubt that hee shall not prevaile, therefore hee is otherwise perswaded, that if that his purpose shall not take place here, yet the same may bee well employed against France, or the Lowe Countries, or against some parte of Scotland, into which realme there hath also some number of the like broode bene lately sent.

3. Wherefore considering that these the intentions of the King of Spaine are to us in this sort made very manifest; and although we doubt not, but Almighty God, the defender of all just causes, will (as alwaye hitherto hee hath) make the same voyde: yet it is our duetie, as being the supreme governor under his Almighty hand, to use all such just and reasonable meanes as are given to us; and therewith to concurre or rather attend upon his most gracious favour, by the helpe of our faythfull subjectes; both to increase our forces to the uttermost of their powers, and by execution of lawes, and by all other politike ordinaunces, to impeach the foresayde practises of these seditions and treasons.

4. And, before all other things, wee doe first require of the ecclesiasticall state, that the like diligence bee used by the godly ministers of the church, by their diligent teaching and example of life, to retaine our people stedfastly in the profession of the Gospell, and in

their dueties to Almighty God and us; as it is seene a fewe capitall heades of treasons are continually occupied with their seminaries, in withdrawing of a multitude of ignorants to their enchantments.

5. And secondly, for having of sufficient forces in readinesse by sea, we hope by God's goodnesse, and with the helpe of our good subjects, to have as great or greater strength on the seas, then at any time wee have had, to withstand these puffed vaunts from Spaine. And, for our forces by land, our trust is, that seeing we have distributed our whole realme into severall charges of lieutenancies, that they, by themselves where they may bee personally present, and otherwise by their deputies and assistants of other our ministers, will now, after the generall musters which have bene by our speciall order lately taken, consider of all things requisite to performe, and make perfect al defects that shall appeare necessarie, to make all the bandes both of horsemen and footemen fully furnished with armour, weapons, and munition, and with all other things requisite for their conduction to the places of service, and there also to continue as time shall require to defend their countrey. And so we doe most earnestly require and charge all manner of our subjectes, with their hands, purses, and advises, yea all and every person of every estate, with their prayers to God; to move him to assist this so naturall, honourable, and profitable a service, being onely for defence of their naturall countrey, their wives, families, children, lands, goods, liberties, and their posterities, against ravening strangers, wilfull destroyers of their native countrey, and monstrous traytours.

6. And lastly, to withstand and provide speedy remedy against other fraudulent attempts of the seminaries, jesuits, and traitors, without the which (as it appeareth) the forces should not be now used; the same being wrought onely by falsehoode, by hypocrisie, and by underminings of our good subjectes, under a false colour and face of holinesse, to make breaches in men's and women's consciences, and so traine them to their treasons; and that with such a secrecie by the harboring of the saide traiterous messengers in obscure places, as without very diligent and continuall search to be made, and severe orders executed, the same will remaine and spread it selfe as a secret infection of treasons in the bowels of our realme, most daungerous, yea, most reprochfull to be suffered in any well ordered common weale. Therefore wee have determind, by advise of our counsel, to have speedily certaine commissioners, men of honesty, fidelitie, and good reputation, to be appointed in every shire, citie, and port townes within our realme, to inquire by al good meanes, what persons are by their behaviours or otherwise worthy to be suspected to be any such persons, as have bene sent, or that are imployed in any such perswading of our people, or of any residing within our realme, to treason; or to move any to relinquish their allegiance to us; or to acknowledge any kind of obedience to the Pope, or to the King of Spaine; and also of other persons that have bene thereto induced, and that have thereto yeilded. And further to proceede in the execution of such their commission, as they shall bee more particularlie directed by instructions annexed to their saide commission.

7. And furthermore, because it is certainlie knowen and prooved by common experience, upon the apprehension of sundry of the sayde traiterous persons sent into the realme, that they doe come into the same by secret creekes, and landing places, disguised, both in their names and persons; some in apparell, as souldiers, mariners, or merchants, pretending that they have bene heretofore taken prisoners, and put into gallies, and delivered; some come in as gentlemen with contrary names, in comely apparell, as though they had travelled into forreine countries for knowledge; and generally al, or the most part, as soone as they are crept in, are cloathed like gentlemen in apparell, and many as gallants, yea in all colours, and wyth feathers, and such like disguising themselves, and many of them in their behaviour as ruffians, farre off to be thought, or suspected to be friars, priestes, jesuits, or popish schollers. And of these many do attempt to resorte into the universities, and houses of lawe, from whence in former times they departed; many into services of noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen, with such like fraudulent devises to cover themselves from all apprehension, or suspicion; and yet, in processe of time, they doe at length so insinuate themselves to get themselves credite wyth hypocrisies, as they infect both the

masters and families, and consequentlie adventure also, yea secretly, to use their offices of priesthooe and reconcilements ; whereby all such as doe retaine them are woorthie to bee suspected, and may bee charged by lawe to their great daunger.

8. For avoyding whereof, and eyther to discover these venomous vipers, or to chase them awaie out of the realme from the infecting of many more, we do order and straightly charge and commaund al maner of persons of what degree soever they bee without any exception, spirituall or temporall, nobleman, gentleman, lorde, lady, master or mistresse, or owner whatsoever of any house, familie, lodging ; yea, the very officers of our owne housholde, and governours of any societies, to make a present, due, and particular inquisition of all maner of persons, that have bene admitted, or suffered to have usual resort, diet, lodging, residence in their houses, or in any place by their appointment, at any time within the space of one whole yeere now past, and ended at Michaelmas last : or that from thencefoorth have, or shall be admitted, or suffered so to resort, eate, lodge, reside or attend : and, by such inquisition and examination, to bee duely and particularly informed of what condition and countrey any such person is ; and by what kind of meanes he hath heretofore lived, and where he hath spent his time for the space of one whole yeere before. And likewise to know whether he hath used, and doth use, to repaire to the church at usuall times to *divine* service, according to the lawes of the realme. And to cause those inquisitions, with their answeres, to be put into writing particularly, and the same to keepe in a maner of a register or kalender to be shewed when they shall be demanded ; that, upon cause of suspition of any such person, the same may be further tried by the commissioners of those places, whether the same persons so examined bee loyall subjects or no. And if any such shal be found unwilling to answer to such inquisition, or shal be found by his doubtful answer not likely to be an obedient subject, the same person shal be stayed by the housholder, or him that ought to have examined him, and shal be sent to any of the commissioners above mentioned next adjoyning. And if any person having government or commaundement over anie such servaunt, or resiant, shal be founde not to have performed the pointes of the foresaide inquisition as is above limited, the same shall be called to appeare before the said commissioners ; or before our privie counsell, if the qualitie of the person shal so require ; and shal be further used and ordered for such default, as the saide commissioners, or our counsell, shal have just cause to deale with such a person. And finally, wee doe admonishe and straightly charge and commaund al persons that have had anie intelligence, with any such so sent or come from beyond the seas to such purposes, to detect them to the commissioners in that behalfe to bee assigned as aforesaide, within twentie dayes after the publication hereof, in the shire, towne, or citie, or porte, wythin the precinctes of the same commission ; upon paine that the offenders therein, shall be punished as abettours and mainteiners of traytours. Wherein wee are resolutely determined to suffer no favour to bee used for anie respect of any persons, qualities, or degrees ; nor shal allowe, or suffer to be allowed, any excuse of negligence for not detection, or for not due examination of the qualities of such dangerous persons according to the order here afore prescribed ; being no wise contrary, but agreeably to the most ancient laws and good usages of our realme, devised for the good order of al maner of subjects in every precinct of any leete, to be foorth comming to answer for their behaviour towards the dignitie of our crowne, and the common peace of our realme.

Given at our mannour of Richmond the xviii. day of October, 1591, in this xxxiii. yeere of our raigne.

A Declaration of the Lyfe and Death of John Story, late a Romish Canonick Doctor, by Professyon. 1571.

Imprinted at London, by Thomas Colwell.

[Octavo, containing Thirty-two Pages.]

John Story, whose life and death are related in the following tract, (and related by a Protestant, perhaps without that candour and impartiality, which the Protestant religion prescribes,) was a man of great eminence and authority in the reign of Queen Mary, and contributed very much to kindle the flames of persecution in that cruel reign; and, with whatever detestation he may be mentioned by this writer, he is by some of the Romanists celebrated as a saint.

Of the justice of the proceedings against him, it is not necessary here to dispute. It is certain, that he had given great provocation in the reigns of Edward and Mary; first, by his opposition, and afterwards by his cruelty: in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he renewed his struggles against the establishment of the reformation.

When a parliament met, Jan. 25, 155⁸/₉, (says Heylin) 'Many of the members eagerly opposed all oppositions, which seemed to tend unto the prejudice of the Church of Rome; of which number none so violent as Dr. Story, doctor of laws, and a great instrument of Bonner's butcheries in the former reign; who, being questioned for the cruelty of his executions, appeared so far from being sensible of any error which he then committed, as to declare himself to be sorry for nothing more than, that instead of lopping off some few boughs and branches, he did not lay his axe to the root of the tree¹; yet passed unpunished for the present, though Divine vengeance brought him in conclusion to his just reward.'

The author, who has recounted Story's cruelties with so much acrimony, has forgotten to inform his reader, that part of his severity was repaid; for he was cut down so soon from the gallows, that when the executioner began to quarter him, he rose up and gave him a blow on the ear; but, notwithstanding his sensibility, they proceeded to dismember him.
J. — O.

The speciall Contents of this Declaration.

FIRST, wherefore John Story was imprisoned in the Queene's Bench.
His breaking of that prison, and flyeng into Flaunders.
His trayterous and naughtie delving there.
The cause and maner of his conveyance from thence into England.
The maner of his arainement and judgement.
The maner of his death and execution.
An epilogue or short conclusion of his lyfe.

GENTLE reader, in this short declaration, I purpose briefe lyto note unto thee part of the lyfe, and the maner of death of John Story; late a Romish and canonick doctor by professyon. If I should discourse the common places of discription of persones, hys

¹ [See also Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. lib. 2.]

parentes, hys educatyon and bringyng up, hys sundrie outrageous doinges executed by him, in the persecutyng of the membres of Christ, and the maner of hys life, from tyme to tyme, (namely in the tyme of King Henry the Eight, when the statute of sixe articles was first set foorth,) and all hys cruelty used sithens, to the daye of hys death; it would ask a volume as greate as the booke of Martyrs; a greate part of *which* booke is stuffed with hys tyrannous and cruell tragedies, executed against God and hys poor membres.

As for the wilfull and wicked course of hys yonger yeres, a great parte wherof he spent in the universitie of Oxforde, to reporte all the partes, it would require a longer story.

One pranke may stand instead of many. And although Christian charitie requyre us alwaye, and of all men, to reporte the best, speciallye of them that be departed: yet no charytie forbyddeth a man with sobryetie and modestye to reporte the truthe, for the benefite of good example to other: or els all writyng of histories after the parties death (when they be most truely written) should bee condemned, and the bridle of just infamy perilously taken away from wicked men.

About the yere of our Lord, 1529, Story, being a student of the civill-law in Hinksete-hall² in Oxforde, and on a tyme, lodging abroad alone, (as often tymes his maner was to do, in the company of a woman, whome hee had at his commaundement,) was set home from thence late in the night, and caried alofte through the open streetes with a solemn procession of the whole companie of his house, every man caryenge a candell burninge before hym, as a token of hys virginitye, and syngyng merelye together,

*Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,
Sobrius, castus fuit, et quietus,
Vita dum presens, &c.*

as if they had been S. Nicholas Clerkes³.

After that, about the yere of our Lord, 1538, the sayde Story, beyng the doctour and pryncypall of Broadgates, in the sayde universitie of Oxforde, and mistrusting a yonge gentleman for over familiar resorting to hys acquaintaunce in the towne, gave him earnest charge, with terrible threatens, as he loved his life, to come there no more; for love and lordship can brooke no fellowship.

Therefore, on a certayne tyme for hys good chaste purpose, takyng occasion to walke abroad, and having his man with his sworde wayting upon him, and passing through the church-yarde of St. Olave's, he met the sayde yonge gentleman retorning home from the towne, beeyng utterly without weapon, and having onlie his study gowne cast upon him. And he, imagining that he cam from such places as he had so often forbidden him, in great furie and heate of minde, (beeyng also fired with jelsie towards his love,) he raught backe sodenlye unto hys man, and drewe hys sworde, and, having the gentleman at advantage in the corner of two walles, ran him thorowe both sydes, and lefte him for dead.

Imediatly a cry was raysed, the people assembled, Doctor Story was apprehended by the officers, and layd in Bocardo⁴, wher he continued untill it was perfectly knowen, that the yonge gentleman so wounded was past all danger. For God, by hys gracious provydence, so dyrected the sworde, that notwithstanding it pearced through both sides, yet it perished not one parte of all the entrailes.

He that writeth these wordes is a witnes hereof, and sawe the partye dressed, and the towells drawn through his bodie.

The partie so wounded is named N. Brierton, and is yet alive.

These are the fyrst frutes of Doctour Storie's good doctorly doinges, agreeable with his lyfe that folowed afterwarde.

'A kyndly beare wyll bite by tyme.'

² [Or Henxey-hall, according to Wood in *Athenæ Oxon.* I. 167.]

³ [Highwaymen and robbers were formerly so termed. The reason is given in Reed's *Shaksp.* xi. 245.]

⁴ [Formerly a place of confinement in Eastgate, near Magdalen college, Oxford.]

Now I wyll begyn the rest of this declaration, at the begynning of the reigne of the most vertuous, godly, learned, and hopeful prince, King Edward the Sixt; who, after the death of the most noble and famous prince, Kinge Henry the Eight, his father, tooke upon him, as of right appertayned unto him, the regall state and government of this realme. And first, and before all other things, he seekynge the high advauncement of Godde's honour, restored unto us the sincere doctrine of the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and made most godly lawes, for the abbolysshynge of all superstycion and idolatry. At whiche tyme, John Storye (being then of the Parliament-house, and a great enemye to the glorious light of Christe's Gospel,) did vehemently inveigh against the godly doynge of that vertuous Prince; namely, for settynge foorth the book of Common-prayer and administracion of the sacraments in Englysh; where he did not only slaunderslye speake of the doctrine, but also malyciouslye and sediciouslye spake of that godly Prince, alleging the sentence of Ecclesiastes: 'That wo is to that realme, whose Kynge is but a childe;' wrestynge the same text against that noble Prince, even to the same sence that gave cheefe occasion to the rebellion in the same Kinge's tyme; and meaning that both the Prince, and the realme, did they wyst not what.

And shortly after that he had thus declared hys rebellious hart, and canckred judgement, he then fledde this realme into the partes beyond the seas, and there abode all the lyfe of that vertuous Prince.

After his death, as sone as the late Queen Mary possessed the crowne, the aforsayd Story retorned again from beyond the seas, and obtayned of Queen Mary (by the help of Bishop Boner) that he became a commissioner, and a cruel persecutor of Christe's members; wherin he travelled with such vehemency and in such a tyrannous maner, as never was there any before him did; and in that state he contynued al the dayes of Queen Marye's lyfe.

After the death of Queene Mary, so sone as our most dere soveraigne Lady came to the possession of the crowne, and that she had called a parliament, (chieflye for the restitution of God's blessed worde, and the true administracion of the sacramentes to Godde's high honor, and also for the amendment of the decayed state of this realme;) the said Story, beyng of the parliament-house, who was an enemy to al godly reformatiōs, did wyth great vehemency speake against the bill that was ther exhibited for the restytucion of the book of Common-prayer, and sayd these wordes: 'I did often tymes, in Queene Marie's tyme, saye to the Bishops, that they were to busie with *pecora campi* (for so it pleased him to terme the poor Commons of England) chopping at twiges; but I wished to have chopped at the roote, which if they had done, this gere had not cum now in question:' and herein, most traiterously, he ment the distruccion of our dere and soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth. For the which wordes, spoken in such an audience and in such vehement maner, there was no honest nor true hart, that hard him, but did utterly abhorre him.

And sone after that he had declared his trayterous hart to the Queene's Highnes, and hys conscience accusing him, he fled and lurked about in sondry corners, as did Cain when he had murdered his brother Abell. But, at the last, he was taken in the West countrye, rydyng before a male, in a frise-coate lyke a serving man, and was apprehended in the highwaie, by one master Ayleworth a gentleman, one of the Queene's servauntes, and brought before the counsaill, and after sent to prison to the Queene's-bench (for more than suspicion of treason) in the fyrst yere of her Highnes' reigne.

And after the sayd Story had remained there a whyle, he espyenge hys tyme, and by the helpe of hys frendes (as commonly such lewde papistes lacke none) brake the sayd prison, and fled againe beyond the seas, namely, into Flaundyr; and there not only practised diverse wicked and treyterous enterprises towards our soveraigne Lady, the Quene's Majestie, and the state of this realme, by sondry conferences that he had, with such as have of late rebelled and conspired the destruccion of the same: but also he became an open and comon enemi to every good subject of this realme of England; and obteyned in Flaundyr, of the Duke of Alva, a commission and auctoritie to practise his

old crueltie, and to arest and apprehend al such Englishmen's goods, as shold arrive in those countries, or that did traffique out of England, into those partes, or from thence into England, and to confiscat the same. By reason of which auctoritie, he used there such extremytie, that he was the spoiler and undoer of dyverse merchauntes, and of more would have bene, if he had longer continued; wherfore, the sayd merchauntes were inforced to study and devyse some remeady, and to practyse some waye or meane, howe to remove this combersome man from them.

And among other devises, they (having experience of hym to be a gredy and ravenous wolfe) put into hys head (by such as he suspected not) that ther was a praye for hym of English goodes, in a ship that lay in a certein place, which was named unto him; where he should fynd such a treasure of goods to be confiscate, as would be sufficient for him, during his lyfe. The wolfe, beyng hongry and desyrous of this great praye, set forward, and came into a shyp that promysed to bryng hym to the place, where the praye was. But, to be shorte; assone, as he was entered the shyp, the same brought hym cleane awaye out of Flaundyr into England, and landed him at Harwyche, in the moneth of Auguste last paste.

And sone after (knowlege being geven to the Queene's honorable counsaill of his landyng) he was brought to London, and there he was committed to prison to the Lollardes Tower in Powles; where he continued a whyle, that he myght well peruse that place, wherin he had most cruelly tormented many a good Christyan. But he lacked there one thing, which was the monstrous and houghe stockes, that hee and Boner (his old faithfull friend) had used to turmoyle and persecute the poore and innocent Christians in; hanging sum therin by the heles so high, that only theyr heades laye on the ground. Some wer stocked in both feet and armes, some also were stocked by both their feet and by both thir thombes, and so did hang in the stockes: and some also were stocked by both theyr fete, and cheyned by the necke wyth collars of iron made fast behynde them to a post in the wall, and suche other develishe and tyrannus engynes and devises by hym practised. These, at his being in the Lollardes Tower, he myssed; and great pitie it was, that he had not tasted of them: but alack, the good Bishop Gryndall⁵, late Bishop of London, had brent and consumed them with fire.

But to returne where I left: after that Story had contynued a certaine of tyme, in the Lollardes Tower, and had ben divers tymes examined, he was from thence removed to the Tower of London, wher he remayned untill the xxvi. day of Maye, 1571. And then was hee brought from thence into Westminster-hall, before the judges of the Queene's-benche, and there arayned. And after the indictment had ben read unto hym, the effect wherof was; 'that wher as Rychard Norton, Thomas Markenfelde, Christopher Nevyll, Frances Norton, and Thomas Jenny, alias Jennings, with other traytors, after their offences committed in the North, and being thereof indicted in the xii. yere of the Queene's Highnes' raigne before the right honorable Thomas Erle of Sussex, Lorde-president of the Queene's counsaill in the North partes, John Lorde Darcy, &c. they, after their indictment, did the xxiii. of June, in the yere aforesayd, embarke themselves in sundry shyppes, and fled this realme unto Antwarpe in Brabant, whych is under the government of Kyng Phylip, and ther contrarye to theyr allegiaunce did lead their lives; and the aforesayd John Story, D. W. P. and J. P. being borne in England, and the Queene's subjectes, did with them conspire, compasse, and imagin the Queene's death, and her Highnes to depose and depryve. And by divers perswasions and letters, did also procure straungiers to invade this realme of England, and to levy warre against the Queene, and her Hyghnes to depose. And that the aforesayd John Story, &c. knowing the abovesaid Norton, and others, to have committed theyr treasons here in England, did receave, comfort, and helpe them at Antwarp aforesaid, agaynst theyr allegiaunce,' &c.

⁵ [Grindall succeeded to the see of London when Bonner was deprived; and became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1573. Some anecdotes of him may be seen in *Harington's Nugæ Antiquæ*.]

And after the indictment read, he (being called upon by the courte to answere to the same) pleaded, that he was not the Queene's subject, nor had not bene these vii. yeres; but was the subject of the most Catholicke and mighty Prince, Kyng Philip, Kyng of Spaine, to whome he was sworne, and had in fee of him one-hundred pound by the yere; therefore said he, "I am not bound to answere unto that indictment, neyther will I answere unto it."

And here he used many pretie tauntes, as well to the judges, as also pleasyng himselfe with givinge of pretie nippes and girdes.⁶

And verye stowtlye he maintayned his former plea, affirming also, "that they were not his lawfull judges, neither that they had law to procede against him, being none of the Queene's subjectes."

And then, beyng demaunded where he was borne; he answered, "In England."

Then sayd they, "It followeth that you are subject to the lawes of thys realme, and should be so to our Queene."

Whereunto he replyed and sayd, "That God commaunded Abraham to go foorth from the lande and countrey where he was borne, from his friendes and kynsfolke, into another countrey." And so he, followynge his example, for conscience sake in religion, did forsake his countrey, and the lawes of this realme, and the Prince also; and had wholly geven hymselfe to the service of a foreyne governour, Kyng Philip, Kyng of Spayne.

And hereupon he stood very stowtlye, but to small purpose.

Then, when he perceaved that they would proceed in judgement against him, he sayde, "they had no lawe so to do." And with that he turned him about to the people, and sayd: "Good people, I trust ye see, howe violently I am used, and howe unjustly, and contrary to al justice and equitie they use mee." And he added, "that he had good hope, that he was not destitute of some friendes there, that would geve notice and knowledge to the most Catholycke Prynce, hys maister, how cruelly they dealt with him."

And then, again beyng called upon to answere, one said unto him, "Maister Storye, because you thynke it violence that is shewed unto you, instead of lawe and justice; you shall knowe that we do nothyng but that wee maye do both by lawe and equitie."

And then one of the judges said: "This is Scarborowe's case." Nay, (said Story,) my case is not Scarborowe's case; but indeede I had Scarborowe's warnynge to come to this arraignment; for I knew nothyng therof untill vij. of the clocke in the mornynge."

Then there was a booke delyvered hym to read, wherein he might see what they might doo by lawe; and, after he had read it, the judge demaunded of him "how he liked it?" And he answered, "God have mercie upon mee." Then the Lorde Chief Justice gave him judgement to be drawen, hanged, and quartred; and so was he agayne sent unto the Tower.

And as he went, by the way, certayne persons in severall places met with him, and one said: "Oh Story, Story, thou art a strange Story! Remember mayster Bradford, that godly man; his blood asketh vengeance on thee: Story, repent in tyme." Another cryed on hym, and said; "Story, call to mynde the rigour that thou shewedest upon maister Read, a gentleman, whom thou diddest utterly destroy; aske God forgevenesse, Story, for that wicked deede."

Another cryed unto hym and saide: "Blessed be God, Story, that hath made thee partaker of suche breade, as thou wast wont to deale to the innocent membres of Jesus Christe."

Another also cryed out upon him, and saide: "Story, Story, the abhominable cup of fornication and filthynes, that thou hast given other to drinke, be heaped up topfull, that thy plagues maye be the greater at the terrible daye of God's wrath, and vengeance;

⁶ [*Aliàs gibes and sarcasms.*]

“unlesse thou aske mercy for thy filthy, corrupte, and stinkyng lyfe.” And yet again, another cryed out unto hym, and said: “I pray God that thy hart be not hardened, as was Pharaos, and made harder then the adamant stone, or the steele; that, when he woulde, he could not repent and call for grace.”

And, among al the rest, one came to him at London Stone, and saluted him with this meeter, saying,

“Maister Doctor Story,
For you they are right sory
The court of Lovaine and Rome:
Your holy father, the Pope,
Cannot save you from the rope,
The hangman must have your gowne.”

To which he answered not one word.

THE first daye of June, the saide Story was drawn upon an herdell from the Tower of London unto Tiborn, wher was prepared for him a newe payre of gallows made in triangular maner. And, by the way as he went, many people spake unto hym, and called upon hym to repent his tirrannie and wickednes, and wyllid him to call upon God for mercy! But he lay as though he had ben asleepe, and woulde not speake to any person.

And when he was taken from the herdell, and set in a carte, he made there a solempne protestation, and said:

“I am come hither to die; and truely, if this death were ten times more fierce and sharp then it is, I have deserved it.

“I have lyved the space of threescore and vij. yeres, and now my body must abyde this temporall payne and punishment provyded for mee here in this lyfe; by meane whereof, my daies shall be cut off. But, where at the first I stooode in feare of death, I thanke God, this night passed I have ben comforted with good and godly men, that the feare of death is taken from my sight. And now I appeale to God the Father, trustyng in the passion of his Sonne Christ Jesus, and hopynge, by the shedding of his blood only, to be saved. And although of a long tyme I could not applie the vertue of his passion and death to the use and benefite of my soule, because of my longe hoverynge in feare; yet nowe, I thanke God, I know how to applye this medicine; as for example: A pothecarye maye have a medicine lyng in his shop vij. yeres, that maye helpe a sicke or diseased man by the counsaile of a physicion; but, if this medicine be not applyed to the pacient, but styl remaineth in the pothecarie’s shop, it profiteth nothyng; no more (said he) coulde the benefite of Christe’s death healpe mee; because, though I knew the medicine good, I did not applie it unto my soule’s helth: but now that it hath pleased Almightye God to call mee to accompt of my lxxvij. yeres, which now must have an end, and this corrupt body must feele a temporall punishement, for my sinnes have deserved it (as I sayd before) I am now come to the prooffe of this medicine.

“David, when he had committed adulterie with Barsabe⁷, the wife of Urias, (whose husband also he caused to be put in the front of the battell, and so was he murthered,) he for that trespassse felt a temporall punishment by the losse of the lyfe of his son, whiche he loved tenderly.

“Also, when he nombred his people, he greatly displeased God; and, for his offence and transgression, he felt a temporall payne; and choyce was geven unto him from above, to choose one of these iij temporall and bodily punishments: that is to saye, three daies pestilence; the sworde, that is to saye, bloodie battel vij yeres; or famyne vij yeres.

“And he thought to choose the least; and he chose three daies pestilence. But this scourge took away an infinite nombre of his subjectes. So nowe as my sinnes deserve a temporall payne, whiche here have an ende, even in this flesh; I am of the same minde

⁷ [Bathsheba.]

that the prophet David was; and with him I agree saying, *Invoco te, Domine, &c.* 'Lord, I call upon thee in this day of my trouble; heare mee, O Lorde, out of thy dwelling-place,' &c.

But nowe to speake a little of my arraignment. When I was at Westminster, I alleaged in my plea that I was no subject of this realme, as I did likewise before the Queene's commissioners, Sir Thomas Wrath, maister Thomas Wilbraham, late Recorder of the citie of London, maister Peter Osborne, maister Marshe, and maister Doctor Wattes; where the Recorder of London made lyke demaunde as was demaunded of me at Westminster; and that was, "Whether I was borne in Englande, or no?" Wherunto I aunswered, "I was."

Then sayde he, "It followeth that you are and ought to continue the Queene's faithfull subject." Wherunto I replied then as I do nowe, saying, "I am sworne to the noble Kyng, Defendour of the auncient Catholique faith, Kyng Philip, Kyng of Spaine; and he is sworne again by a solempne and corporall othe, to maintayne and defende the Universitie of Lovaine, wherof I am a member, and therefore no subject of this realme, ne yet subject to any lawes therof.

"For it is well knowen, that I departed this realme, beyng freely licensed therunto by the Queene, who accompted me an abject and castawaye, and I came not hether agayne of myne owne accorde; but I was betrayed.

"And although I had an inckelyng^s given mee before, of such a thing pretended towarde mee, yet I coude not shun nor escape it. For sure it was God, that made dym myne understanding, and blynded myne eyes, so that I could not perceyve it. But holye writ commandeth mee to love my enemies; and here I forgeve them freely with all my hart, beseechyng God that they take no harme for me in another countrey: I would be right sorye they should, although they betrayed me.

"I travayled with them from shyp to shyp, by the space of eight daies, and mistrusted no perill to be at hand, untill I was clapt fast under the hatches.

"But sure, sure, it was God that wrought it; yea, and although I was accompted a poller of the Englysshemen of your countrey; I stand nowe here before God, and by the death I shall die, I had never out of any shyp more then two peeces of golde, and fortie dallers that was laid in my hand.

"But once agayne, to my arraignment, where there were certain letters laid to my charge, wherin I should go about to provoke the Nortons, the Nevilles, and others to rebell, I never meant it; yet will I discharge my conscience freely and frankly, and tell you trueth. There was a commission for a lyke matter sent into Scotland, which I wrote with myne owne hande; but it conteyned a proviso, wherin the Queene of England and her dominions were excepted.

"There are yet two things that I purpose to talke of: namely, for that ther are here present a great nombre of youth; and I would to God I might saye or speke that, which might bring all men to the unities of the church; for there is but one church, one flocke, and one shepherde: if I could this do, I would think mysele to have wrought a good worke.

"The first poynt toucheth my crueltie, wherewith I am sore burdened; and the second concerneth my religion.

"As touching the first; there were three in commission, of the whiche I was one that might do least, for I was the last of the three. And thoughe I might by perswasion assaye to cause them to revoke the articles that they had maintayned, and to confesse the presence, wherin I stande; ye know that he that chydeth, is not worthy to be condemned for fighting; no more am I worthy to be counted cruell for chydynge: it was the bishop that pronounced the sentence *excommunicamus*, and against that I could not do, for I was one of the laytie.

"Yet oftentimes the bishop (to whom I was servant) was bold with mee, when he had so many prisonèrs that he could not well bestow them. For at one tyme the Lord Riche

^s [An intimation.]

sent him out of Essex xxviij, and at another tyme xxiiij, also at another tyme xvi, and xiiij, and some of them were sent to mee, whiche I kepte in my house with suche fare as I had provided for myselfe and my familie, at myne owne cost and charge.

“ And, to prove that I was not so cruell as I am reported to bee, let this one tale suffice; there were at one tyme xxviij condempned to the fire, and I moved the deane of Paule’s to tender and pitie their estate, whiche after was abbot of Westminster, a very pitiful minded man; I thincke the moste parte of you know him, it is Mr. Fecknam; and we went up and perswaded with them, and we found them very tractable. And Mr. Fecknam and I laboured to the Lorde Cardinal Poole, shewyng that they were

Nescientes quid fecerunt.

“ The Cardinall and we did sue together to the Queene, and layd both the swordes together, and so we obteyned pardon for them al, sayng an olde woman that dwelt aboute Paule’s churchyard; shee would not convert, and therefore she was burned. The rest of them receyved absolution, and that with al reverence: serch the register, and you shall finde it.

“ Yea, and it was my procurement that there should be no more burnt in London, for I saw well that it woulde not prevaile; and therefore we sent them into odde corners into the cuntry.

“ Wherefore I pray you, name me not cruell; I would be loth to have any suche slaunder to ron on mee. But, sith I dye in charitie, I pray you al of charitie to pray for mee, that God maye strengthen mee with patience to suffer my death; to the whiche I yelde most wyllingly.

“ And here I make a petition to you, my frendes, that woulde have bestowed any thyng on mee; I beseeche you, for charitie sake, bestow it yerely on my wife, who hath foure small children, and God hath nowe taken mee away, that was her staffe and stay; and nowe my daughter Weston and her three chyldren are gone over unto her, and I know not how they shal do for foode, unlesse they go a beggyng from door to door for it; although indede no English persons do begge but of English, beyng helped by the Lady Dorm. and Sir Francisco: I have good hope that you wyll be good unto her; for she is the faythfullest wife, the lovyngest and constantest that ever man had. And twise we have lost all that ever we had, and nowe she hath lost mee, to her great grieve I knowe.

“ The second poynt, that I thought to speke of, is concerning my religion, for that I know manie are desirous to know what faith I will die in, the whiche I will briefly touch: I saye with Sainct Jherome, that auncient father and pillar of the old auncient, catholique, and apostolicke church, grounded upon the Partriarkes, Prophetes, and Apostles; that, in the same faith that I was borne in, I purpose to dye. And as the arcke, that Noe and his family did possesse, figured the ship of Christe’s church, out of which ship whosoever is, cannot be saved: In that ship am I. Example: A ship, that is tossed on the floods, is often in daunger of losse on the sandes, and sometimes on the rocke; but when the men that are in the ship espye present peryll at hande, there is a cockboat, at the tayle of the ship, wherunto they flye for succour: So likewise, I, beyng in the ship of Christ, once fell out of the same ship, and was in present peryl and great danger; but then I, followyng the example of a good maryner, tooke the cockboat, thinkyng to drive to lande, and at the last (beyng in the boat) I espied three oares, that is to wit, contricion, confession, and absolution; and I held al these fast; and ever sence I have continued in the ship of Christ, of whiche the Apostle Peter is the guide and principall, and in the faith Catholike of my Kynge I dye.”

Then sayde the Earle of Bedford, “ Are you not the Queene’s subject?” No, (sayde Story,) and yet I do not exclude the Queene; but I pray for her, her counsaile, and the nobilitie of this realme longe to continue.”

Then sayde the Lorde Honsdon, “ Are you not the Queene’s subject, you were borne in England?” Then sayde Story, “ Every man is free borne, and he hath the whole face

of the earth before him, to dwell and abyde in, where he liketh best; and, if he can not lyve here, he may go els where." Then was there (as I thinke) one of the ministers, hearing him to make so light of our noble Queene and countrey, demaunded of him, "Whether she were not, next and immediatlye under God, supreme head of the churches of Englande and Irelande?" Whereunto he answered: "I come not hither to dispute, but, if shee bee, shee is; my nay wyll not prevayle to prove it otherwise."

And then they cryed, "Awaye with the carte:" and so he was hanged according to his judgement⁹.

An Epilogue, or a briefe Conclusion, of the Lyfe of the aforesaid John Story.

THE aforesaid John Story, beside that he was an obstinat papist and a rancke traitour, he was also (in Queene Marye's time) the cruellest tirant and persecutor of the innocent membres and blessed professors of Christ that ever was, to his power, sithen that cruell tirant Nero¹⁰. For his whole delectacion and pleasure was, in rackyng, stockyng, whipping, manaklyng, and burnyng of innocents, without respect either of age, virtue, learning, weakenes of wyt, or of a simple boy, or childish wenche; and all was fish that came to the net.

And he often and openlie sayde (in the herynge of manie) in the time of Queene Mary, that the burnynge of heretiques (as he termed them) was to gentle a death, for they had too much scope to prate and talke what they lust; but, sayde he, "If I lyve, I wyll have a close cage of iron made for them, with a doore in the side, lyke to the brasen bull of Perillus, where they shall be enclosed; and the doore made fast, and the fire to be made under them: and then (sayde he) they shall know what frying is, and their mouthes shall be stopped from blowyng out their pestilent doctrine." So that, by the premisses, it maye manifestly appeere, that there hath not ben a wickedder man towarde God, his prince and countrey, then he hath bene.

God save the Queene, and confound her enemies.

Seen and allowed, &c.

⁹ [And according to the report of Wood, his head was set upon London-bridge, his body quartered, and the quarters hanged upon four gates of the city.]

¹⁰ [He is said by Holinshed to have owned that he 'tost a fagot at the face of a burning heretick as he was singing psalms, and set a bush of thorns under his feet to prick him,']

True and Wonderfull. A Discourse relating a strange and monstrous Serpent (or Dragon) lately discovered, and yet living, to the great Annoyance and divers Slaughters both of Men and Cattell, by his strong and violent Poyson: In Sussex, two Miles from Horsam, in a Woode called St. Leonard's Forrest, and thirtie Miles from London, this present Month of August, 1614. With the true Generation of Serpents.

Printed at London, by John Trundle, 1614.

This relation breathes such a spirit of sincerity, seems so well attested, and tallies so well with what has been advanced on the same head by the best antient and modern historians, that we cannot well doubt of its truth. Since, therefore, this small piece is become now so extremely scarce, as not to be met with in the libraries, or even cabinets of the curious, and the subject of it is uncommon and entertaining; we flatter ourselves, that a republication of it will not prove unacceptable to our readers. The style, indeed, is rude and unpolished, agreeable to the genius of the age wherein it was wrote: notwithstanding which, we could not prevail upon ourselves to modernize it, as believing this would not entitle it to so favourable a reception, amongst all true lovers of history and antiquity.

To the Reader.

THE just rewarde of him that is accustomed to lie, is, not be believed when he speaketh the truth. So just an occasion may sometime bee imposed upon the pamphleting pressers; and therefore, if we receive the same rewarde, we cannot much blame our accusers, which often fals out either by our forward credulity to but-seeming true reports, or by false coppies translated from other languages, which (though we beget not) we foster, and our shame is little the lesse. But, passing by what's past, let not our present truth blush for any former falshood-sake. The countrie is near us, Sussex; the time present, August; the subject, a serpent: strange, yet now a neighbour to us; and it were more than impudence to forge a lie so near home, that every man might turn in our throates; believe it, or reade it not, or reade it (doubting) for I believe e're thou hast read this little all, thou wilt not doubt of one, but believe there are many serpents in England. Farewell.

By A. R.

He that would send better newes, if he had it.

THERE is nothing more miraculous in nature to the shalow search of humane apprehension, than the works of the Divinitie specified in the creation; being a worke beautified with distinction, order, and measure, and sifted from all confusion: yet if we more narrowly unrip the natures and qualities of the creatures, leaving the unsearchable depth of God's essence (beyond the shoemaker's last of capacitie) to himselfe, we shall find that there is sufficient cause for our weake admirations. And though all things were at the first created good and serviceable to man, because God is not the author of any

evill; yet, since evill sprung from the ill of Eve, many miseries have (as his curre) falne to man, even by those creatures which were his companions in Paradice, and made to his great blessing and benefit; insomuch, that the serpent which first was familiar with Eve, and serviceable to man's use, is now turned a deadly and fatall enimie to all his posteritie, frightening the earth with monstrous and prodigious shapes; and no doubt, in these new and presaging formes, are sent to punish our new inventions of sinne, according to the saying of a reverend father: *Quia deliquimus in multis, punimur in multis*. AUGUST. 'Because we have offended in many things, we are punished in many.'

But, to omit the sanctuarie of unfurnisht wits, we will apply our briefe abstract to the causes and originall of these hideous creatures, for the understanding and capacitie of the simple; seeing, that as a learned man saith, that *Scire est per causas scire*. 'The best way of knowledge is to know by the causes.' And first of their originall.

First, it is oraculous and plaine in Genesis, that God by his word created all things sensible and insensible; fishes, foules, beasts, and creeping things, and among them serpents: but, since the great worke of the creation, they are ingendred either naturally or prodigiously; naturally, as saith Macrobius, as in Egypt frogs and mice are ingendred, by raine and showres, so also are serpents. But I am of Aristotle's opinion (which also Pliny confirmeth), that serpents arise not from putrefaction, but by the naturall act of generation. It is a general rule, that all beasts wanting feet, and having long bodies, performe their carnall copulation, by the mutuall imbracing of one another, as lampries and serpents: and it is certaine, that two serpents, in this action, seeme to be one body and two heads; for they are so indivisibly united together, and the frame of their bodies unapt for any other manner of copulation. And although, like to fishes, they want floure to elaborate the sperme, yet have they two open passages, wherein lyeth their generative seed; which, being spread, procureth their venereal lysts; which seed being ejaculated from the male, into cels and receptacles of the female, it is turned into an egge, which she hydeth in the earth, a hundred in a cluster, about the quantitie of a bird's egg. And this is the naturall proceeding of all serpents, except vipers; who lay no eggs, but hatch their young ones in their wombe; but for their prodigious generation, as it is rare, so is it also horrible to our nature. It is reported, that, when Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were consuls, the mother of Claudius, in Hetruria, brought forth a serpent insteade of a childe.

And Faustina the Emperesse dreamed, (when she was with childe, but very prodigiously,) that she brought forth two serpents, and one of them seemed to be more fiercer than the other, which proved allegorically true; for Commodus afterwards, her youngest sonne, was so tirannicall and barbarous, that he seemed to be borne a prodigy to the destruction of mankind: and thus much for their original, natural and prodigious.

The Irish ground is most happie, and it seemeth lesse sinfull, since it is free from contagion of these venomous creatures: but, *Non omnis fert omnia tellus*, 'Every ground brings not forth all kind of fruites.' This land were happie if it were less fertile in these contagious kinds of serpents, which I ascribe not to the nature of the earth, but to the sinfull nature of men.

In Phrygia and Ethiopia are many dragons and serpents, and these were (as Augustine affirmeth) in the hollow places of the earth, and not only in forraine and farre remote countries, but also in neighbouring and nere adjoyning nations. And first of all there was a serpent or winged dragon brought unto Francis the French King, when he lay at Sancton, by a country-man, who had slain it with a spade. Chisuen also saith, that in the yeare of our Lord 1543, there came many serpents with feete and winges, into Stiria, who wounded the inhabitants incurably.

Cardan writeth, that at Paris in France, he himself saw certain serpents with winges. When the river Tiber overflowed its bankes, many serpents were discovered.

As also, in the time of Mauritius, the emperor, a dragon came into the city; after which prodigy, ensued a great pestilence. Now as these hideous creatures are hurtfull to man, so also they are most inamoured of man; and, if there be any truth or veritie to be

ascribed to historie, they have been most passionately affected to man, woman, and childe: which shewes, that it is a worke of Divinitie, as a just punishment of our sins, to turne their affable natures to a most ravenous and devouring crueltie.

And to instance this with examples; Ælian reports, that there was one Iliava, a Thesalian neatherd, that kept oxen in Ossa, hard by the fountaine Hemonius, that a dragon fell in love with, for his yellow haire, which seemed in its amiable colour to resemble gold; and often came creeping unto him like an amorous lover, licking his haire and face so gentle, as the man professed he never felt the like.

[Many other examples are produced by our author, which it is unnecessary to touch upon here. It will be sufficient to refer our curious readers to the learned und ingenious authors of the *Universal History*, vol. VI. pp. 837, 838. So that we shall immediately proceed to the relation mentioned in the title-page; which is as follows.]

In Sussex, there is a pretty market-towne, called Horsam, neare unto it a forrest, called St. Leonard's Forrest, and there, in a vast and unfrequented place, heathie, vaultie, full of unwholesome shades, and over-growne hollowes, where this serpent is thought to be bred; but, wheresoever bred, certaine and too true it is, that there it yet lives. Within three or four miles compasse, are its usual haunts, oftentimes at a place called Faygate, and it hath been seene within halfe a mile of Horsam; a wonder, no doubt, most terrible and noisome to the inhabitants thereabouts. There is always in his tracke or path left a glutinous and slimie matter (as by a small similitude we may perceive in a snail's) which is very corrupt and offensive to the scent; insomuch that they perceive the air to be putrified withall, which must needes be very dangerous. For though the corruption of it cannot strike the outward part of a man, unless heated into his blood; yet by receiving it in at any of our breathing organs (the mouth or nose) it is by authoritie of all authors, writing in that kinde, mortall and deadlie, as one thus saith:

Noxia sepentum est admixto sanguine pestis. LUCAN.

This serpent (or dragon, as some call it) is reputed to be nine feete, or rather more, in length, and shaped almost in the forme of an axeltree of a cart; a quantitie of thickness in the middest, and somewhat smaller at both endes. The former part, which he shootes forth as a necke, is supposed to be an elle long; with a white ring, as it were, of scales about it. The scales along his backe seem to be blackish, and so much as is discovered under his bellie, appeareth to be red; for I speak of no nearer description than of a reasonable ocular distance. For coming too neare it, hath already beene too dearly payd for, as you shall heare hereafter.

It is likewise discovered to have large feete, but the eye may be there deceived; for some suppose that serpents have no feete, but glide upon certain ribbes and scales, which both defend them from the upper part of their throat unto the lower part of their bellie, and also cause them to move much the faster. For so this doth, and rids way (as we call it) as fast as a man can run. He is of countenance very proud, and at the sight or hearing of men or cattel, will raise his necke upright, and seem to listen and looke about, with great arrogancy. There are likewise on either side of him discovered, two great bunches so big as a large foote-ball, and (as some thinke) will in time grow to wings; but God, I hope, will (to defend the poor people in the neighbourhood) that he shall be destroyed before he grow so fledge.

He will cast his venome about four rodde from him, as by woofull experience it was proved on the bodies of a man and a woman comming that way, who afterwards were found dead, being poysoned and very much swelled, but not prayed upon. Likewise a man going to chase it, and as he imagined, to destroy it with two mastive dogs, as yet not knowing the great danger of it, his dogs were both killed, and he himselfe glad to returne with hast to preserve his own life. Yet this is to be noted, that the dogs were not prayed

upon, but slaine and left whole: for his food is thought to be, for the most part, in a conie-warren, which he much frequents; and it is found much scanted and impaired in the encrease it had woont to afford.

These persons, whose names are hereunder printed, have seene this serpent, beside diuers others, as the carrier of Horsam, who lieth at the White Horse in Southwarke, and who can certifie the truth of all that has been here related.

John Steele.

Christopher Holder.

And a Widow Woman dwelling nere Faygate.

An Epistle of the Ladye Jane¹, a righte vertuous Woman, to a learned Man of late falne from the Truth of God's most holy Word, for Fear of the Worlde.

Read it, to thy Consolacion.

Whereunto is added, the Communication that she had with Master Feckenham², upon her Faith, and Belefe of the Sacraments. Also, another Epistle whiche she wrote to her Sister; with the Words she spake upon the Scaffold before she suffered.

Printed Anno M.D.LIV.

[Duodecimo, containing Thirty-one Pages.]

SO oft as I cal to mind the dreadful and feareful sayings of God, 'That he which laieth hold upon the plough, and looketh back again, is not meete for the kyngdome of heaven:' and, on the other syde, to remember the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, '*forsaking them selves, do folowe him*;' I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case; that thou, which sometime wast the lively member of Christ, but now the defourmed impe of the diuel; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the stincking and filthy kenell of Sathan; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefast paramour of antichrist; sometime my faithful brother, but now a straunger and apostata; yea, sometime a stout Christen soldier, but now a cowardly runawaye. So ofte as I consider the threatninges, and promises of God, to al those that love him; I cannot but speak to the, yea, rather cry out upon the, thou sede of Sathan, and not of Juda, whom the diuel hath deceived, the worlde hath begiled, and desire of life hath subverted, and made the, of a Christian, an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken

¹ [This was Lady Jane Grey Dudley, the most pitiable victim ever sacrificed on the altar of parental ambition.]

² [Feckenham, afterwards abbot of Westminster, was one of the disputants at Oxford against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; but so benevolent and unbigoted was his disposition, that he was continually exercised in doing good offices for the Protestants during the period of Mary's persecution.]

upon thee the testament of the Lord in thi mouth? Wherefore hast thou hitherto yielded thi body to the fire, and blodi handes of cruel tirauntes? Wherefore hast thou instructed other to be strong in Christ, when thou thy selfe dost nowe so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord? When thou thy selfe preachedst not to steale, yet most abhominably stealest, not from men but from God; and as a most hainous sacreleger, robbest Christ, thi lorde, of his right of his members, of thi body, and thi soule: when thou thy selfe dost rather chose to live miserably, with shame, to the world; then to dye, and gloriouslye, with honour, to raigne with Christ; in whom, even in death, there is life. And, when I say thou thy selfe art most weke, thou oughtest to shew thy selfe moost stronge; for the strength of a forte is not knowne before the assaulte, but thou yeldest thy holde, before any battry be made.

Oh! wretched and unhappi man, what art thou but dust and ashes? And wilt thou resist thy Maker that formed the, and fashioned the? Wilt thou nowe forsake him that called the from costome-gathering, among the Romish antichristians, to be an imbassadour and messenger of his eternall worde; he that first framed the, and since thi creation, and birth, preserved the, norished the, and kept the; yea, and inspired the with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace) shal he not possesse the? Darest thou deliver up thy selfe to another; being not thine owne, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and folow the vaine tradicions of men? And, whereas thou hast been a publicke professour of his name, become now a defacer of his glorie? I will, thou refuse the true God, and worshippe the invencion of manne, the golden calfe, the whoore of Babilon, the Romish religion, the abhominable idol, the most wicked masse? Wilt thou torment againe, rent and teare the most precious bodi of our Saviour Christ, with thi bodily and fleshly teeth? without the breaking wherof upon the crosse, our sinful sinnes could els nowaies be redemed? Wilt thou take upon the to offer up ani sacrifice unto God for our synnes? Consydering that Christ offred up him selfe (as Paul saith) upon the crosse, a lyvely sacrifice once for al.

Can neyther the punisment of the Israelites, whiche for their idolatrye so oft they receaved, move the? Neyther the terrible threateninges of the auncient prophetes stirre thee, nor the curses of God's own mouth feare the, to honour any other God than hym? Wilt thou so regarde him, that spared not his deare and only Sonne for the? So deminishing, yea, utterlye extinguishing his glorie, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour to idols, whiche have mouthes, and speake not; eyes, and se not; eares, and yet heare not; which shal perish with them that made them? What saith the prophet Barucke, wher he reciteth the epistel of Jeremie, written to the captive Jewes? Did he not forewarne them, that in Babilon thei should se gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone, borne upon men's shoulders, to cast a fear before the Heathen; but be not ye afraide of them (saith Jeremie) nor do as other do; but, when you se other worship them, saye you in your hartes: "It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped; for, as for the timber of those gods, the carpenter framed them, and polyshed them; yea, gylded be they, and laid over with silver, and vayne thynges, and cannot speake." He sheweth, moreover, the abuse of their deckings, how the priests toke of their ornaments, and appareled their women withall: howe one holdeth a septer, another a sworde in hys hande; and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend them selves, much lesse any other, from either battel, or murther; nor yet from gnawing of woormes, nor anye other evill thyng. These, and such lyke words, speaketh Jeremie unto them, wherby he proveth them but vain thinges, and no gods. And, at last, he concludeth thus: "Confounded be thei that worship them." They wer warned by Jeremie, and thou, as Jeremie, hast warned other, and art warned thy selfe, by many scriptures, in many places.

God saieth, he is '*a gelious God*,' which wil have al honour, glorie, and worship, given to him onelye. And Christ saith in the fourth of Luke to Jathan³, whiche tempted him, even to the same Jathan, the same Belzabub, the same dyveil, whyche hath prevayled

³ [Qu. Satan?]

againste thee, 'It is written, (saith he,) thou shalt honour the Lorde thy God, and hym 'onelye shalt thou serve.' These, and such like, do prohibite thee and al Christians to worship anie other god then whiche was before all worldes, and laied the foundations bothe of heaven and earth. And wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abhominable colledge of craftie cardinals? Christ offered him selfe up once for al, and wilt thou offer him up againe dayly at thy pleasure? But thou wilt saye, thou dost it for a good intent. Oh sincke of sinne! Oh child of perdition! Doest thou dreame therein a good entent, wher thy conscience beareth the witnes the promis of God's wrath toward the? How did Saule, who, for that he dysobeied the word of God for a good entent, was throwen from his worldli and temporal kingdome? Shalt thou then, that dost so deface God's honor, and robbe him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdome? Wilt thou for a good entent pluk Christ oute of heaven, and make hys deathe voyde, and deface the tryumphe of hys crosse, offering hym up daylye? Wilt thou, eyther for feare of deathe, or hope of life, deny and refuse thi God, who enriched thi poverti, healed thine infirmitie, and yelded to this victori, if thou couldest have kept it? Dost thou not consider that the thryde of lyfe hangeth upon hym that made the; who can, as his wyll is, either twine it hard, to last the longer; or untwine it againe, to breake it the sooner? Doest thou not remember the saying of David, a notable king, whiche teacheth thee, a myserable wretche, hys ciiii Psalme, where he sayth, 'When thou takest away thy spirit, 'O Lord, from men, they dye, and ar turned againe to their dust; but, when thou lettest 'thy breath go fourth, they shal be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.'

Remember the saying of Christ in his Gospel, 'Whosoever seeketh to save hys lyfe, shal 'lese it; but whosoever wil lese it for mi sake, shal find it.' And in another place, 'Who-soever loveth father or mother above me, is not mete for me: for he that wyll be my 'disciple, must forsake father and mother, and him selfe, and take up his crosse and follow me.' What crosse? the crosse of infamy, and shame of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for hys name's sake.

Let the oft falling of those heavenly showres pearce thy stonye hart. Let the two-edged sword of God's holy word, shere a sonder the sewed together sinowes of worldly respectes, even to the veri mari of thy carnal hart, that thou maiest once againe forsake thy self, and embrace Christ: and like as good subjectes wil not refuse to hasard al in the defence of hys earthly and temporal governour; so flye not lyke a white hewred milksoppe from thy standynge, wherein thy chief captaine, Christ, hath set the in a rai of this life. *Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, et sustine Dominum.* Fight manfullye, come lyfe, come death, the quarel is God's, and undoubtedly the victorye is ours. But thou wilt say, I wil not break unitie. What, not the unitie of Sathan and his members? Not the unitie of darknes, the agrement of Antichrist, and hys adhearentes?—Nay, thou deceivest thy selfe with fond imaginations of such an unitie as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false prophetes in an unitie? Were not Joseph's brethren and Jacob's sonnes in an unitie? Were not the Heathen, as the Amelechites, the Feresites, and Jebusites, in an unitie? I kepe no order, but rather looke to mi matter. Were not the Scribes and Pharisees in an unitie? Doth not King David testifie, *Convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum?* Yea, theeves and murderers, conspyratours, have theyr unitie.

But marke, my frende; yea, frende, if thou be not God's enemy: ther is no unitie, but wher Christ knitteth the knotte among such as be hys. Yea, be you wel assured, that, where his truthe is resident, there it is verefyed that he sayeth, *Non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium*: that is, Christ came to set one against another; the sonne against the father, the daughter against the mother. Deceive not thi selfe therfore with the glysteryng and glorious name of unitie, for Antichrist hath his unitie; yet not in deede, but in name. The agrement of every man is not an unitie, but a conspiracie.

Thou hast heard some threateninges, some curses, and some admonishions oute of the Scripture, to those that love themselves above Christ; thou hast heard also the sharpe and byting wordes, to those that denye him for love of life. Saieth he not, that 'He that denieth me before men, I wyl denye hym before my Father in heaven?' And to the same

effecte wryteth Sainte Paule, Hebru. vi. 'It is impossible (saieth he) that they, which be
' once lightned, and have tasted of the heavenly gyfte, and be partakers of the Holy Gost,
' and have tasted of the good worde of God, if they fal and slide away, it is impossible
' that they shuld be renewed againe by repentaunce, crucifyinge againe to themselves the
' Sonne of God, and making him a mocking-stocke.' And again, saieth he, 'If we shal
' willinglie sinne, after we have received the knowledge of the truthe, there is no oblation
' left for sinne, but the terrible expectation of judgement, and fire, which shall devour the
' adversaries.' Thus S. Paule writeth, and this thou readest; and dost thou not quake and
tremble? Well, yf these terrible and thundring threatninges cannot stur thee, to cleave
unto Christ, and forsake the world: yet let the swete consolacions and promises of the
Scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, holi martirs and confessours, encourage
the to take faster hold by Christ. Harken what he saith, 'Blessed are you when men
' revile you, and persecute you for my sake; rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward
' in heaven: for so persecuted thei the prophets before you.' Heare what Esay saith, 'Feare
' not the curse of men, be not afraid of their blasphemies and revylynges; for wormes
' and mothes shal eat them up like clothe and wol, but my righteousnes shal endure for
' ever, and my saving-health from generation to generation. What art thou then, (saith
' he,) that fearest a mortal man, the child of a man, that fadeth away as doth the flower,
' and forgettest the Lord that made the, that spread out the heavens, and laid the founda-
' tions of the earth. I am the Lord thy God, that maketh the sea to rage, and to be styl;
' who is the Lord of Hosts. I shal put my word in thy mouth, and defend the with the
' turning of a hand.' And our saviour Christ saith to his disciples, 'They shall accuse
' you, and brynge you before the princes and rulers, for mi name's sake. And some of
' you thei shal persecute and kil, but feare you not, (saith he,) neither care you not what
' you shal say, for it is mi spirit that speaketh in you, the hand of the Highest shal defend
' you, for the heares of your head are nombred, and none of them shal perish. I have
' layed up treasure for you, (saith he,) where no theefe can steale, nor moth corrupt; and
' happye are you, if you endure to the end. Feare not them, (saith Christ,) that have
' power over the bodi only, but feare him that hath power both over the bodi and soul.
' The world loveth her owne, and if ye wer of the world, the world wold love you; but
' you are mine, therefore the worlde doth hate you.' Lette these, and such like consolations,
out of the Scriptures, strengthen you to Godward. Let not the ensamples of holy
men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel, and the rest of the prophetes, of the
three children, of Eleazarus, that constant father, of the vii. of the Machabes children, of
Peter, Paule, Steven, and other apostles and holi martirs in the beginning of the church.
As of good Simeon Archbishop of Seloma, and Zetrophone, with insynite other under Sa-
pores the king of the Persians and Indians, who contempned al tormentes devysed by the
tiraunts, for theyr Saviour's sake. Returne, returne againe into Christe's warre, and, as
becommeth a faithful warriour, put on that armour that S. Paule teacheth to be moste ne-
cessarye for a Christian man. And, above al thynges, take to you the sheylde of faythe.

And be ye provoked, by Christe's owne example, to withstande the devil, to forsake
the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his mystical body, who spared
not his own body for our sins. Throwe doune thy selfe with the feare of his thretned
vengeaunce, for this so great and heinous offence of apostacy; and comfort your selfe, on
the other part, with the mercy, bloud, and promises of him that is ready to tourne to you,
whensoever thou tourne to him. Disdaine not to come again with the lost son, seinge you
have so wandred with him. Be not ashamed to tourne again with him from the swil of
straungers, to the delicates of the moste benign and loving father; acknoledginge, that
you have sinned against heaven and earth. Against heaven, by stαινynge his glorious
name, and caused his most cinsere and pure worde to be evil spoken of, through you:
against earth, by offending your so many weak brethren, to whom you have bene a stum-
gnlib-blocke throughe your sodaine slidinge.

Be not ashamed to come againe with Marye, and to wepe bitterly with Peter; not only
with sheding of teares out of your bodely eyes; but also powring out the streames of

your heart, to wash away out of the sight of God, the filth and mire of your offensive fal. Be not ashamed to saye with the publicane: 'Lord, be merciful to me a sinner!' Remember the horrible history of Julien of old, and the lamentable case of Fraunces Spira of late, whose case (me thyncketh) should be yet so grene in your remembraunce, that, being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seinge that you are fallen into the like offence. Last of al, let the lively remembraunce of the last day be alwaies afore your eyes, remembring the terrour that suche shal be in at that time, with the runnagates and fugetives from Christ, whiche setting more by the worlde, than by heaven; more by their life, then bi him, that gave them their life; did shrink, yea, did clean fal away, from him that never forsoke them. And, contrary wise, the inestimable joyes prepared for them that feared no parel, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriouslye triumphed over al power of darknes, over hel, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted captain Christ, who now stretcheth out his armes to receive you, ready to fal upon your necke and kisse you, and (last of al) to feast you with the deinties and delicates of his own precious blood; which undoutedly, if it might stand wyth his determinate purpose, he wold not let to shed againe, rather then you should be lost. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be honoure, prayse, and glorye, everlastingly. Amen.

Be constant, be constant, feare not for payne:
Christ hath redemed the, and heaven is thy gayne.

A certayne Communycation⁴, betweene the Ladye Jane, and Master Feckenham, iiii. Dayes before her Death; even Word for Word, her own Hand being put thereto.

Feckenham first speaketh.

WHAT thing is required in a Christian?

Jane. To beleve in God the Father, in God the Sonne, in God the Holi Gost; thre persons, and one God.

Fecken. Is ther nothing els required in a Christian, but to beleve in God?

Jane. Yes, we must beleve in hym, we must love hym, with al our hart, with al our soule, and al our minde, and our neyghbour as our selfe.

Fecken. Why then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not.

Jane. Yes verely, faith (as St. Paule saith) only justifieth.

Fecken. Whi S. Paule saith: 'If I have al faith without love, it is nothing.'

Jane. True it is; for howe can I love hym, in whom I trust not? Or howe can I trust in hym, whom I love not? Faith and love agreeth both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Fecken. Howe shall we love oure neyghbour?

Jane. To love oure neyghbour, is to feede the hungri, clothe the naked, and geve drinke to the thirsty, and to do to hym, as we wold do to our selves.

Fecken. Why then it is necessary to salvation to do good workes, and it is not sufficient to beleve?

Jane. I deny that, and I affirme that faith onely saveth. But it is mete for Christians, in token that thei solow their Master Christ, to do good workes; yet may we not say that thei profit to salvacion. For, although we have al don al that we can, yet we be unprofitable servauntes; and the faith onely in Christe's bloude saveth.

Fecken. Howe many sacramentes be there?

Jane. Two, the one the sacrament of baptisme, and the other the sacrament of oure Lorde's supper.

⁴ [The substance of this conference is given by Fox, who says that Feckenham was sent by Queen Mary to commune with Lady Jane, in order to seduce her from the doctrine of Christ to the Queen's religion. It doubtless was the wish of Mary that she should die in the Romish profession, as her father-in-law had done, but her steadiness of mind and temper was not to be warped by logical plausibility, nor shaken by impending death.]

Fecken. No, ther be vii.

Jane. By what scripture find you that?

Fecken. Well, we will talke ther of hereafter. But what is signified by youre two sacramentes?

Jane. Bi the sacrament of baptisme, I am washed with water, and regenerated bi the Spirite; and that washing is a token to me, that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lorde's supper is offred unto me as a sure seale and testimoni, that I am by the bloud of Christe, whiche he shedde for me on the crosse, made partaker of the everlasting kyngdome.

Fecken. Why, what do you receive in that bread? Do you not receive the very body and bloude of Christ?

Jane. No surelye, I do not beleve so. I thinck that at that supper I receive neither flesh nor bloud, but only bread and wine: the which breade when it is broken, and the wine when it is dronke, putteth me in minde, howe that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his bloud shed on the crosse; and, with that bread and wine, I receyve the benefites that cam bi breaking of his bodi, and bi the shedding of his bloud on the crosse, for mi sins.

Fecken. Why, doth not Christ speake these wordes: "Take, eate, this is my bodi?" Require we ani plainer wordes? Doth not he say, that it is hys body?

Jane. I graunt he saieth so, and so he saieth: "I am the vine, I am the doore;" but yet he is never the more the vine nor doore. Doth not S. Paule say, that he calleth those things that are not, as though thei were? God forbid that I shuld say that I eate the very natural bodi and bloud of Christ; for then eyther I shuld pluk awai my redemption, either els ther wer ii. bodies, or ii. Christes, or els ii. bodies; the one bodi was tormented on the crosse, and then, if thei did eate another bodi, then either he had ii. bodies, either els, if his bodi were eaten, it was not broken upon the crosse; or els, if it wer broken upon the crosse, it was not eaten of his disciples.

Fecken. Whi is it not as possible, that Christ by his power coulde make his bodi both to be eaten and broken, as to be borne of a woman, without the sede of man; and as to walke on the sea, having a bodi; and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power onlye?

Jane. Yes, vereli, if God wold have done at his supper a miracle, he might have don so; but I say he minded no worke, or miracle, but only to breake his bodi, and shed his bloud on the crosse for our sins. But I pray you answer me to thys one question, Wher was Christ when he sayd: "Take, eate, this is my bodi?" Was not he at the table when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffred not, til the next daye. Well, what tooke he, but breade? And what brake he, but breade? And what gave he, but breade? Looke what he toke, he brake; and looke what he brake, he gave; and looke what he gave, that did they eate; and yet al this while he hym selfe was at supper before his disciples, or els they were deceived.

Fecken. You ground your faith upon suche authors as say and unsay, both with a breathe, and not upon the church, to whom you ought to geve credyt.

Jane. No, I ground my faith upon God's word, and not upon the church. For, if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the church; neither yet mi faith. Shall I beleve the church, because of antiquitie? Or shall I geve credit to that church, that taketh awai from me that half parte of the Lorde's supper, and wyl let no lai man receive it in both kyndes, but themselves? Which thing if they denye to us, thei denie us parte of our salvation; and I say, that is an evyl church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the divel, that altreth the Lorde's supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church I saye, God wyl adde plagues, and from that church wyl he take their parte out of the booke of lyfe. Do you not learne that of S. Paule, when he ministred it to the Corinthians, in both kyndes? Shall I beleve that church? God forbid.

Fecken. That was done of a good intent of the church to avoide an heresi that sprong on it.

Jane. Whi, shal the church alter God's wyl and ordinaunces, for a good intent? How did King Saul the Lord define?

With these and such like perswasions, he wolde have had me to have leaned to the church, but it would not be. Ther wer many mo thinges, whereof we reasoned, but these wer the chief.

Be me, JANE DUDLEY.

These woordes were spoken openlye. After this master Feckenham tooke his leave, sayinge, that he was sorie for her. "For, (said he) I am sure we two shal never mete." "Trothe it is, (quoth she) that we shall never mete, unlesse God turne your hart. For I am sure, unlesse you repent and turne to God, you ar in an evyl case; and I pray to God, in the bowels of his mercie, to sende you his holy Spirite! For he hath geven you his great gift of utteraunce, if it please him to open the eyes of your hart to his truth." And so she departed.

An Exhortation⁵, written by the Lady Jane, the Night before she suffered, in the Ende of the New Testament, in Greke; which she sent to her Sister, Lady Katerine.

I HAVE here sent you, good sister Katerine, a boke, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth then precious stones. It is the boke (deare sister) of the lawe of the Lorde. It is his testament and last wil, whiche he bequethed unto us wretches, whiche shal leade you to the path of eternall joye. And if you with a good mynde read it, and with an earnest desire folowe it, it shal bring you an immortal and everlasting life. It will teache you to live, and learne you to dye. It shal winne you more, then you should have gained by the possession of your woful father's landes. For, as if God had prospered him you should have inherited his landes; so, if you appli diligently this boke, seking to direct your life after it, you shal be an inheritour of sutch riches, as neither the covetous shal withdraw from you, neither the theife shal steale, neither yet the mothes corrupte. Desire with David (good sister) to understand the lawe of the Lord your God. Live stil to dye, that you by death maye purchase eternall life. And trust not that the tendernes of your age shal lengthen your life; for assone (if God cal) goth the yong as the olde: and laboure alwaye to learne to dye. Deny the world, defie the devil, and dispise the fleshe, and delight your selfe only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sinnes, and yet dispaire not: be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and desire with S. Paule 'to bee dissolved, and to be with Christe,' with whom, even in death ther is life.

Be like the good servaunt, and even at midnight be waking: least, when death commeth and steale upon you, like a theife in the nighte, you be with the devil's servaunt found sleping; and least for lacke of oyle ye bee founde like the five foolishe women; and like him that had not on the wedding garment; and then you be cast out from the mariage. Rejoyce in Christ, as I trust ye do. And seinge ye have the name of a Christian; as nere as ye can, folow the steppes of your master Christ, and take up your crosse, lay your sinnes on his backe, and alwaies imbrace him. And, as touching my death, rejoyce as I do (good sister) that I shal be delivered of this corruption, and put on uncorruption. For I am assured, that I shal, for losing of a mortal life, winne an immortal life: the whiche

⁵ [This was reprinted in Bentley's Monument of Matrons, 1582, and with a History of the Life and Death of Lady Jane, in 1615. A Latin copy was published by Ballard; and Burnet tells us, it was written in Greek.]

I praye God graunt you; sende you of his grace to live in his feare, and to dye in the true Christian faith. From the whiche, in God's name, I exhorte you that ye never swarve; neither for hope of life, nor fear of death. For, if ye wil deny his truth, to lengthen your life; God wil deny you, and yet shorten your daies. And, if ye wil cleave to him, he wil prolonge your daies, to your comforte, and his glory. To the which glory, God bringe me nowe, and you hereafter, whan it shal please God to cal you! Far well, good sister, and put your onlye trust in God, who onely must helpe you. Amen.

Your loving sister,

JANE DUDLEY.

The Lady Jane's Wordes upon the Scaffold⁶.

“GOOD Christen people, I am under a lawe, and by a lawe I am condempned to dye; not for ani thing I have offended the Quene's Majesti, for I wil wash my hands giltles therof, but only for that I consented to the thing whiche I was inforced unto. Notwithstanding, I have offended Almyghtie God, for that I have folowed over much the lust of mi flesh, and the pleasure of this wretched world, and I have not lived according to the knowledge that God hath geven me; wherfore God hath plaged me nowe wyth thys kinde of death, and that worthelye, accordyng to my desertes. Howebeit, I thancke him hartelie, that he hath geven me time to repent my syns here in this world. Wherfor, good Christian people, I shal desyre you al to pray with me, and for me, while I am now alive; that God of his goodnes will forgeve me my sinnes. And I pray you al to beare me witnesse, that I here dye a true Christian woman, and that I truste to be saved by the blood of Jesus Christ, and bi none other meanes; and now I pray you al, pray for me, and with me!” and so saied the Psalm of *Miserere mei*: that don, she saied, “Lorde save my soule, whyche now I commend into thy handes:” and so prepared her selfe meekelie to the blocke.

⁶ [April 12, 1554.]

The History of the Gunpowder-Treason: Collected from approved Authors, as well Popish as Protestant¹.

Sapè Divinitatis opera hæc sunt, et furias in ipso jam successu securas subita ultio excipiat; nè vel unquam improbis timor, vel spes absit calamitosæ virtuti.

Jo. Barclaii *Conspiratio Anglicana*.

Printed at London, in 1678.

[Quarto, containing Thirty-two Pages.]

THERE are no conspiracies and insurrections more dangerous to states and governments, than those, that the name of religion is made to patronize; for, when hat doth head and manage the party, as it makes it look somewhat considerable in itself, so it

¹ The authors, from whence this narrative hath been collected, are; Thuanus; Jo. Barclaii *Conspiratio Anglicana*; Proceedings against the Traitors, printed in 1606; *Historia Missionis Anglicanæ, Societatis Jesu*, Collectore Henrico Moro, printed at St. Omers, 1660; *Andreas Eudæmon-Joannis Apologia pro Garnetto*; Rob. Abboti *Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andree Eudæmon-Joannis*; *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*.

doth inspire those, that are concerned, with a certain furious and intemperate zeal, and an ungovernable violence: they then rebel with authority, and kill with a safe conscience, and think they cannot do amiss, as long as it is to do God service. 'The brother will then deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child; and the children will rise up against their parents; and cause them to be put to death;' and the laws of nature, which are of themselves sacred and inviolable, shall, in such a case, be despised, and lose their authority. This, this is it, which in these latter ages more especially, hath disturbed governments, disposed of the crowns of princes, and troubled the peace of the world. From hence spring all those mischiefs, that threatened and perpetually alarmed this nation, during the long and fortunate reign of Queen Elizabeth. From hence proceeded that barbarous and bloody design of the Gun-powder Treason, in 1605: such a design, as the world before never heard of, and which posterity will hardly believe, for the horror of it; (say the soberer of their own² authors:) such a design, as even some of the Jesuits, after it miscarried, and they saw how ill it was resented by the rest of mankind, professed their detestation of³: but how little to their own vindication, and the satisfaction of the world, will easily appear to any one, that doth impartially enquire into the history and the process of it. For this design was not taken up of a sudden, and what a small company of rash and hot-headed persons did without consideration attempt; but what proceeded from the same original, and was carried on by the same counsels and endeavours, that were in being in the time of Queen Elizabeth; the principals in which, for their time, were, Garnet, the provincial of the Jesuits in England, Baldwin in Flanders, and Creswel in Spain. These were the great projectors and encouragers of that which was called the Spanish Treason, in the last year of Queen Elizabeth; and which when defeated in, by her death, and the peace that issued upon it betwixt the crowns of England and Spain, they were put upon new counsels, and forced to take other measures for the prosecution of it.

It was in December, in the year 1601, that Thomas Winter was sent into Spain, by the joint advice of Henry Garnet and Oswald Tesmond, Jesuits; and of Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham, gentlemen of good quality and reputation; to try what could be done for their assistance, that were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the Catholic cause; and to assure the King of Spain, that, could they but prevail with him to send over an army, they would have in readiness fifteen-hundred, or two-thousand horses for the service. With Winter was sent over Oswald Tesmond, and by them a letter to Creswel, the Jesuit, then residing there; by whose mediation the motion was readily hearkened to; and Don Pedro Francesca, second secretary of state, and the Duke of Lerma, did assure them of the King's furtherance and help; and, in the conclusion, the Count of Miranda particularly told them, that his master had resolved to bestow two-hundred thousand crowns to that use, half to be paid that year, and the rest the next following; and that, at spring, he would, without fail, set footing in England.

About the latter end of the year, Thomas Winter returns with this joyful news; and they were now busy in preparing for it, and almost every day expecting the arrival of these forces, when of a sudden all was dashed by the death of Queen Elizabeth, which was March the twenty-fourth, 1602. Upon this, one of the Wrights is immediately dispatched into Spain, to give the King notice of it; and about the same time was Guy Fawkes sent, with letters and commission, from Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen, and Baldwin the Jesuit, (who were then in Flanders, and ready to attend and to prosecute the same design,) but that King told them, that he was now otherwise resolved; and it became him not to hearken to such proposals, after he had sent ambassadors to the new King of England to treat of a peace. It was now, therefore, fit either to let their design fall, or to betake themselves to some other course to effect it. But the former their temper and their principles would not permit; and, therefore, since they could not promise them-

² Thuanus. Barclay. Rog. Widdrington, in his Apolog. pro Jure Principum, pag. 1.

³ *Mori Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Præfat.*

selves success therein by force, they did contrive how, without any noise, or visible and open preparations, it might be obtained.

That a king or queen, who is an heretick, may be deposed or killed, was current doctrine amongst them, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and what they had been taught from Father Creswel, or whoever was the author of the book called 'Philopater,' and by Tresham, in his book, '*De Officio hominis Christiani*,' found with them about this time. And, though the King was not formally declared and proceeded against, as such; yet it was thought sufficient by them, that the Pope, on Maunday-Thursday, did censure and condemn all hereticks in the general, as Guy Fawkes and others of them did confess; and therefore the question was not so much about the lawfulness of it, as about the order that was to be observed, and the way that was fit to be taken in it. Catesby, who was no novice in these affairs, and that, from his acquaintance with Parsons, when in England, and Garnet, and the other Jesuits, (to whose order he and his family, from Campian down to this time, were particularly devoted) had learned great skill and subtlety, quickly contrived this for them: and when Percy, who was of the house of Northumberland, and at that time one of the King's pensioners, according to the bluntness of his temper, did offer himself for the service; and that he would, without any more ado, undertake to assassinate the King, this wary gentleman replied: "That would be too dear a purchase, when his own life would be hazarded in it; and it was unnecessary, when it might as well be accomplished without it:" and so acquaints him, in part, with what was intended.

Before this was fit to be fully communicated, he thought it necessary, that there should be some care taken to oblige all to secrecy; for which purpose, an oath was devised that every one should take, and which was accordingly administered to them by Gerard the Jesuit. The oath was:

' You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament, you now purpose to receive; never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.'

This was taken, and the sacrament upon it received by Catesby, Percy, Christopher Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes, in May 1604.

Upon which, Catesby communicated the whole, and told them, that at the meeting of the Parliament, which now drew on, they would have a fair opportunity to consummate all their wishes, and without being observed or discovered, by one fatal blow to destroy the King, the Prince, the Duke, and the Parliament at once; for, as long as there were those branches of the Royal Family remaining, to what purpose would it be to make away the King? And, as long as there was a Parliament in being, what should they get, if they could not as well destroy the branches, as the root? Therefore, his design was to extirpate at once all the seeds of heresy; and, by a train of powder conveniently laid under the house, in which at that time they should all be assembled, to blow them up, and their cause together. This was what the confederates very well approved of, and now they united counsels and endeavours to carry it on.

The first thing to be considered was, the hiring of the house, and this Percy undertook; and having, not without some difficulty, persuaded the present tenant, Ferris, to quit it, he became immediate tenant to Whinyard, keeper of the wardrobe; at whose disposal it was, in the intervals of parliament. The house was committed to the care of Fawkes, as being least known; who, the better to conceal himself, changed his name to Johnson, and gave himself out to be Percy's servant. Whilst they were thus busy in contriving and carrying on their plot, the Parliament was prorogued till February the seventh, upon which they dispersed themselves into several countries; but, to lose no time, did think of taking in some other persons, whom they might confide in, and expect some help from. Catesby was sensible, that he had given Thomas Bates (a servant of his, that

attended him,) too great cause of suspicion; and, upon examination, found him to have observed somewhat from his proceedings, and therefore invited him into the undertaking; but he, somewhat surprized at the horror of it, began to decline it, till his master referred him for advice to Tesmond; unto whom imparting it in confession, the subtle priest both invited him to it, as a work of great merit, and obliged him to secrecy and fidelity therein. Then were Robert Keyes, and the other Wright, gentlemen, and Ambrose Rockwood, and John Grant, and Robert Winter, esquires, admitted into the number.

In Michaelmas-Term they met again, and then they thought fit to provide a store-house for the timber which they should use in the mine that they intended to make, and for the powder and other materials; from whence they might fetch it, as occasion served. And such a place they found and took, at Lambeth. December the eleventh, they began to work: but, what from the difficulty of the work (the wall, that they were to make their way through, being three ells thick), what from their want of skill in it, and of being used to such kind of labour, they found that their time would be too short for their enterprise, and they began to despair of success in it. But, when under this irresolution and discouragement, their hopes were revived by two unexpected accidents: For first, the Parliament was adjourned to the fifth of October following; by which means they should have time before them. And, then, they had an opportunity of hiring a vault much more for their turn, than the mine which they had so long employed themselves in. This they came to the knowledge of, upon this occasion: As they were one day busy at their work, they were not a little frightened by an unusual noise on the other side of the wall, which made them think that they were betrayed, and to betake themselves to their weapons, with a resolution of dying upon the place. But Fawkes, who was sent out to make discovery, returns with joy to tell them, that it was only the removing of coals, that were laid in the adjoining vault or cellar, which was now to be let. This they presently hire: thither they brought their stores. By this means they gained a double advantage: First, that their business was brought into a less room, which was more for their ease and safety; and then, that they were rid of their hard, and, but upon such a cause, to them intolerable labour: for this was a mine, as it were, already; and what was so well situated, by its being almost under the royal throne, that they could not have chose any thing more commodious. And now they were at leisure, not so much to think of this design, (for that was brought to its head, and what they reckoned themselves sure of) as how to carry on the other part of it. The King and Prince Henry, they did not doubt, would fall in this common calamity; but the Duke, being but four years old, they thought, would be absent: of him, therefore, Percy took the charge, and said, he would attend about the chamber till the blow was given; and then in a trice convey him away, with the help of two or three, that should be ready on horseback: which they might the more easily do, as many of the court would be that day upon attendance, and perish with the rest; and the others would by it be put into confusion, and unprovided to make any opposition. As for the Lady Elizabeth, she might be reserved, and her name made use of by them, in stilling and composing the minds of the people, and for making good whatever they thought fit to use her authority in; and her they might the more easily gain into their hands, as she was now at the Lord Harrington's⁴, at Comb-Abbey in Warwickshire, whereabouts they might securely be, under the pretence of an hunting-match, and with the first news there surprize her.

In the mean time was care taken to give notice to those abroad, whom they might trust; and, in March 1605, is Fawkes sent over to Sir William Stanley and Hugh Owen, and with letters from Garnet to Baldwin, the Legier Jesuit in Flanders. Sir William was absent, but having first administered the oath of secrecy to Owen, he acquaints him with the plot; who promised to give his utmost assistance, and to dispose Sir William to it;

⁴ [Lord and Lady Harrington had the care and tuition of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter to James the First, and afterwards wife to the unfortunate Frederic, Elector Palatine, and King of Bohemia.]

whom he thought it not fit, for the present, to communicate it to, for fear he might be discovered, and fail in a design, that he was then about, in the court of England.

To the twenty barrels of powder, laid in at first, they added, in July, twenty more, with bars of iron and massy stones; and at the last, made up the number thirty-six; over which they laid a thousand billets and five-hundred faggots. And, at a meeting at the Bath of Percy and Catesby, it was agreed, that Catesby should take in whom he thought fit; who thereupon engaged Sir Everard Digby, that promised to advance fifteen-hundred pounds towards it; and Mr. Francis Tresham, that gave him assurance of two-thousand pounds.

All things thus being in a readiness, the Parliament was again prorogued till the fifth of November; upon which they retired, with a promise of meeting about ten days before. At which time, Catesby being informed by Winter, at a house by Enfield-chace, that the Prince was not likely to be present with the King; there was another plot laid to surprize him, if it should so happen.

The time drew very near, and they that had past so long without discovery, seemed now to be above the fear of it. All things had so happily concurred to further their design, and they had all approved themselves to be so trusty in it, that they were more concerned how to manage their success, than to fear it. But God (that had a reserve of favour for us, and that doth delight in catching the wise in their own craftiness,) suffered them to proceed thus far in it; that the detection and overthrow of it might appear to be more from his, than man's providence. When Catesby first thought of this, the great difficulty with him, was about the lawfulness of destroying the innocent with the guilty: for the blow would know no difference betwixt a Catholick and an heretick, betwixt a friend or foe. When the nobles and the commons, those that were a part of that assembly, and those that came to be auditors and spectators only; those that were within, and those that were without the house; when no less than thirty-thousand must perish at once by it (as Barclay saith it was computed), it must needs be, that many, whom they wished well to, and that also (if they knew it) would wish well to their cause, must be part of the sacrifice. What an havock would thirty-six barrels, or nine or ten thousand pounds of powder make; loaded thus with bars of iron, massy stones, and great pieces of timber? How would it tear the foundations of the strongest buildings, throw down all the tops of the neighbouring houses, and bury all within the ruins of both? What would become of their friends and allies, those that they had received much kindness from; and others, who neither did, nor knew how to do them an injury? How many families must they undo, by the loss of relations, estates, and records which were there deposited? This, and much more, was what they well foresaw, and what they could not foresee without some kind of horror, if they had but one spark of humanity left untouched by their unnatural religion. What must therefore be done? To whom should he resort for counsel, but to his fast friend, father Garnet? To him he opens the case (as far as it was fit, and as far as the other was willing to know of it) after this manner:

‘Whether, for the good and promotion of the Catholic cause, (the necessity of time and occasion so requiring) it be lawful or not, amongst many nocents, to destroy and take away some innocents also?’

To which the Jesuit replies: ‘That, if the advantage was greater, on the side of the Catholicks, by the destruction of the innocent with the nocent, than by the preservation of both, it was doubtless lawful;’ further explaining himself by this comparison: ‘That if, at the taking of a town possessed by the enemy, there happened to be seen friends, they must undergo the fortune of war, and the general and common destruction of the enemy.’

With this answer Catesby was satisfied, and with this answer he satisfied others; telling them, that it was the resolution of the case given by the provincial.

But yet, though this did thus compose their minds, and what they were generally satis-

fied with, yet there wanted not one, that having a kindness for the Lord Monteagle, eldest son to the Lord Morley, sent this note to him, by the hands of one of his foot-boys, that was abroad in the evening of the Saturday was se'nnight before the appointed time for the meeting of the Parliament.

‘ My Lord,
 ‘ Out of the love, I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation :
 ‘ therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off
 ‘ your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the
 ‘ wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire your-
 ‘ self into your own country, where you may expect the event in safety: For, though
 ‘ there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this
 ‘ Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This counsel is not to be con-
 ‘ temned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past,
 ‘ as soon as you shall have burned this letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to
 ‘ make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you.’

The letter was without date or subscription; and the hand, in which it was writ, was hardly legible, and the contents of it so perplexed, that the Lord knew as little what to make of it, as whence it came. But yet, however, since it respected more than himself, he thought not fit to conceal it; and presently repaired to Whitehall, and put it into the hands of the Earl of Salisbury, principal secretary of state. The Earl commended the Lord for his care and fidelity; and told him, that though there seemed to be but little in it, yet, because of the reports that he had received from abroad, that the Papists, this session of Parliament, would be very busy and insolent in their demands for toleration, upon some prospect they had of being in a condition to command it; and also, that because nothing that concerned the safety of his Majesty, and peace of his government, ought to be slighted, he would advise with others of his Majesty's council about it. Accordingly, he shewed it to the Lord Chamberlain⁵ (to whom it particularly belonged to visit all places, where his Majesty either lived, or to which he did resort), to the Lord High-Admiral, the Earls of Worcester and Northampton; who all were of the same mind with the Secretary; and concluded it fit to deliver it to the King at his return from Royston, when he came from hunting, and from whence he was expected, the Thursday following.

On the next day after his return, the Earl presented him with it, and told him how it came to his hands. After the reading of it, the King made a pause, and then, reading it again, said, “That there seemed somewhat in it extraordinary, and what was by no means to be neglected.” The Earl replied, “That it seemed to him to be written by a fool, or a madman; for who else could be guilty of saying, ‘The danger is past, as soon as you have burned the letter?’ For what danger could there be in that, which the burning of the letter would put an end to?” But the King, considering the smartness of the style, and, withal, what was said before, ‘That they should receive a terrible blow, and yet should not see who hurt them;’ did conclude, as he was walking and musing in the gallery, that the danger must be sudden, and like the blowing up by gunpowder; for what else could the Parliament be in danger of? Or, what rebellion and insurrection could there be, and yet there be no appearance of stir therein? Or, how could they be otherwise hurt, and not see who hurt them? And, as for the phrase, which the Secretary particularly offered at, he said, “To him it seemed to be of a quite different signification; and that thereby was to be understood the suddenness and quickness of it, which should as soon, or as quickly, be done, as that paper might be burnt.” Doubtless this was the sense of it, and what he that wrote it did intend, who was no fool, as appears by the other parts of the letter;

⁵ [Thomas [Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who in conjunction with Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, first conceived the nature of that plot whose discovery was attributed to the King's sagacity. See Brydges' *Memoirs of the Peers of England*, p. 252.]

and yet the discovery of it was extraordinary, being against the common construction, far from what any other did apprehend by it; and therefore it is what even some of the adverse party have looked upon, as God's inspiration. So John Barclay intitles his little book, that he wrote about it, '*Series patefacti divinitus parricidii*,' &c. And Spondanus, ann. 1605. §. 8. saith of the King, that *divinitus evasit*.

The Secretary admired the King's great sagacity; and, though he seemed to differ from him, whilst in his presence, yet presently conferred with the Lords about it, and on Saturday it was resolved, that the houses and rooms thereabouts should be searched. The care of this was committed to the Lord Chamberlain, who was appointed on Monday to make the search; which he accordingly did, that evening, being accompanied with the Lord Monteagle, that was very desirous of seeing the event. Having viewed this house, they found, in a vault under ground, great store of billets, faggots, and coal, brought thither (as Mr. Whinyard told them) for the use of Mr. Percy; and espied Fawkes standing in a corner of the cellar, who said, "that he was Mr. Percy's servant, and left there by him for the keeping of his house." Upon the naming of Percy, the Lord Monteagle told the Chamberlain, that he now vehemently suspected Mr. Percy to be the author of that letter, both from his inclination to the Romish religion, and the intimacy that had been betwixt them. How true that Lord's conjecture was, I know not (for Bishop Goodman, in his answer to Sir Anthony Weldon's Court of King James, saith, that Tresham sent it). But that circumstance, with what they had discovered, so much increased the suspicion, that when all was reported by the Lord Chamberlain to the King, in the presence of the Lord Admiral, Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, it was resolved, [that further search should be made, what was under that great pile of fuel, in such a house, where Percy had so little occasion to reside. But, what for avoiding the report of too much credulity, and easiness to receive informations of that kind; what from the care of doing any thing that might redound to the blemish of the Earl of Northumberland, whose near relation and great confident this Thomas Percy was; it was resolved to do it under the pretence of making inquisition for some of the King's hangings, that were stolen out of Whinyard's custody. Sir Thomas Knevet, one of the King's privy-chamber, was employed in it; being a person in public office, as a justice of peace, and of great prudence. At midnight he repaired thither, and found Fawkes standing at the door, booted and spurred, whom he presently apprehended. Then, proceeding, he first lighted upon one of the smaller, and after discovered the rest of the barrels: upon which, causing Fawkes to be searched, he found about him three matches, a tinder-box, and a dark lanthorn.

Being thus taken in the fact, he both confessed and defended it; adding, "That, if he had happened to be within the house, as he was without; he would, by putting fire to the train, have put an end to their enquiry." Sir Thomas, having had such happy success, immediately returns with joy to the palace, and acquaints the Lord Chamberlain and Earl of Salisbury with it, who went to the King's bed-chamber; and, with as much haste as joy, the Chamberlain told the King, that all was discovered, and the traitor in safe custody. This was about four of the clock in the morning. As soon as the council met (who were immediately sent for) the prisoner was taken into examination; and, to the amazement of all, appeared no more dashed by their presence, or the questions put to him, or the condition that he was in, than if he had been altogether innocent; declaring, "that he was not at all sorry for what he had designed, but only that he failed in the execution of it; and that the devil, and not God was the discoverer." So pertinacious and resolute was he, that he would not own any accomplices, but that "he alone was the contriver, and should have been the sole executer of it; and that he was induced to this for conscience-sake, as the King (being an heretick) was not his lawful Sovereign, but an usurper." Thus stout and resolute did he continue, till he was brought to the Tower, and shewed the rack; upon the sight of which he began to relent, and, after some days examination, disclosed the whole.

The news of this discovery flew like lightning; it was what rejoiced the heart of every

good subject, and daunted that of the rebels; and therefore those of them, that were in town, no sooner heard of it, but they betook themselves to flight.

Catesby was gone the night before towards the place appointed for their rendezvous; and Percy set forward at four of the clock in the morning, much about the time that the discovery was made. But one of the Winters, and the two Wrights that staid behind, staid to hear of their defeat and disappointment; and so made all the haste they could to overtake and meet their confederates, that they might consult what was to be done in so great an exigence.

In the mean time, there was nothing wanting on their part, who were to contribute their endeavours in the country. Sir Everard Digby came to Dunchurch, according to appointment; and so confident were they of success above, that one Grant, a gentleman in those parts, on Monday night, (much about the time that Fawkes was apprehended,) with other of his associates, broke open the stables of one Benock, a rider of great horses, and took away all that he found for their own service; and with them they repaired to the rest. But all their hopes were soon blasted by the sad news, which they quickly received from those that had made their escape. Desperation begets resolution; and now they are lost, as well as their cause, if they do not speedily find out a remedy; and therefore, with all the haste they could, they dispatched some to call in others to their assistance, and to represent to them the greatness of the danger, that they, and their religion is in, unless they appear in its defence. This, Tesmond (aliàs Greenwel) the Jesuit, did particularly concern himself in, exhorting all to take up arms, and to unite their forces; and for this purpose rode as far as Lancashire. This riding to and fro made a noise in the country, and awakened the people; the loss of Benock's horses came quickly to the ears of some of those gentlemen, that had put them into his hands to manage and fit them for their service: and, for one reason or another, the country was presently up in arms, and upon pursuit of them.

Some of them were taken prisoners, and others of them pursued, by Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of Warwickshire, to the borders of that county; but they kept on their course, till they came to Holbeach, in Staffordshire, the house of Stephen Littleton: thither Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcestershire, followed them, and by his trumpeters, commanded them, in the King's name, to surrender; assuring them, that upon their so doing, he would intercede with the King for them, and doubted not to obtain their pardon. But they, that were conscious to themselves of more than he understood (for the news had not yet spread so far, nor the King's proclamations, though sent after them, had not yet overtaken them) bid him defiance; and sent him word, "That he must have a greater force, than what he had then the command of, to reduce them." But, whilst the one was preparing for the assault, and the other for their defence, God himself seemed to decide the quarrel; for, by the same means, which they contrived to destroy others, they themselves came to suffer. For, having laid some powder to dry before the fire, a coal, upon the mending of it, flew into the pan, and set fire to the rest; thereby not only blowing up part of the roof, (and a bag of powder of seventeen or eighteen pounds, that they underset the pan with, which was carried unfired into the court,) but so wounding Catesby, Percy, Rockwood, and several of the conspirators, that they were unable to make any further defence. By this time also fire was set to the house, and their case grew so desperate, that they opened the doors, and exposed themselves to the weapons and fury of the people. The three principal of them, viz. Catesby, Percy, and Winter, joined back to back, and the two former of them were mortally wounded with one shot; Catesby dying upon the spot, and Percy not outliving him above two or three days. The two Wrights were slain at the same time; Digby, Rockwood, Thomas Winter, Grant, and Bates, were taken prisoners, and sent up to London; Robert Winter and Littleton endeavoured to conceal themselves in the woods, but were afterwards taken, and committed to the Tower. Tresham continued in London, and seemed ready to find out the traitors, and by that means thought at first to remain undiscovered; but, being suspected, he was afterwards searched for, and apprehended, and sent to the same place.—Thus suddenly was that de-

sign discovered, which had been so long concealed; thus suddenly was it broken, which they had been some years in contriving: therein verifying that of the Psalmist: 'The ungodly are sunk down into the pit that they made; in the net, which they hid, is their own foot taken. The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth; the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands.'

These persons, thus apprehended, were carefully examined, (in the doing of which were spent twenty-three days;) and from their several confessions was drawn sufficient matter not only for their own condemnation, but also for detection of others.

The most considerable of which was Garnet, the provincial of the Jesuits; Hall, Greenwel, Gerard, and Hammond, priests of the same order. The respect that Garnet had to the reputation of their society, and his own safety, had made him to act with so great caution, that he would willingly converse with none about this matter, but those that were of his own order; or Catesby, his trusty friend: and, therefore, much of the evidence against him fell with that conspirator. But yet there appeared such presumptions, by the acknowledgment of the rest that were taken, and letters that were found; that there was a proclamation issued out, for the apprehension of him and his brethren; declaring it treason for any to harbour and conceal them. Garnet, when the time drew near, and all things were ripe for their design, took a journey to Coulton in Warwickshire, not far from the place of the general rendezvous, where he preached a sermon, and in which he exhorted his auditors to pray for the success of a great action, to be undertaken in the behalf of the Catholics, at the beginning of the parliament; as is acknowledged by his apologist⁶, and was confessed by Hall, aliás Oldcorn. Whilst at that place, he received a letter, (November the sixth,) from Catesby, to let him know that their design had miscarried, and to desire him that he would use his interest in stirring up the Catholics in Wales, to arm and defend themselves. But the wary Jesuit provided for his own safety; and, sending Greenwel to them for their assistance and direction, he himself, with Hall, fled to Mr.⁷ Abington's house, at Henlip in Worcestershire, where Hall had found a safe retreat for sixteen years together, as an author⁸ of theirs informs us. There they lay concealed for some time, but at the last were discovered to be in that place by Littleton, one of the conspirators, as the same author relates, pag. 314; who further saith, that though the help of carpenters and bricklayers was used, yet they were many days before they could find them out, being in a vault; the way to which was in an upper room, through the half-pace before the hearth, whose wooden border was made like a trap-door, to pluck up and down, and then the bricks were laid in their courses and order again, as we are told by an author of our own⁹.

Hence they were brought to London, and committed to the Tower.

On January the twenty-seventh, the other prisoners were brought to their trial at Guildhall. The persons arraigned were Robert Winter, esq. Thomas Winter, gent. Guy Fawkes, gent. John Grant, esq. Ambrose Rockwood, esq. Robert Keyes, gent. and Thomas Bates, servant to Catesby. By another indictment was arraigned Sir Everard Digby.

They generally acknowledged the fact, and spake little in their own vindication. Rockwood pleaded, "That it was the entire affection he had for Mr. Catesby, which drew him in; and he hoped, as it was his first fact, some mercy would be shewed him." Sir Everard said the same, with respect to Catesby: and added, "That he had undertaken it for the zeal which he had to the Catholic religion, which he was ready to sacrifice all for; and to prevent those calamities, which he understood that the Parliament was prepared to bring upon them of his persuasion." Keyes said, "That his fortunes were sunk, and as good now as at another time, and for this cause rather than another."

They seemed resolved to vindicate the Jesuits, or, at least, to say nothing against them; whether it were, that they were not allowed to discourse of the plot with any but such and

⁶ Eudæm. Joannis Apologia pro Garneto, pag. 265.

⁷ [Or *Habington*; father to the poet, and brother-in-law to Lord Monteagle, by whose court-interest he was rescued from a lingering imprisonment, after being condemned to die for his concealment of Garnet, &c.]

⁸ Hen. Mori Historia Missionis Anglicanæ, pag. 333.

⁹ Fowlis's Romish Treasons, pag. 698.

such particular persons, or whether it were that they thought it to be highly meritorious; and this last seems to be not unlikely. When Tresham, not above three hours before his death, in the Tower, did declare upon his salvation, that he had not seen Garnet in sixteen years before; whereas it appeared, both by the confession of Garnet, and Mrs. Anne Vaux, Garnet's bosom-friend, that they had been frequently together the two last years past.

On the Thursday following, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Bates, were, according to judgment, drawn, hanged, and quartered, at the west-end of St. Paul's church. And on the Friday, the other four, viz. Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rockwood, and Fawkes, were executed in the palace-yard at Westminster.

Now were Garnet and Hall had in examination, and that several times, from the first of February to March the twenty-sixth. In all which Garnet shewed by the wiliness of his answers, and the confidence he maintained them with, that he deserved the place of provincial of the Jesuits; being so well versed in all the practices of his society, that few could exceed him.

The King, from the first, was resolved to forbear the severity of the rack, much practised in other countries, in the examination of notorious and perverse criminals. We indeed are told by a late confident author¹⁰ of their own, 'That Garnet was kept waking six days and nights together, to bring him by that new kind of torment (as he calls it) to a confession of his crime; and that Hall was put to extreme torture for fifteen hours space together in the Tower, for the same reason.' But¹¹ a greater than he (one of their¹² own persuasion) doth assure us, 'that the King, to avoid calumny, did purposely forbear any thing of that kind of rigour;' and Garnet himself did publicly own at his trial, that he had been used, whilst in prison, with great lenity. We know not what effect the rack might have had upon him, for that was a way of trial he had not been exercised in; but that course which they took, by frequent and cross examinations, by expostulations, and arguments, he was so much master of, that in all the twenty-three days spent in it, they would have gained but little information, had they not had some greater advantage. Had he been alone, and could not have been confronted by others, he had been much more secure, and they more at a loss. And, therefore, to prevent any misunderstanding betwixt him and others in custody, that their answers might not be inconsistent or repugnant; he writes both to Hall and Mrs. Vaux, to let them know after what manner he thought to excuse or defend himself, and what replies to make to some particular enquiries; as if he should be charged with his prayer for the good success of a great action, &c. he would say, "It was for the prevention of those severe laws, which those of their church expected would be made against them by that Parliament." But it happened that these letters, that were writ by him, came into other hands than those he intended them for, and did him a worse injury than any account that his sworn friends could have likely given of the same actions, though disagreeing with his. And, indeed, herein his adversaries did outwit him, and worsted him at his own weapons. For, when they perceived that he obstinately persisted in the defence of his innocency, they took another course to find him out: first, a person was employed as a keeper, that should profess himself to be a Roman Catholick, and that should take a great liberty to complain of the King's severity, and of the sufferings their party were made to undergo. By these and the like crafty insinuations, he grew to be a familiar of Garnet's; and at last was entrusted by him with a letter to one and to another. Which yet he did not so much venture upon, but that he wrote sparingly to one, and to the other nothing in appearance but what any one may see; filling up the void places with other more secret matters, written indeed, but written with the juice of a lemon. By this means they found out, that it was not so much his innocency, as the want of proof, that made him so confident. By this they came to understand, that Greenwel and he had conferred together about the plot.

¹⁰ *Historia Missionis Anglican.* pag. 315, 334.

¹² Not Jesuitical, but only Popish.

¹¹ Thuanus, an. 1606.

There was also another calamity that befel him by the same contrivance; for now, thinking himself sure of his keeper, he let him know what a great desire he had of conferring with Hall. The decoy told him, that he would endeavour to find out a way for it. This was done, and they had that freedom; but at the same time there were placed within hearing two persons of such known credit, that Garnet, at his trial, had nothing to object against them, who took notice of what was said, and made it known to the council. The next day commissioners came to examine them, and in discourse charged them severally with those things that passed betwixt them the day before. This Hall did acknowledge, being convinced by the particulars that they produced; but Garnet did deny it 'upon the word of a priest',¹³ and with reiterated protestations. And when they told him, that Hall had confessed it, he said, "Let him accuse himself falsely, if he will; I will not be guilty of that folly." But, at the last, when he perceived that the evidence was not to be gainsaid, begged their pardon with no little confusion, and owned the particulars they charged him with; and, a little to save his reputation, told them, "That as he denied all, because he knew none but Greenwel could accuse him; so he did deny what he knew to be true, by the help of equivocation."

Now they had gained good evidence against him; his letters first, then his discourse with Hall, and lastly, his own confession, were a sufficient ground for them to proceed and try him upon; and that they began to do within two days after, viz. March the twenty-eighth.

The great thing charged upon him, was, 'That he was privy to this conspiracy, that he held a correspondence with Catesby, and by him and Greenwel with the rest.' And the chief part of his defence was: "That what he did know of it was in confession, and what was told him, in that way, he was bound to conceal, notwithstanding any mischief that might follow it; he might dissuade persons from it, but whether they would be persuaded by him or not, he was obliged not to divulge it."

After a long time spent in his trial, there was but little taken by the jury, to give their verdict, which was, that he was guilty of the treason; and accordingly he received sentence, and was executed the third of May following, at the west-end of St. Paul's church-yard.

This is the man whom the Jesuits extol to the clouds, and who is put into the catalogue of their martyrs, as it is to be found at the end of Alegambe's 'Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu.' This person, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, that could by equivocation swear to what he knew to be false, is what one¹⁴ of them bestows this character upon, 'That there was in him *morum simplicitas, et candor animi minime suspicacis*.' This man who had not the heart to die, and who at the time of his execution was so divided betwixt the hopes of a pardon, and the fear of death, that he could not attend to his own devotions; but one while cast his eyes this way, and another that; now at his prayers, and anon breaking off from them, to answer to that discourse which he overheard. This man, I say, is said by Alegambe, to go to his death *interritus et exporrecta fronte obtestans*, &c. without any fear; and protesting that he exceedingly rejoiced that he was now to suffer that death which would be an entrance to an immortal life.

The conclusion of all which is, that no Jesuit can be a traitor, and none suffer for treason but he must be a martyr.

The case of Hall was much the same with that of Garnet; he did confess, and it was also proved, that they were both together at Caughton, and they were both found together afterwards. It appeared that he had afterwards defended the treason to Humphrey Littleton. The excuses, the discourse, the confessions, were much one and the same; but only that Garnet was the more resolved, and the more obstinate of the two. Now,

¹³ An oath so sacred in the church of Rome, that, whereas the laity are always sworn 'upon the holy Gospels,' a priest is never required to give any other oath than 'upon the word of a priest;' i. e. *in verbo sacerdotis*. Query, Whether this sort of ecclesiastical affirmation did not give a hint for the Quakers' form of affirmation, instead of an oath?

¹⁴ Hist. Mission. Angl. p. 311.

because as this treason was hatched, and to be executed in the main at London, so because part of it was also to be done in the country, and the chief of the conspirators were there taken; therefore six of them were sent to Worcester, and there executed, viz. Humphry Littleton, John Winter, and this Hall, with three others. Thither, I say, he was carried with them for that reason, and not because his adversaries were ashamed to have his cause heard at London; as a bold author¹⁵ of theirs would have it.

It is no wonder to find these men so concerned to clear themselves of it, when all the world is against them: though this is no more to be done, than to prove that one that kills a king is a good subject; and one, that stirs up his subjects in rebellion against him, is a friend to him.

These were the persons that were taken and suffered for this bloody treason. Others of them escaped beyond sea; of which one, when Dominicus Vicus, governor of Calais, “assured them of the King’s favour, and, though they lost their own country, they might be received there,” replied, “The loss of their country was the least part of their grief; but their sorrow was, that they could not bring so brave a design to perfection.” At which, the Governor could hardly forbear casting him into the sea; as Thuanus relates, from Vicus’s own mouth. Others there were, whom the government had a great suspicion of; as Henry, Lord Mordaunt, and Edward, Lord Stourton; who, not appearing upon the summons to the parliament, were supposed to absent themselves from some intelligence that they received, were fined in the Star-chamber, and to be imprisoned during the King’s pleasure. The like sentence did Henry, Earl of Northumberland, undergo; for having admitted Thomas Percy, his kinsman, to be a gentleman-pensioner, without administering to him the oath of supremacy, when he knew him to be a Recusant¹⁶.

This was the end of the plot, and of the persons concerned in it. And it would be happy if they had left none of their principles or temper behind them; a generation whom no favour will oblige, nor kindness retain; whom nothing but supremacy will content, and the most absolute authority can gratify. Whom nothing can secure against, but a sufficient power, or great industry, or constant watchfulness; and scarcely all. And therefore it is fit, not only as a branch of our thankfulness to God, but also as a caution to ourselves, that this deliverance should be celebrated, and the memory of it perpetuated. I shall end with what is said of a great person¹⁷ of our own, some years since.

Two great deliverances, in the memory of many of us, hath God in his singular mercy wrought for us of this nation; such as, I think, take both together, no Christian age or land can parallel. One formerly, from a foreign invasion¹⁸; another, since then, of an hellish conspiracy¹⁹ at home. Both such, as we would have all thought, when they were done, should never be forgotten. And yet, as if this land were turned oblivious, (the land where all things are forgotten,) how doth the memory of them fade away; and they, by little and little, grow into forgetfulness? We have lived to see eighty-eight almost forgotten, (God be blessed who hath graciously prevented what we feared therein!) God grant that we, nor ours, ever live to see November the fifth forgotten, or the solemnity of it silenced!

¹⁵ *Eudæmon-Joannis Apologia pro Garneto*, pag. 272.

¹⁶ Or Papist.

¹⁷ Bishop Sanderson’s Sermons, lib. i. *ad populum Serm.* v. p. 242.

¹⁸ By the Spaniards, in the year 1588.

¹⁹ *Viz.* of which this is the history.

The Arraignment and Execution of the late Traitors; with a Relation of the other Traitors, which were executed at Worcester, the Twenty-seventh of January last past.

London, printed for Jeffrey Chorlton, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the great North Door of St. Paul's. 1616.

[Octavo, containing Twenty-eight Pages.]

The following tract contains a short narrative of the behaviour of these men at the gallows, who were executed for the Gun-powder Plot, of which I know not whether there is any other Protestant relation, and therefore have preserved this, though not very valuable either for its elegance or decency; for it is written in a strain of merriment and insult, which the religion, professed by the author, does not teach.

However, as one extreme is naturally opposed to another, this pamphlet (in which the cause and sufferings of these wretches are treated with scoffs and derision) may be justly placed in contrast against those writings of their own church, in which they are revered as martyrs.
J.—*.

A brief Discourse upon the Arraignment and Execution of the eight Traitors, Digby, the two Winters, Grant, Rockwood¹, Keyes, Bates, and Johnson, *alias* Fawkes; four of which were executed in St. Paul's Church-yard, in London, upon Thursday, being the thirtieth of January; the other four, in the old Palace in Westminster, over-against the Parliament-house, upon Friday next following.

NOT to aggravate the sorrow of the living in the shame of the dead, but to dissuade the idolatrously blinded, from seeking their own destruction, in the way to damnation; I have here briefly set down a discourse of the behaviour and carriage of the eight persons before named, from the time of their imprisonment, to the instant of their death; the nature of their offence, the little shew of their sorrow, their usage in prison, and their obstinacy to their end. First, for their offence; it is so odious in the ears of all human creatures, that it could hardly be believed, that so many monsters in nature should carry the shapes of men:—murder, oh! it is the crying sin of the world, and such an intended murder, as had it taken effect, would have made a world to cry; and therefore the horror thereof must needs be hateful to the whole world to hear of it.

Men, that saw them go to their execution, did in a sort grieve to see such proper men, in shape, go to so shameful an end; but the end was proper to men of so improper minds, who, to satisfy a blinded conceit, would forget their duties to God and their King, and unnaturally seek the ruin of their native country. They are said to be born unhappy, that are not some way profitable to their country; and then, how accursed are they born, that seek the destruction of the whole kingdom?

Papists will perhaps idly say 'it was a bloody execution;' but in respect of their desert, in the blood they intended to have shed, it was a merciful punishment. For, if Jezabel a queen, for seeking the murder of one private man, was thrown out of a window,

¹ [Or Rookewood, according to the minute of examination taken before the privy-council.]

and fed upon by dogs; how can these people be thought to be cruelly used, that could intend and practise so horrible a villainy, as the death of so gracious a King, Queen, and Prince, so noble Peers, and the ruin of so flourishing a kingdom?

But since my intent is chiefly to make report of the manner of their demeanours, from the prison to the arraignment, and from thence to execution; I will truly set down what I have gathered, touching the same. After their apprehension in the country, and being brought up to London, upon the appearance of their foul treason, before his Majesty's most honourable council; they were, by their commandment, committed to his Majesty's Tower of London, where they wanted nothing, that, in the mercy of a Christian prince, was thought fit; and, indeed, too good for so unchristian offenders.

For, in the time of their imprisonment, they seemed to feel no part of fear, either of the wrath of God, the doom of justice, or the shame of sin; but, as it were, with seared consciences, senseless of grace, lived as not looking to die, or not feeling the sorrow of their sins; and now, that no subtle fox (or rather goose, that would fain seem a fox,) shall have cause to say or think, that the justice of the law hath not been truly ministered, according to the rules of the Divine will; behold here a true report, as I said before, of their behaviour and carriage, from their apprehension, to their imprisonment, and from condemnation to their execution. In the time of their imprisonment, they rather feasted with their sins, than fasted with sorrow for them; were richly apparelled, fared deliciously, and took tobacco out of measure; with a seeming carelessness of their crime, as it was daring the law to pass upon them; but the Almighty, and our most merciful good God, first revealed them. His Majesty's and his council's careful head apprehended them, the law plainly did decipher them, justice gave judgment on them, and death made an end of them. But to come to their arraignment, and to deliver the manner of their behaviour, after they went from the Tower by water, and came to Westminster; before they came into the hall, they made some half hour's stay, or more, in the Star-chamber; whither being brought, and remaining till the court was all ready to hear them, and, according to the law, to give judgment on them; it was strange to note their carriage, even in their very countenances. Some hanging down the head, as if their hearts were full of doggedness, and others forcing a stern look, as if they would² fear death, with a frown; never seeming to pray, except it were by the dozen, upon their beads; and taking tobacco, as if that hanging were no trouble to them; saying little but in commendation of their conceited religion, craving mercy of neither God nor the King for their offences, and making their consciences, as it were, as wide as the world; and, to the very gates of hell, to be the cause of their hellish courses, to make a work meritorious.

Now being come into the hall, and upon the scaffold at the bar, standing to answer to their indictments, they all pleaded 'not guilty,' but were all found *guilty*. Digby, without craving mercy or favour, of either God or the King, made only five worldly requests, that his wife might have her jointure, his children the lands intailed by his father, his sisters their legacies in his hands unpaid, his debts paid, and for his death, to be beheaded, and not hanged.

Robert Winter, in like manner thinking himself already half a saint for his whole villainy, said little to any purpose, that either made shew of sorrow, or sought mercy; but only made a request to the King, for mercy towards his brother, in regard of his offence, as he said, through his only persuasion.

His brother said little; but, with a guilty conscience, swallowed up a concealed grief, with little shew of sorrow for that time.

Grant, stubborn in his idolatry, seemed nothing penitent for his villainy, asked little mercy; but, as it were, careless of grace, received the doom of his desert.

The younger Winter said little, but, to excuse the foulness of his fact, in being drawn in by his brother, and not of his own plotting; with little talk to little purpose, troubled the time the lesser while.

² That is, *fright*.

Rockwood, out of a studied speech, would fain have made his bringing up, and breeding in idolatry, to have been some excuse to his villainy; but a fair talk could not help a foul deed, and therefore, being found guilty of the treason, had his judgment with the rest of the traitors.

Now, after their condemnation and judgment, being sent back to the Tower, there they remained till the Thursday following: upon sledges and hurdles they were drawn into St. Paul's church-yard, four of them, viz. Everard Digby, the elder Winter, Grant, and Bates, of whom I forgot to speak, having no great matter to speak of; but only that, being a villain, and hoping for advancement by the same, he had the reward of a traitor.

Now these four being drawn to the scaffold, made on purpose for their execution. First, went up Digby, a man of a goodly personage, and a manly aspect; yet might a wary eye, in the change of his countenance, behold an inward fear of death, for his colour grew pale and his eye heavy; notwithstanding that, he enforced himself to speak, as stoutly as he could; his speech was not long, and to little good purpose; only, that his belied conscience, being, but indeed, a blinded conceit, had led him into this offence, which, in respect of his religion, *alids*, indeed, idolatry, he held no offence; but, in respect of the law, he held an offence, for which, he asked forgiveness of God, of the King, and the whole kingdom; and so, with vain and superstitious crossing of himself, betook him to his Latin prayers, mumbling to himself; refusing to have any prayers of any, but of the Romish Catholicicks; went up the ladder, and, with the help of the hangman, made an end of his wicked days in this world.

After him went Winter up to the scaffold, where he used few words to any good effect; without asking mercy of either God, or the King, for his offence, went up the ladder, and, making a few prayers to himself, staid not long for his execution.

After him went Grant, who abominably blinded with his horrible idolatry, though he confessed his offence to be heinous, yet would fain have excused it by his conscience for religion; a bloody religion, to make so bloody a conscience: but better that his blood, and all such as he was, should be shed by the justice of law, than the blood of many thousands to have been shed by his villainy, without law or justice. But to the purpose; having used a few idle words to ill effect, he was, as his fellows before him, led the way to the halter; and so, after his crossing of himself, to the last part of his tragedy.

Last of them came Bates, who seemed sorry for his offence, and asked forgiveness of God, and the King, and of the whole kingdom; prayed to God for the preservation of them all, and (as he said) only for his love to his master, drawn to forget his duty to God, his king and country; and therefore was now drawn from the Tower to St. Paul's church-yard, and there hanged and quartered for his treachery. Thus ended that day's business.

The next day, being Friday, were drawn from the Tower to the Old Palace in Westminster, over-against the Parliament-house, Thomas Winter, the younger brother, Rockwood, Keyes, and Fawkes the miner, justly called, "the devil of the vault;" for, had he not been a devil incarnate, he had never conceived so villainous a thought, nor been employed in so damnable an action.

The same day, being Friday, were drawn from the Tower, to the Old Palace in Westminster, Thomas Winter, Rockwood, Keyes, and Fawkes, where Winter, first being brought to the scaffold, made little speech, but seeming, after a sort, as it were, sorry for his offence; and yet crossing himself, as though those were wards to put by the devil's stoccadoes, having already made a wound in his soul, of which he had not yet a full feeling, protesting to die a true Catholick, (as he said,) with a very pale and dead colour, went up the ladder, and, after a swing or two with a halter, to the quartering-block was drawn, and there quickly dispatched.

Next him came Rockwood, who made a speech of some longer time, confessing his offence to God, in seeking to shed blood, and asking therefore mercy of his Divine majesty; his offence to the King, of whose majesty he likewise humbly asked forgiveness; his offence to the whole state, of whom in general he asked forgiveness; beseeching God to bless the King, the Queen, and all his royal progeny, and that they might long live to reign in peace and

happiness over this kingdom. But last of all, (to mar all the pottage, with one filthy weed, to mar this good prayer with an ill conclusion,) he prayed God to make the King a Catholick, otherwise a Papist, which God for his mercy ever forbid! and so, beseeching the King to be good to his wife and children, protesting to die in his idolatry, a Romish Catholick; he went up the ladder, and, hanging till he was almost dead, was drawn to the block, where he gave his last gasp.

After him came Keyes, who, like a desperate villain, using little speech, with small or no shew of repentance, went stoutly up the ladder; where, not staying the hangman's turn, he turned himself off with such a leap, that with the swing he brake the halter; but, after his fall, was quickly drawn to the block, and there was quickly divided into four parts.

Last of all came the great devil of all, Fawkes, *alias* Johnson, who should have put fire to the powder. His body being weak with torture and sickness, he was scarce able to go up the ladder; but yet with much ado, by the help of the hangman, went high enough to break his neck with the fall: who made no long speech, but, after a sort, seeming to be sorry for his offence, asked a kind of forgiveness of the King and the state for his bloody intent; and, with his crosses and his idle ceremonies, made his end upon the gallows and the block; to the great joy of the beholders, that the land was ended of so wicked a villainy.

Thus have I ended my discourse upon the arraignment and execution of these eight traitors, executed upon Thursday and Friday last past, in St. Paul's Church-yard, and the Old Palace at Westminster.

Now there is certain report of the execution done on Monday, being the twenty-seventh of January, in the city of Worcester, upon one Perkins, and his man, for the receiving of traitors. God be blessed for it! And continue the justice of law to be executed upon all such rebellious and traitorous wretches, as either plot such villainies, conceal such treasons, or relieve such traitors! For, since the betraying the Lord of heaven and earth, was there ever such a hellish plot practised in the world? If the Pope were not a very devil, and these Jesuits, or rather Jebusites and Satanical Seminaries, very spirits of wickedness, that whisper in the ears of Evahs, to bring a world of Adams to destruction; how could nature be so senseless, or reason so graceless, as to subject wit so to will, as to run all headlong to confusion? Is this a rule of religion? or rather of a legion? where the synagogue of Satan sat in council for the world's destruction, for the satisfaction of a lousy humour, or bloody devotion, or hope of honour, or to make way to some mad fury to bring the most flourishing kingdom on the earth to the most desolation in the world; to kill at one blow, or with one blast, king, queen, prince, and peer, bishop, judge, and magistrate, to the ruin of the land, and utter shame to the whole world; and left naked to the invasion of any enemy. Is this a holy father, that begets such wicked children? Is this religion, where is no touch of charity? Or, is there any spark of grace in these priests, that so poison the souls, and break the necks of so many people?

Ignorance in the simple, and idolatry in the subtle, take ceremonies for certainties, superstition for religion, envy for zeal, and murder for charity. What can that church be, but hell, where the devil sings such masses? *Servus servorum*, (says he) that would be *dominus dominorum*: 'Servant of servants, that would be master of masters.' Is not he a cunning herdsman, that can make one painted cow, or printed bull, give him more milk, than many a herd of better kine? Are not these sweet notes to be taken in the nature of the Popish government? Kill princes, sow seditions, maintain bawdy-houses, blind the simple, abuse the honest, bereave the innocent, swear and forswear; so it be for the Pope's profit, the church will absolve you; and, if you miss the mark to hit the mischief you shoot at, you shall be a hanging saint, till you be taken down to the devil. Oh fine persuasions! That infinite sins by numbered prayers, inward curses by outward crossings, an offence against God by a pardon from man, should be believed to be helped! A child cannot conceive it, a wise man cannot digest it; and surely none, but either blind women,

or madmen, can believe it. If a man would but a little look into their idolatries, he should see a world of such mockeries, as would make him both laugh at their fooleries, and abhor their villainies. Their kissing of babies, their kneeling to wooden ladies, their calling to saints that cannot hear them, their praying by the dozen, their taking of penance, their pilgrimages to idols, their shavings and their washings, their confessions and their crossings, and their devilish devices to deceive the simple of their comfort: these, with a world of such tricks, as would make a jackanapes a fine juggler. He, that could see them with that clear eye that can judge betwixt light and darkness, would, if they were his friends, be sorry for them; if his enemies, laugh at them; and, howsoever, or whatsoever, leave them, and say, as he may say, that papistry is mere idolatry, the Pope an incarnate devil, his church a synagogue of Satan, and his priests the very locusts of the earth.

But let us leave them to their loathsome puddles, and let us be thankful to Almighty God for the clear water of life, that, in his holy word, we receive from the fountain of his gracious mercy; and let us a little look into the difference betwixt the traitorous papist, that dieth for his villainy, and the faithful protestant, that dieth for the truth of his conscience, in the belief of the word of God.

The traitorous papist will pull down princes and subvert kingdoms; murder and poison whom they cannot command: the faithful protestant prayeth for princes, and the peace of the people; and will endure banishment, but hate rebellion. The proud papist will shew intemperancy in passion, while the humble protestant will embrace affliction with patience. The protestant cries to God for mercy for his sins; the papist gives authority to sin, when, before the offence, the pardon is purchased.

I say, was it not a strange speech of Digby, through the blindness of his bewitched wit, "that, to bring the kingdom into the popish idolatry, he cared not to root out all his posterity?"

Oh, the misery of these blinded people! Who forsake the true God of heaven and earth, to submit their service to the devil of the world; be traitors to their gracious princes, to serve a proud, ungracious prelate; lose their lands and goods, beggar their wives and children, lose their own lives with an open shame, and leave an infamy to their name for ever, only to obey the command of a cunning fox, that, lying in his den, preyeth on all the geese that he can light on; and, in the proud belief to be made saints, will hazard their souls to go to the devil.

But how many millions hath this devil enchanted! And how many kingdoms hath he ruined! And how many massacres hath he plotted! And how many souls hath he sent to damnation! God, for his mercy, cut him off; or open the eyes of all them Christian princes, that they may agree together and pull him down: for, during his pride, princes, that are of his religion, will be but as copyholders to his countenance; soldiers, that fight not under his banner, shall be as shake-rags to his army; lawyers, except they plead in his right, shall have but curses for their fees; divines, if not of his opinion, shall be excommunicated out of his church; merchants, that bring not him commodities, shall keep no shops in his sanctuary; nor beggars, that pray not for his monarchy, shall have any alms in his basket. And therefore I hope that God will so wipe off the scales from the eyes of the blind, that both one and other, soldier and lawyer, divine and layman, rich and poor, will so lay their heads, their hearts and hands, and their purses together; that, whereas he hath been long in rising, and could not sit fast, when he was up, he shall take a fall of a sudden, and never rise again, when he is down: to which prayer, I hope, all true Christians will say, Amen.

The last Speech and dying Words of Thomas (Lord, *alias* Colonel) Pride¹; being touched in Conscience for his inhuman Murder of the Bears in the Bear-garden, when he was High-Sheriff of Surrey. Taken in Short-hand, by T. S. late Clerk to his Lordship's Brew-house.

London, printed for C. W. 1680.

[Quarto, containing Twelve Pages.]

My good Friends and Neighbours,

YOU are come (I thank you) to see me die, and let me request you to take my last breath: I'll make no set speech: the Long-Parliament loaded you with those, (so many speeches, as, if orderly burnt, would brew two-hundred quarters of malt,) and had sat speaking still, if his late Highness had not bid me unhouse them. I spake none, neither in the Commons, nor in the other house; and yet I must either now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold my peace.

My conscience! it is my conscience speaks; and the first thing that is upon my spirits, is the killing of the bears; for which the people bait me, and call me all the names in the rain-bow. But, did not David kill a bear? Did not the Lord-deputy Ireton kill a bear? Did not another lord of ours kill five bears, and five fiddlers? May bears be killed in Nottingham, in Leicester, and not in Surrey? You know I was high-sheriff of the county, and, if I might not kill a few bears, why was I made sheriff? I thought it our interest to let nothing live that would fight; and, therefore, we made an act against cock-matches. Others have killed far greater things with less commission. But, perhaps they will say, I struck at the prerogative; for Kings and Protectors have a privilege, when they find a good mastive-dog, to clap their collar upon him, and use him for the game; and so, if kill the bears, hang the dogs; no bear, no dog. But think you the prerogative would reach to bears? Or that Great-Britain were the Isle of Dogs? Are we, like St. Mallows, guarded by mastives? The French have ever made us their apes, and must we follow their dogs too? If an English mastive get whelps in France, they all prove curs: I wish our English soldiers there may never turn French.

Can we forget that horrid accident, when Major-general Skippon came in a horse-litter wounded to London? When he passed by the brew-house near St. John-street, a devilish mastive flew (as at a bear) at one of his horses, and held him so fast by the stones, that the horse grew mad as a mad dog: the soldiers so amazed, that none had the wit to shoot the mastive; but the horse-litter, borne between two horses, tossed the Major-general, like a dog in a blanket. Thus your dogs use horse and man. And for women, remember how Swash, the abominable mastive, took a dispensation with an elder's maid. Nay, not a sow in the streets, by night, but the watchmen's dogs steal privately to her; which makes your London pigs have such round heads. And when I myself had my first brew-house (which was at Pye-corner) I heard a pig bark, whereby I knew it was a City-pig.

Here is a sweet stir with bears and dogs, able to make a wise man mad. For, first, they pretend to preserve their dogs, yet rail at me for shooting the bears that kill those dogs; and then tax me for killing the bears, yet set their dogs to tear the bears in pieces: Yes, and the man, that owned the bears, now sues me for destroying his goods.

¹ Was originally a drayman, or brewer's servant; but, by the faction in the great rebellion, being advanced to the degree of a parliament-man, was at last thought a proper instrument to sit as a judge against his Majesty King Charles the First. See Vol. I. p. 287.

But what the devil are bears good for? They brag of a weapon-salve, made, forsooth, of the fat of bears killed in the act of generation, (though bears never generate but by night, when none can know it.) My sword hath made some wounds; let them anoint the blade of my sword, and try how many Cavaliers it will cure. The devil has a hand or a foot in this salve, if it comes from bears: for you know, the beast with seven heads, and ten horns, had the foot of a bear; whence people say, a bear has the devil's foot. You think I mean the bear at the bridge-foot, (for God sends meat, and the devil sends cooks;) I mean, a limb of the devil: and is it a sin to destroy the devil? George was sainted for killing a dragon, (saints of old, like honest George, used to kill beasts, but now saints commonly kill men;) the dragon and bear are the pictures of the same; for the devil hath divers suits to put on: he wears not only the beast (a red dragon, an otter, a bear), but a very man, a woman, in silks, in buff, in a long mourning-cloke, to hide his cloven foot, and too often a saint or angel of new light; yet then so like as one devil to another.

An author of ours said, 'the beast's ten horns are the kings of Europe;' which may be the reason why the members, that voted against a King, were so hot for decimation. Those members were not the major part, but the Major-general part. I confess, that author wrote after the King was beheaded, when our liberties stood committed to several keepers; and yet I would know that member's name, that would not be a king. Every creature, above and below, hath a monarch in his belly. The devil would fain have been king of heaven, and Adam scorned not to be king of the earth; and each of his sons would be king of all the rest. And, to speak my conscience, if the state should vouchsafe to name me king, I think I should not question the election; no, though it were, as I hear the Persians once chose a king, by the neighing of a horse. But he, that hath horse, may soon be a king, and therefore I love to save my horse; but why, with a vengeance! should we save bears, that feed upon horse-flesh? My physician says, that an old fellow (one Pliny) told him, 'that a piece of bear's-flesh will grow bigger by boiling;' which shews the devil and his dam is in bears; for all things else will boil away to nothing. Had all my beer had a good sound boiling, I had not died worth a pound of hops. Are these your beasts of game? I profess I hate gaming; there is an act against it, though some of our own play deep as any; and the gamesters made dice of some of their bones that made that act. (O, who can tell how a man is used, when once he comes to be a dry bone!) Something there is, that dice run now more than ever, that so many new curses follow these bones. Perhaps the bears came not within the ring of the act against Gaming; yet both dog and bear are within the lists of the act against Duels. And, though they are out of the act of Oblivion, yet some new justices brought them within the act for Marriages. It is confessed they fight, but not for us; they are no part of the militia, and never paid so much as pole-money. They never, with lions, were admitted into the Tower, nor shewed at Westminster among the fine sights; nor ever reckoned among the crown-jewels. There were propositions for bringing in plate, money, and horse, but not for bears: and yet now, Must England turn Greenland? The war has made it Red-land, and funerals make it Black-land, and our ministers make it Blue-land. But, if I never answer for killing any thing but bears, I shall do well enough.

Were I arraigned, it could not be murder, but bear-slaughter. Nay, I killed them in my own defence, for they would have killed me; which was more than can be said, for putting many a thousand to death? O, but they say, I killed them not fairly, but shot them dead in cold blood: and am I the first that did so? Have we not done it over and over? I killed them, as we killed Lucas and Lisle², two as brave men as the King had any. What, would they have me bait them to death? Do I look like a bear-ward? Or should I knock them in the head like an ox? There is a Major-general can do that better than I. I remember one, now a great lord, who, speaking against Strafford, said, "Beasts of prey ought to have no law." Shall we grant that to bears, which we denied to Strafford? A Cavalier told me, "that this was but a quibble upon the word law; for there is (said

²[See Vol. II. p. 530. note 9.]

he) no law for beasts, but that a man may kill them for his use; and the more sudden, and less pain, the better: and, if a hare, or stag, have law, that is, liberty to run; it is not for their, but for our sakes, to prolong our sport in their destruction."

However, that quibble was seasonable then, and did our work upon Strafford and Canterbury; but mark how both sides plead for me! The one says, 'Beasts of prey must have no law;' the other says, 'There is no law for beasts:' so both say, it is lawful for me to kill the bears. No matter how, hang them, shoot them, chop off their heads, send them to Jamaica, any way is best. For can there be beasts more malignant than bears? I looked but in my almanack, and there I found two dogs and two bears among the stars; and those, I dare say, are malignant stars, for, within two lines, the great bear is called Charles-wain.

By this you will imagine Malignants are in heaven; but we and they shall scarce meet in one place; for else it were madness in us to kill them, because thereby we send them to be happy. But they, as well as we, would fain live, and would have good estates, as they had before, and as we have now. It is in our power whether they shall live, but not whether we ourselves shall die; for, though our army be as strong to-day as yesterday, yet our own bodies draw near to death.

Behold it in me, and remember Naseby, which made us what we are; how the King's best men, when the victory was theirs, took a bottomless fancy of running all away, having done the like at Marston-Moor. I have known six thousand, and no cowards neither, fly all like bedlams, when no enemy was within seventeen miles; and, if they were all examined upon oath, they could not tell why. And they say, that one poor wooden horse at Troy did more than all our army in the Indies. It is certain, no woman is so fickle as an army. I speak not for myself, for it is well known I have done my part; sure I have killed better things than bears, and killed them as men should be killed, either in the field, or in a high-court of justice; the best Cavalier among them all, the King himself, judged to the block; my Lord Hewson is my witness, for he sat next to me. Perhaps, they think my Lord Hewson and I not fit to be judges, because of our trades; but let them shew me one text of Scripture, where brewers and shoemakers are forbidden to be judges. I confess, in juries of life and death, we except against a butcher, as blooded in slaying of sheep and calves; but, if he only kill bears and men, he may be either a juror or a judge. I knew a judge did use to mend stockings, (I spare his name, because he did a business for me,) and it is as lawful to mend shoes as stockings; and, if a judge may be a cobbler, a cobbler may be a judge.

As for me, it is true, I have borne a sling, which made a knave call me, Sir Thomas Slingsby; but I made the Slingsbys shorter for it by one, and that one shorter by the head; and had done as much for young Mordaunt; but that, having drank white-wine that morning, I stepped forth to the wall, and before I could return, Mordaunt was quit. Thus the life of man is but a p——g-while! But what if I have borne a sling; did not David so too? The difference is, he laid by his sword and took up a sling, and I laid by my sling, and took up a sword.

Kings, lords, and gentlemen, take money for their lands; others sow it, and sell the corn to us; we advance it to good beer and ale, and then sell the drink to those kings, lords, and gentlemen; and thus the cup goes round. They sell for money, and we sell for money; and, if a shilling had a tongue as well as a face, it would say, "Sir, I am but twelve-pence, whether you meet me in the brew-house or in the exchequer." It is true, there are divers sorts of shillings; some are brass, impudent rogues, who, when discovered, are nailed to a post; some are lead, heavy dull beasts that will not go; others are right metal, but clipped, poor decimated things, that would go and cannot. But brass is brass, and silver is silver, at Court, and at Pye-corner. I was as warm in my leather-jacket as in my scarlet-cloke.

It is strange, what an eye-sore that cloke was to some; as if the garment itself could sin. Indeed, we had a man that used to hang his cloke in my brew-house, (as country-folks hang wool over pails of water to make it weigh,) and so, though not he, yet his cloke

was a drunkard. But, cloke and jacket, I was the same man: I never denied, but still kept my trade; and, if others had done so, a hundred-thousand lives had been saved. At last I got to be brewer to the navy, and, if each man had drank like the whale of Greenwich, I could have filled them all; for I had three brew-houses; one at London, another at Kingston, and a third at Edinburgh. And why might not I have three brew-houses, as well as assembly-men three benefices? They were my livelihood, as theirs were their livings.

One of those fellows at Margaret's, Westminster, who had four preferments given him by the state, would needs teach us now to live by a word: "You will ask (said he) what word is that? It is faith: get faith, and I will undertake you may live gentlemanlike." But that rascal brake his own word with me, and died twelve pounds in my debt. I grant, he was the first that told me my surname came from a king of Rome, called, as I remember, Turkquinius *Suparbus*, (there were seven of those kings, but they are long since dead,) and thence call me³, one of the seven deadly sins; they may as well call me one of the Seven Wise-men, or one of the Seven Planets, or Seven Wonders of the World. But, if we credit such as he, it is a very hard thing not to be a king. They will prove, if you pay them, that Rhombus and Remus, that founded Rome, were of English extraction: I know not whether we had the same mother, but it is said many of us had the same nurse. But I never cared three-pence for their praise: therefore, I pray ye, vex not my corpse with a huge monument, which cannot protect itself, nor me; for many a man's bones had slept in quiet, if his prating tomb had not told where he lay.

And trouble not my ghost with any of their elegies, Latin or English: they make a man but laughed at, and are not worth a handful of grains. I do not mean Mr. George Wither, for he got the Statue-office⁴ by rhyming: he hath now sold that office, but when will he sell his verses? A statue lies upon them, so as nobody will buy them. It is not a month since one of the state's poets brought me an anagram for me and my wife: but I hear those anagrams should be all fetched into a court of wards; for, although they have not wit enough for lunaticks, they are dull enough for idiots. But now they will all at me. What a heap of paltry quibbles and clinches will they throw upon me? You will hear them cry, "Now *Pride* hath a fall;—Now there are but *six* deadly sins.—O Sir, are you there with your *bears*?" They but saw me stand, holding my crabtree-cudgel upright, and they cried, 'Lo, there is the bear and the ragged-staff!' How have they dragged my poor name, and set me back from P. to B. to make me born in Bride's church-porch? It is false and nonsense, to call me *Bride*; though my wife was so, when I led her to church. I know they will tell you of my letter to a friend, where, instead of my best beer, I wrote, 'I have sent my best *bear*.' But all letters and books are false; there is none of them honest; except the Bible. I have an abridgement of an English Chronicle, which drowns the Duke of Clarence in a rundlet of malmsey; the Duke might as soon be drowned in a thimble; but, perhaps, it is a whole tun in the Chronicle, for my book is but a pitome. Hang names and words; Greek and Latin will not make an honest man; and a man may speak truth without true spelling.

I remember, when I dined with the Florida⁵ Ambassador at Alderman Nowel's, where we had Florence-wines; I told the Alderman, "that when that Ambassador got home to his country, he would send us more of that *Florida* wine." They all smiled; but what cared I? It were not two pence to me, if Florida were in Italy, and Florence in the Indies; they should remember I was a brewer, not a vintner.

But I am posting thither, where there are no quibbles, though I fear, (in the weak condition I am now) I myself have been forced upon many; for dying men talk idly, and he that is sick and talks much, can hardly escape from quibbles and nonsense. And I hope you will pardon my baiting your patience so long with the bears. Consider, it was the

³ Because my name is *Pride*.

⁴ [Statue or statute-office, may here be used as a cant term for a jail, to which the political and personal satire of Wither had repeatedly subjected him at different periods of his life.]

⁵ Ignorantly, instead of *Florence*.

great action of my life, and the only thing, in the opinion of many, that would lie upon my conscience. I confess, I thought the lease of my life had not been expired; there is breath enough in the world, but I must have no more of it; for death, death, is the grand malignant; and a malignant fever is his lieutenant-general; and (which is worse) the new disease is his major-general; a disease which sweeps through all counties of England. And, though the weekly bills of mortality know not us who die in the country, yet it is my comfort I die here in my own house at Non-such. It was the King's house, and Queen Elizabeth loved this above all her houses; and some say, my wife looks like that Queen, though the old Earl of Manchester was said to look like her: that Queen might look like whom she pleased, for she by proclamation⁶ forbad any to draw her picture; but I would not have my wife like both her and him, and so make her a maphrodite. She hath brought me divers sons, and I leave them good estates; I hope I do; and would gladly leave a good name to keep them company. The very Malignants say, my sons are civil persons; but, should I live a thousand years, they would not say so of me. I think it would not trouble them, to see me renew acquaintance with my sling. But how many know ye, that, raised like me to power and command, have willingly returned to the place from whence they came?

They talk indeed of a Roman general, who came from the plough, (Dick Tator⁷ I think they call him,) who, having beat the enemy, went home to the country, rich, and renowned for a very wise man. And they say, if that pitiful pilchard Massanello⁸, who had a hundred-thousand at his pleasure, had left his command, he had not been rewarded with a musquet-bullet, but had been honoured with a statue of gold. It is true, the Queen of Sweden, though born a king's daughter, resigned her crown, and vows she never lived happy till now: but her successor loves kingdoms better than so, and will only have as many as he can get.

He soon swallowed Poland, and as soon disgorged it; and is now in Denmark, holding two forts, with two hard names, which stand like our Gravesend and Tilbury: and, had he strength to take ours too, I think in my conscience, he would make us all Danes. He has many designs; but all my design is only to save my estate, and my soul.

Indeed, heretofore I had some little plots, but they did not all take. I thought to make the same horses serve both for my coach and dray; but I found my dray-horses were too high shod, and I might as well have harnessed the bears. And yet I know what belongs to horses; for I was the first that brought horses into Paul's⁹, and those horses brought saddles; for a saddler hath set up another exchange there.

I was told Epsom-water might do me good; but I durst not take it; having used the vicar so very severely, lest the parish-priest should unhallow the well; and, to say truth, from my youth I never used to drink water.

My youth minds me of the late Earl of Pembroke; for, when he lay dying, as I do now, I went to visit him; and when they told him Colonel Pride was there, (for then I was but colonel,) "Who! who! (said he,) Pride? Oh, a precious youth!" But what had he to do with my youth? Had I such strength and health as in my youth, I would not change with any lord in England. I now die a lord; and, had I lived as long as that Earl, I might have been an earl as well as he. And I die the first of all the new lords; whereby you will see, whether our sons succeed us in the peerage.

I would have no barons-war; though I fear a world of doubts will be raised about the other house. They will put it to the question, whether our house be within the act against new buildings; and, if within the act, whether as built upon a new foundation, or because it is a cottage? Then, after the foundation, have at the roof; Whether it be *tyled* or *thatched*? (I do not mean by Wat Tyler or Jack Straw:) Whether it be the upper house,

⁶ [Qu. Whether what is here called a proclamation, was not a restrictive licence granted to Hilliard, which conferred on him alone, for a certain term, the privilege of portraying the royal person? See Walpole's *Painters*, art. Hilliard.]

⁷ Ignorantly, for the highest title in the Roman republick, *Dictator*.

⁸ The fisherman and rebel in Naples.

⁹ St. Paul's church, turned into a stable by Colonel Pride, &c.

or a garret, where old shoes, old casks, and such lumber is placed? Whether this high-court be a court of war, where none sit but officers? With a hundred such questions, too many for a dying man to remember. And, truly, I myself have been much puzzled with the other house; for the commons is one house, and ours is the other; and ours is one house, and the Commons is the other: and I would fain know, how I should know one house from the other?

If I send my man to my brewhouse; he will ask, if I mean to London? No, say I, but to my other house; then goes he to Kingston. When he returns, I send him to my other house; then goes he to London. And, when he comes back, I bid him not go to Kingston nor London, but to the other house; and then must he march to Edinburgh.

Thus a man must run through two nations before he can find this other house: for this is the other, and that is the other, and all are the other house; though sure our House of Peers is such, as there cannot be such another house.

I hope it is no offence in me, to compare the House of Lords to a brew-house; for I am of both houses¹⁰: I know how men are at work in both, and what great heats are often in both; and how, in both, they all work for one man, yet every man for himself; with twenty more things, wherein the two houses¹¹ agree.

The difference is, that we took the engagement against a house of lords, but not against a brew-house; but that was meant of the old house of peers, not the new; and a new house is worth two old ones: for the state hath a whole year's rent of a new house¹², if it stand within ten miles of London.

But, alas! (my good friends) I am now going to the lower house¹³, whither we all must go sooner or later; and the best and greatest lord of us all, had rather go to the other house, than to the other world; for no brew-house is there, but a great oven that will never be cold. Therefore take heed: for 'as we brew, so must we bake.'

¹⁰ Both a *lord* and a *brewer*.

¹¹ i. e. The brew-house and the house of lords.

¹² By an ordinance of parliament, to enable them to carry on the war.

¹³ viz. the grave.

The French King conquered by the English: the King of France and his Son brought Prisoners into England (besides divers Earls, Lords, and above Two-thousand Knights and Esquires) by the victorious Edward the Black Prince, Son to Edward the Third.

Wherein is given an Account of several great Battles fought, and wonderful Victories obtained over the French, when they had six to one against the English; to the Honour and Renown of England's unparalleled Valour, Conduct, and Resolution. Written by a Person of Quality.

London, printed for William Birch, at the Sign of the Peacock, at the lower end of Cheapside, 1678.

[Octavo, containing Thirty-one Pages.]

The Life and Death of Edward, surnamed, The Black Prince.

THIS Edward was the eldest son of that victorious prince, King Edward the Third. His mother was the fair Philippa, daughter to William Earl of Hainault and Holland; who was delivered of this her first-born son at Woodstock, July 15, *anno Christi* 1329, and in the third year of his father's reign. He was afterwards created Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. He was also Earl of Kent, in right of his wife Joan, the most admired beauty of that age, daughter of Edmund Earl of Kent; brother, by the father's side, to King Edward the Second.

King Edward was very solicitous in the education of this his son, and provided him choice tutors, to train him up both in arts and arms: and among others, Walter Burley (a doctor of divinity, brought up in Merton-College in Oxford, who wrote many excellent treatises in natural and moral philosophy), for his great fame in learning, had the honour to be one of the instructors of this hopeful Prince.

When he was but fifteen years old, his father King Edward, passing over into France, with a great and gallant army; took this his son along with him, making him a soldier, before he was grown to be a man. But, it seems, he longed to try what metal his son was made of in the bud; and haply, he was loth to omit any thing that might give countenance and credit to this battle, wherein two kingdoms were laid at the stake.

Anno Christi 1345, our King Edward was upon the sea in a fleet of above a thousand sail, and landed in Normandy. His land-forces were about two-thousand five-hundred horse, and his foot thirty-thousand; most of them archers. Making pitiful havock in Normandy, he marched up almost to the very walls of Paris. Philip, the French King, had not slept all this while, but had raised and brought together one of the bravest armies, that ever France had seen; consisting of about a hundred or sixscore-thousand fighting men.

King Edward, loaden and rich with spoils, seemed not unwilling to retreat. But they were now in the heart of their enemies' country, between the two good rivers of Seyne and Soame: and it was judged meet by our King, to seek a passage out of these straits; and this enquiry was interpreted by the enemy to be a kind of flight, and King Edward was willing to nourish this conceit in them.

The river of Soame, between Abbeville and the sea, was at low water fordable, and gravelly ground; whereof our King was informed by a French prisoner, whom they had taken. But the French King, well acquainted with his own country, had set a guard upon that pass, of a thousand horse, and above six-thousand foot; under the conduct of one Gundamar du Foy, a Norman lord of special note. King Edward, coming to this place, plunges into the ford, crying out, "He that loves me, let him follow me;" as resolving either to pass or die. These words, and such a precedent, so inflamed his army, that the passage was won, and Du Foy defeated, almost before he was fought with; the incomparable courage and resolution of the English appalling him; and carried back to King Philip fewer by two-thousand than he carried with him, besides the terror which his retreat brought along with it: and, if the English were before unappalled, now much more they resolved to live and die with such a Sovereign.

Now was King Edward near unto Cressy, in the county of Ponthieu, lying between the rivers of Soame and Anthy, a place which unquestionably belonged to him, in the right of his mother; where he was careful to provide the best he could for his safety and defence. King Philip, being enraged for the late defeat, precipitates to the battle, (wherein the great and just God intended to scourge the pride and sins of France,) being the rather induced thereto, by his confidence in his numerous and gallant army, who were ready to tread upon one another's heels till the view of the English colours and battle put them to a stand.

King Edward, having called upon God for his gracious aid and assistance, full of heroic assuredness, without the least perturbation, divided his army into three battalions. The first was disposed into the form of an hearse, where the archers stood in the front, and the men of arms stood in the bottom; and this was led by the young Lion of Wales, our brave Prince Edward, to whose assistance the King joined some of his prime and most experienced captains; as Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, Godfrey of Harecourt; the Lords, Thomas Holland, Richard Stafford, John Chandois, Robert Nevil, La'ware, Bouchier, Clifford, Cobham, &c.; and many other knights and gentlemen, to the number of eight-hundred men at arms, two-thousand archers, and a thousand Welch-men. In the second, were the Earls of Northampton and Arundel, the Lords Ross, Willoughby, Basset, St. Albine, &c. with eight-hundred men at arms, and twelve-hundred archers. In the third was the King himself, having about him seven-hundred men at arms, and three-thousand archers, with the residue of his nobles and people.

The battle thus ordered, our King (mounted upon a white hobby) rode from rank to rank to view them, and with quickening words encourage them, that bravely they should stand to, and fight for his right and honour. And he closed the battles at their backs, as if he meant to barricado up their way from flying; which he did by plashing and felling of trees, and placing his carriages there, and all his other impediments. He commanded all men also to dismount, and to leave their horses behind them; and thus all ways and means of flight being taken away, the necessity doubtless did double their courages.

The French King, Philip, had with him John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia; the King of Majorca; the Duke of Alanson, his brother; Charles de Blois, the King's nephew; Ralph, Duke of Lorraine; the Duke of Savoy; the Earls of Flanders, Nevers, Sancerre; with many other dukes, earls, barons, and gentlemen bearing arms, and those not only French, but Almans, Dutch, and others. And, just the night before the battle, there came to the French army, Anne of Savoy, with a thousand men at arms; so that all things seemed to elate the pride of the French, and to fit them for destruction.

The French army was also divided into three battalions. The van-guard the King committed to his brother, the Duke of Alanson, and the King of Bohemia; the rear to the Duke of Savoy; and the main battle he led himself; being so impatient of all delays, that he would scarce permit time for a little counsel, to consider what was fittest to be done. He caused also the auriflamb to be erected, (which was an hallowed banner of red silk,) whereof the French had a wonderful high conceit, as of a thing sent them from heaven; as the Ephesians thought of their Diana. The King of Bohemia, though he was short-

sighted, hearing in what good array the English attended their coming, said plainly, (contrary to the proud conceits of the French, who thought them in a posture of flight,) "Here will the English end their days or conquer." He advised also that the army should take some repast, and that the infantry, consisting of the Genoese, who were about fifteen-thousand cross-bows, and sure men, should make the first front, and the cavalry to follow; which was done accordingly.

A little before the fight began, God, (to shew that he was Lord of Hosts, and the only Giver of Victory,) caused the black clouds to pour down upon them plenty of water, like so many funeral tears, enarching the air with a spacious rain-bow; and discharged sundry peals of thunder. The sun also, which before had hid his face under a black dark cloud, now broke forth; shining full in the Frenchmen's faces, and on the backs of the English. At the same time also great flocks of ravens, and other baleful birds of prey, came flying over the French army.

The Duke of Alanson, contrary to his order, took it ill, that the Genoese were set in the front, and therefore in fury caused them to change place: which changed that seat of the army, and wrought that discontent also in these Italians, as irritated them more against the French than against their enemies.

The sign of battle, being given by King Philip, was entertained with clamours and shouts, all things shewing the dread and horror of war; drums and trumpets sounding to a charge, banners flying in the air, and every where the glittering weapons threatening death and destruction. The French calamities began at the Genoese, who, under Carolo Grimaldi, and Antonio Doria, their colonels, being all of them cross-bow men, were to open a way by their arrows for the French horse; but this was the success of their service: their bow-strings being wet with the late rain, their bodies weary with a long march, their ranks (after the English had received their first volley upon their targets) opened with innumerable gaps, occasioned by the fall of their slain fellows, who were overthrown by our home-drawn arrows, were at last most outrageously scattered, and trampled under foot by Charles, Duke of Alanson, (by command of King Philip himself,) who, bringing up the horse with a full career, cried out, "On, on, let us make our way upon the bellies of these Genoese, who do but hinder us:" and instantly pricks on through the midst of them, followed by the Dukes of Lorraine and Savoy, never staying, till he came up to the English battalion, wherein our gallant Prince commanded. This fiery young Count (contrary to good discipline) had also otherwise disoblighed them, by disgraceful speeches, even when they were ready to join battle.

These French gallants, being thus mingled amongst them, were very many of them overthrown and slain by the English arrows, which equally brought to destruction both French and Genoese; shooting thickest where the crowd and confusion was greatest. Some rascals also that followed the English army, as they saw opportunity, stepped in amongst them, and helped to cut their throats, sparing neither lord nor lozel.

The French men at arms, half out of breath with their post-haste, and terribly disordered by the perpetual storms of our whistling arrows, were now at handy strokes with the Prince's battalion; neither was it long before the bright battle-axes, glittering swords, and lances, and such like other English weapons, had changed their hue; being covered over with human gore, which, having thirstily drank out of the enemies' wounds, let drop in bloody tears to the ground.

The fight was sharp and fierce, whilst each strove for victory.—But here may not be forgotten the high resolution and valour of the King of Bohemia, who (as only seeking an honourable grave for his old age) thrust himself into the first ranks of his own horsemen, and, with full career charging the English, was slain with his sword in hand; the troop of his faithful followers, with their slaughtered bodies, covering him even in death: this was soon seen by the fall of the Bohemian standard, whereupon his son Charles (who was lately elected Emperor of Germany, whilst King Lewis was yet alive) wisely took care for his own safety, by a timely retreat, when he saw the case desperate.

Now was King Philip himself in person, with the full power of his army, come to the

rescue of his brother and friends, who, while they had breath, were fighting hard for their hoped-for victory; but, finding the English valour far beyond what they expected, they were beaten to the earth in great numbers, so that the carnage was very great. Yet was not our brave Prince without danger, though now the second battalion of the English, for the preservation of their Prince, rushing in among their enemies, fought most courageously.

Our King Edward all this while was standing upon a windmill-hill, with his helmet on (which never came off till all was ended), judiciously watching, beholding the whole field, to see how all things went, and ready to bring down his army (which stood about him like a black hovering in a cloud) when just necessity should require it. The Prince, in the mean time, being hard put to it, (having the whole power of France against him,) some of the nobles, sensible of his danger, sent to the King, requesting his presence for the aid of his son in this necessity; the King asked the messenger, "Whether his son was slain or hurt?" And when they answered, No; but that he was like to be overpowered with the multitude of his enemies. "Well then (said the King) go back to them that sent you, and tell them, that so long as my son is alive, they send no more to me, whatever happen: for I will that the honour of this day shall be his, if God permit him to survive; and that he shall either win his spurs, or lose his life."

This message, though it carried not back men to assist, yet it inspired such new life and spirits into the English, that they fought like lions, as resolving either to conquer or die. On the other side, King Philip, whose kingdom lay at stake, performed the duty of a good general and gallant soldier; fighting so long in his own person, till his horse was killed under him, himself twice dismounted, and wounded both in the neck and thigh, and near being trodden to death, had not the Lord John of Hainault, Earl of Beaumont, rescued and remounted him; the French also about him, out of a loyal desire of his preservation, almost against his will, conveyed him out of the field, who rather seemed desirous to end his days in so noble company.

The King being departed out of the field, and the matter being divulged in both armies, it soon put a period to this bloody medley, wherein, as yet, none were taken to mercy, but all were put to the sword. The French King himself, with a small company, got to Bray in the night, and approaching the walls, and the guard asking who was there? He answered, "The fortune of France." By his voice he was known, and thereupon received into the town, with the tears and lamentations of his people. The rest of his army sought to save themselves by flight, whom the English, warily fighting upon the defensive, and loth to hazard so glorious a victory by breaking their ranks to pursue the enemy too far in the night, which was now come on; suffered them to be followed only by their own fears, contenting themselves to make good their ground, by standing still upon their guard, according to the rules of true martial discipline; knowing that there were so many of the enemy escaped, as might yet serve to overwhelm their weary army with their multitude.

Our King Edward, seeing the coast for the present cleared of all his enemies, came down from the hill with his entire battalion towards his victorious son, and, most affectionately embracing and kissing him, said, "Fair son, God send you good perseverance to such prosperous beginnings; you have acquitted yourself right nobly, and are well worthy to have a kingdom intrusted with your government for your valour." To which the most noble and magnanimous of Princes replied with silence; most humbly falling on his knees at the feet of his triumphant father.

As for other things concerning this famous victory, I refer my reader to my narrative of it, in the *Life and Death of King Edward the Third*; contenting myself here only to describe it, so far forth as our noble Prince was therein a prime actor, and without which I could not have given a just account of his life.

Immediately after this victory, our King marched with his army through France, and sat done before Calais. But, as the splendour of the sun darkens the stars, so did the presence of the father obscure the actions and virtues of the son, that I read no more of him

till the year 1355. At which time our King was informed, that John, the now King of France, his father Philip deing dead, had given the duchy of Aquitaine to Charles the Dauphin; whereupon King Edward, being much incensed, conferred the same upon his own son, the Prince of Wales; commanding him to defend his right therein with the sword against his adversaries.

He was also appointed, by Parliament, to go into Gascoigne with a thousand men at arms, two-thousand archers, and a great number of Welchmen, who accompanied their Prince. And, in June following, he set forward with three-hundred sail of ships, attended with the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford; and the Lords Chandois, Audley, Beaufort, Lisle; with Sir Robert Knowles, Sir Francis Hall, and many others.

With these arriving in Aquitaine, he betook himself to do things worthy of his name and courage. He did wonders in France; for, with his victorious army, he recovered multitudes of towns and prisoners. He entered Guienne, passed over Languedoc to Tholouse, Narbonne, and Bruges, without any encounter, sacks, spoils, and destroys where he goes, and loaden with booties, returns to Bourdeaux. In the mean time, the French King gathered all the power he possibly could, and the Prince (the winter being spent) sets forth upon a new expedition.

He had in his army about eight-thousand brave, expert, and well-disciplined soldiers, and with them he advanced through Perigort and Limosin, into the bosom of France, even up to the very gates of Bruges in Berry; the terror of his name flying before, to his great advantage. Thus satisfied for the present, he wheeled about, with purpose to return by Remorantine in Blasois, which town he took; and so through the country of Tourain, Poictou, and Xantoigne, to his chief city of Bourdeaux. But John, King of France, having assembled a great and complete army, followed close, and about the city of Poitiers overtook our invincible Prince.

When the armies, with the odds of six to one against the English, drew near each other, two Cardinals, sent from Pope Clement, mediated (as they had done before) to take up the quarrel. But the French King, supposing that he had his enemy now at his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four hostages, and, as vanquished, render up himself and his army to his discretion. The Prince was content to restore unto him all the places which he had taken from him, but without prejudice to his honour; "wherein (he said) he stood accountable to his father and his country." But the French King would abate nothing of his former demands, as being assured of the victory, as he supposed; and thereupon was ready instantly to set upon the Prince, who, seeing himself reduced to this strait, took what advantage he could of the ground; and, by his diligence, got the benefit of certain vines, shrubs, and bushes, upon that part where he was like to be assaulted, whereby to pester and entangle the French horse, which he saw was ready to come furiously upon him.

The success answered his expectation; for the cavalry of his enemy, in their full career, were so entangled and incumbered among the vines, that the Prince's archers galled and annoyed them at their pleasure. For the French King, to give the honour of the day to his cavalry, made use of them only, without the help of his infantry; hence it was that, they being disordered, and put to rout, his whole army came to be utterly defeated. Here, if ever, the Prince and his English gave full proof of their valour and undaunted courage; never giving over, till they had wholly routed all the three French battalions, the least of which exceeded all the Prince's numbers. The King himself fighting valiantly, and Philip his youngest son, (who, by such his boldness and zeal, defended his distressed father, as it purchased him the honourable surname of Hardy,) were taken prisoners.

Those of the Prince's side, whose valour and great deeds were most conspicuous, were the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, Oxford, and Stafford; the Lords Chandois, Cobham, Spencer, Audley, Berkley, Basset, &c. and of Gascoigne, subjects to the crown of England, the Capital de Beuf; the Lords Lumiere, Chaumont, with others of inferior title, but not of unequal valour; among others, James, Lord Audley, won immortal renown at this bloody battle, in which he received many wounds, and was rewarded by the noble

Prince with a gift of five-hundred marks, land in fee-simple in England, which he divided among his four esquires, who had stood by him in all the fury and brunt of the battle. Hereupon, the Prince asked him, "If he accepted not of his gift?" He answered, "That these men had deserved it as well as himself, and needed it more." With which reply the Prince was so well pleased, that he gave five-hundred marks more in the same kind. A rare example, where desert in the subject, and reward in the Prince, strove which should be the greater. This Lord Audley, having vowed to be foremost in the fight, made good his words accordingly.

It was the misfortune, or rather the glory of the French nobles in these disastrous times, that the loss fell ever heavily upon them; for, in this great overthrow and carnage, by their own confession, there fell fifty-two lords, and about seventeen-hundred knights, esquires, and gentlemen, that bore coats of arms: among the knights were fifty-two bannerets. The chief among the slain were Peter of Bourbon, Duke of Athens, the High-Constable of France; John de Clermont, Marshal; Jeffery de Charmy, High-Chamberlain; the Bishop of Chalons, the Lords of Landas, of Pons, and of Chambly. Sir Reginald Camian, who that day carried the auriflamb, was slain also, and as many others as made up the former number; and of the common soldiers there died about six-thousand. So wonderfully did the great God of Battles fight for the English in those days!

There escaped from this bloody battle three of the French King's sons, (for he brought them all with him,) Charles, Prince of Dauphin, Lewis, afterwards Duke of Anjou, and John, Duke of Berry; all of them great actors in the times following.

The French prisoners taken were John, King of France, and Philip, his son, afterwards Duke of Burgoine; the Archbishop of Sens; James of Bourbon, Earl of Ponthieu; John of Artois, Earl of Eu; Charles, his brother, Earl of Longueville; Charles, Earl of Vendosme; the Earls Tankerville, Salbruch, Nassaw, Dampmartin, La Roche; the Counts of Vaudemont, Estampes, and John de Ceintre, accounted the best knights of France, and many other great lords; and about two-thousand knights, esquires, and gentlemen that bore coats of arms; and in this expedition the English took an hundred ensigns.

But here great contention arose between many, who should be the man that took King John prisoner. The Prince wisely commanded them to forbear, till they came into England; where, the matter being heard, it was adjudged by King John's own testimony, that one Sir Denis Morbeck, of St. Omer's, had taken him prisoner; for which service the Prince rewarded him with a thousand marks.

And now, though King John had the hard hap to fall into the hands of an enemy, yet he had the happiness to fall into the hands of a noble enemy. For, Prince Edward, having conquered his person by force of battle, now strove to overcome his mind, by his humble deportment; expressing himself in a language so ponderous, humble, grave, and natural, and yet so stately, as none but the best soul, adorned with the best education, was able to have performed. And, the next day, causing the chaplains, and the other priests in the army, to celebrate divine service, he put off from himself the whole glory of victory, and most devoutly gave it unto God; after which, in the sight and hearing of the prisoners, he highly commended and heartily thanked his soldiers, with speeches full of life and affection, sealing his words to every one with such bountiful large fees as his present means would permit. Mr. May, in his *Edward the Third*, sets forth this battle excellently in these words¹:

—————The first hot charge
The valiant Lord, renowned Audley, gave;
Who, to perform a noble vow, in deeds
Almost the prowess of a man exceeds;
And, like the stroke of Jove's resistless thunder,
Shoots forth, and breaks the strongest ranks asunder.

¹ [This extract and Headley's Selections from the same poem may serve to establish the opinion of Mr. Southey, that May is not remembered as his merits deserve. See *Joan of Arc*, ii. 194.]

Here, in the thickest throng of enemies,
 Like Thracian Mars himself, Black Edward plies
 Death's fatal task : here noble Warwick gives
 A furious onset ; there brave Suffolk strives
 T' out-go the foremost : emulation's fire
 Is kindled now, and blazes high : desire
 Of honour drowns all other passions there :
 Not in the chiefs alone ; each soldier
 In that small army feels bright honour's flame,
 And labours to maintain his proper fame.
 Ne'er was a battle through all parts so fought,
 Nor such high wonders by a handful wrought.
 Bright victory, that soar'd above, beheld
 How every English hand throughout the field
 Was stain'd with blood, amaz'd to see the day,
 And that so few should carry her away.

The fields no more their verdure can retain,
 Enforced now to take their purple stain,
 And be obscur'd with slaughter, while the wounds
 Of France manure her own unhappy grounds ;
 Where, mixed with plebeian funerals,
 Her greatest princes die. There Bourbon falls,
 And Marshal Clermont welters in his gore ;
 There noble Charney's beaten down, that bore
 The standard-royal that sad day. Here dies
 Athens' great Duke ; there valiant Eustace lies,
 Who, as a badge of highest honour, wore
 A chaplet of bright pearls, that had before
 (Won by King Edward, in a skirmish, near
 To Calais he was taken prisoner)
 As testimony of his prowess shew'd,
 Been by that royal enemy bestow'd.

Great are the French battalions, and, in room
 Of those that fall, so oft fresh soldiers come ;
 So oft the bloody fight's renew'd, that now
 The English weary with subduing grow,
 And 'gin to faint, oppress'd with odds so great ;
 When, lo ! to make the victory compleat,
 Six-hundred bowmen (whom to that intent,
 Before the battle, the brave Prince had sent
 Abroad well mounted) now came thund'ring o'er
 The field, and charge the French behind so sore,
 As with confusion did distract them quite ;
 And now an execution, not a fight
 Ensues : all routed, that great army flies,
 A prey to their pursuing enemies.

What his dishearten'd battle, Orleans
 Forsakes the field ; with him the heir of France,
 Young Charles of Normandy, and thousands more,
 Not overthrown, but frightened by the foe.
 Nor are the English, though enow to gain
 The day, enow in number to maintain
 So great a chace ; and not so well suffice
 To follow, as subdue their enemies.

Nor yet (which more declar'd the conquest sent
From Heaven alone, to strike astonishment
In over-weening mortals, and to shew,
Without that help, how little man can do)
Are all the English, conquerors in the field,
Enow to take so many French as yield;
Nor to receive the prisoners, that come:
Though some in fields are ransom'd, and sent home,
Yet more from thence are captive borne away,
Than are the hands that won so great a day;---&c.

And now, though King John had the unhappiness to fall into the hands of an enemy, yet that, which alleviated his affliction, was, that he fell into the hands of a noble enemy; for Prince Edward used him with such respect and observance, that he could not find much difference between his captivity and liberty. Mr. May gives us this narrative of it:

The chace together with the day was done,
And all return'd: in his pavilion
Brave Edward feasts his royal prisoner;
At which, as noble did the Prince appear,
As erst in battle; and, by sweetness won
As great a conquest, as his sword had done.
No fair respect, or honour, that might cheer
That King's afflicted breast, was wanting there.
No reverence, nor humble courtesy,
That might preserve his state and dignity,
But Edward shew'd at full; and, at the feast,
In person waited on his captive guest.

But what content, what object fit could fate
Present, to comfort such a changed state?

For him,
Whose state the morning sun had seen so high,
This night beholds in sad captivity;
His restless passions, rolling to and fro,
No calm admit: when thus his noble foe,
Prince Edward, spake: "Great King, (for such you are
In my thoughts still, whate'er the chance of war
Hath lately wrought against you here) forgive
Your humble kinsman's service, if I strive
To ease your sorrow; and presume to do
What is too much for me, to counsel you.
Do not deject your princely thoughts, or think
The martial fame, that you have gain'd, can sink
In one successless field; or too much fear
Your nation's honour should be tainted here.
Men's strength and honours we most truly try,
Where fields are fought with most equality.
But God was pleas'd to make this day's success
The more miraculous, that we the less
Might challenge to ourselves, and humbly know,
That, in so great and strange an overthrow,
Some secret judgment of our God was wrought,
And that the sword of Heaven, not England, fought;---&c.

And, for yourself, great King, all history,
That shall hereafter to the world make known.

Th' event of Poictiers' battle, shall renown
 Your personal prowess, which appear'd so high,
 As justly seem'd to challenge victory,
 Had not God's secret providence oppos'd :
 But, though his will (great Sir) hath thus dispos'd ;
 Your state remains ; your person and your fame
 Shall, in my humble thoughts, be still the same :
 And, till my father see your face, to shew
 How he respects your worth and state, to you,
 As to himself, were he in person here,
 In all observance Edward shall appear."

The noble King, a while amaz'd to see
 Victorious youth so full of courtesy,
 At last replies : " Brave cousin, you have shown
 Yourself a man built up for true renown ;
 And, as in action of the wars, to be
 This age's Phoenix in humanity.
 Why do you wrong me thus, as to enthrall
 Me doubly ? Not insulting o'er my fall,
 You rob me, cousin, of that sole renown,
 Which I, though vanquish'd, might have made my own,
 To bear adversity. I might have shew'd,
 Had you been proud, a passive fortitude ;
 And let the world, though I am fallen, see
 What spirit I had in scorning misery.
 But you have robb'd me of that honour now ;
 And I am bound in honour to allow
 That noble theft ; content (since such are you)
 To be your captive, and your debtor too ;
 And, since my stars ordain'd a King of France,
 Arm'd with such odds, so great a puissance,
 Must in a fatal field be lost, to raise
 So great a trophy to another's praise,
 I am best pleas'd it should advance thy story,
 And John's dishonour be Prince Edward's glory."

After the battle, which was fought on the nineteenth day of September, *anno Christi* 1357, Prince Edward led King John and the captive nobles prisoners to Bourdeaux (the archiepiscopal-see and chief city of his dominions in France), where he retained them till the spring following ; but sent present news of this victory to his father, who thereupon took speedy order, by Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury, that a thanksgiving should be celebrated all over England, for eight days together.

The Prince, having sufficiently rested and refreshed his people, the May following set sail for England with his prisoners, and safely arrived at Plymouth, and was with great joy and acclamations received every where. At his coming to London, where, at that time, a magnificent citizen, Henry Picard (he who afterwards, at one time, so nobly feasted the four Kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus) was lord-mayor, who received him with all imaginable honour. And the multitude of people, that came to see the victorious Prince, with the King of France, his son Philip, and the other prisoners, was so great ; that they could hardly get to Westminster between three o'clock in the morning and twelve at noon. Great Edward (saying that he forgot not the majesty of a conqueror, and of a King of England) omitted no kind of noble courtesy towards the prisoners. King John and his son were lodged under a safeguard at the Savoy, which was

then a goodly palace belonging unto Henry, Duke of Lancaster; and the other prisoners in other places.

Some time after, Prince Edward, by dispensation, was married to the Countess of Kent, daughter to Edmund, brother to King Edward the Second; and his father invested him with the duchy of Aquitain; so that he was now Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester and Kent; and, not long after, he, with his beloved wife, passed over into France, and kept his court at Bourdeaux.

The Prince of Wales was now grown famous over all the Christian world, and the man to whom all wronged princes seemed to appeal, and to fly for succour. For which end, there came at this time to his court James, King of Majorca, and Richard, King of Navarre, just when his beloved lady brought him a son, for whom these two Kings undertook at his baptism, giving him the name of Richard.

The companies of soldiers, most of whose captains were English, either by birth, or obedience, wanting employment, because the wars of Britain were quieted for the present, ranged tumultuously up and down France. But, about this time, Sir Bertram de Glequin (having paid his ransom) found employment for them, drawing the greatest part of that military pestilence into another coast. For, by the assistance of Peter, King of Arragon, and the power of Glequin, with his floating-bands, called 'The Companions, or Adventurers; Peter, King of Castile and Leon, (a cruel tyrant,) was driven out of his kingdom; his bastard-brother, Henry, being chosen in his room, and crowned king of Spain, at Burgos.

This Peter was son to Alphonsus the Eleventh, King of Castile, and had to wife a French lady, called Blanch, daughter to Peter, Duke of Bourbon, who was father also of Joan, the French King's wife. His tyrannical cruelties were so many and so foul, that the Spanish stories scarce suffer Nero, or Caligula, to go beyond him; for which, by his subjects he was deposed, and his brother Henry (as is said before) was substituted and crowned in his room.

Peter, thus driven out of his kingdom, by the aid of the French, applied himself to Prince Edward, craving his assistance for his restitution, making many and large promises to him upon the accomplishment thereof. And the Prince, (partly out of charity to succour a distressed prince, and partly out of policy to keep his soldiers in exercise,) having first sent to his father, and gotten his leave; marched with a gallant army of thirty-thousand men (burning with desire of renown) upon confidence of good pay for his men, and other commodities, when Peter should be re-established upon his throne.

He made his way through the famous streights of Rouncevallux, in Navarre, by permission of the King thereof; who yet suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and carried into Castile, that he might not seem to cross the French King's designs, who favoured Henry, the usurper.

Our Prince had in his company, besides most of all the principal captains of the English, two kings, Peter of Castile, whose the quarrel was, and the King of Majorca: as also John, Duke of Lancaster, who, some while after Don Pedro's death, having married his eldest daughter, wrote himself King of Castile and Leon.

On the other side, King Henry, for the defence of his new kingdom, had amassed together a very great army, consisting partly of French, under Glequin, their famous captain, and of Castilians and others, both Christians and Saracens, to the number of about an hundred-thousand: and, upon the borders of Castile, it came to a bloody battle, wherein the valiant Prince of Wales obtained a very great victory, having slain many thousands of his enemies. Henry himself, fighting valiantly, was wounded in the groin, but yet escaped. There were taken prisoners the Earl of Dene, Bertram de Glequin (who yet shortly after, by paying a great ransom, was set at liberty), the Marshal Dandrehen, and many others. Neither was this victory less worth to Peter, than a kingdom; for our most noble Prince left him not, till at Burgos he had set him upon his throne again.

But this unworthy King's falsehood and ingratitude were odious and monstrous. For the Prince, notwithstanding his so great goodness extended to him, was forced to return.

to Bourdeaux, without money, wherewith to pay his army; which was the cause of exceeding great mischiefs to himself, and the English dominions beyond the seas; as if God had been displeased with his succouring such a tyrant. The Prince himself, though he came back with victory, yet he brought back with him such a craziness and indisposition of body, that he was never thoroughly well after. And no marvel, considering the country, the season, and the action itself; and it may be more marvelled, that his soldiers came home so well, than that he came home so ill.

Being now returned, there was presently to his indisposition of body, added discontentment of mind. For, not having money wherewith to pay his soldiers, he was forced to wink at that which he could not choose but see, and seeing, to grieve at. For they preyed upon the country, for which the country murmured against him. And, now to stop this murmuring, his chancellor, the Bishop of Rhodes, devised a new imposition of levying a frank for every chimney; and this to continue for five years, to pay the Prince's debts.

But this imposition, though granted in parliament, made the murmuring to be increased. For, though some part of his dominions, as the Poictorians, the Xantoigns, and the Limosins, in a sort consented to it; yet the Count of Armigniac, the Count of Cominges, the Viscount of Carmain, and divers others, so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the King of France, as unto their supreme lord: pretending that the Prince was to answer before King Charles, as before his superior lord, of whom (they said) he held by homage and fealty: whereas King Edward and his heirs, by the treaty at Bretagne, were absolutely freed from all manner of service for any of their dominions in France. King Charles did openly entertain this complaint, and hoping to regain, by surprise and policy, what the English had won by dint of sword, and true manhood; he proceeded to summon the Prince of Wales to Paris, there to answer to such complaints as his subjects made against him.

Our stout Prince returned for answer, "That if he must needs appear, he would bring threescore-thousand men in arms to appear with him." And now began the peace, between England and France, to be unsettled and wavering. For, while our King Edward rejoiced in the excellent virtues and actions of his sons and people; Charles, the French King, warned by so many calamities as his dominions had sustained by the English in fair war, and withal earnestly coveting to recover the honour of his nation, betook himself wholly to secret practices and designs: never adventuring his own person in the field, but executing all by his deputies and lieutenants, especially by the valour and service of Bertram de Glequin, Constable of France; who, from a low estate, was raised to this height, for his prudent and magnanimous conduct in war. And our truly noble King, without suspicion of craft, reposing himself upon the rules of virtue and magnanimity, did not reap the stable effects of so great and important victories; nor of the peace so ceremoniously made; that, in the world's opinion, it could not be broken, without the manifest violation, upon one side, of all bonds both divine and human.

The Prince of Wales, by letters, advised his father not to trust to any fair words, or overtures of further amity, made by the French, because, as he said, they entertained practices underhand in every place against him. But his counsel was not hearkened to, because he was judged to write thus out of a restless humour, delighting in war; though the event shewed that his words were true. For now King Charles, having by quick payments, and by one means or other, gotten home all the hostages which had been pledged for the performance of the articles of peace, set all his wits on work, to abuse the King of England's credulity. He courted him with loving letters and presents, while in the mean time his plots were ripened abroad, and he surprized the county of Ponthieu (our King's undeniable inheritance) before King Edward heard thereof.

King Edward hereupon calls a parliament, declares the breech, craves aid, and hath it granted: and then again claims the crown of France, and sent over his son John, Duke of Lancaster, and Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, with a great army to Calais to invade France.

Among the states and towns made over to the English at the treaty of Bretagne, which

had revolted to the French, was the city of Limosin. Thither did the Prince march, and sat down with his army before it: and, not long after, came unto him, out of England, his two brethren, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Earl of Cambridge, with a fresh supply of valiant captains and soldiers. The city stood it out to the uttermost, and was at last taken by storm, where no mercy was shewed by the enraged soldiers, but the sword and fire laid all desolate. After this service, the Prince's health failing him more and more, he left his brethren in Aquitaine to prosecute the wars, and himself, taking ship, came over to his father in England; his eldest son, Edward, being dead a little before at Bourdeaux; and brought over with him his wife and his other son Richard.

The Prince having left France, his dominions were either taken away, or fell away faster than they were gotten. Gueschlin entered Poictou, took Montmorillon, Chauvigny, Lussack, and Moncontour. Soon after followed the country of Aulnis, of Xantoigne, and the rest of Poictou: then St. Maxent, Neel, Aulnay: then Benaon, Marant, Surgers, Fontency; and at last they came to Thouras, where the most part of the lords of Poictou, that held with the Prince, were assembled. At this time, the King, Prince Edward, the Duke of Lancaster, and all the great lords of England set forward for their relief: but, being driven back by a tempest, and succour not coming, Thouras was yielded up upon composition. In fine, all Poictou was lost; and then Aquitaine, all, but only Bourdeaux and Bayonne. And not long after Prince Edward died, and with him the fortune of England. He was a prince so full of virtues as were scarce matchable by others. He died at Canterbury upon Trinity-Sunday, June 8, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his father's reign, and was buried in Christ's-church there, *anno Christi* 1376.

Among all the gallant men of that age, this our Prince was so worthily the first, that,
Longè erit à primo quisque secundus erit.

He had a sumptuous monument erected for him, upon which this epitaph was engraven in brass, in French thus Englished:

‘ Here lieth the noble Prince Monsieur Edward, the eldest son of the thrice-noble King Edward the Third; in former time, Prince of Aquitaine, and of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; who died on the feast of the Trinity, which was the eighth of June, in the year of Grace 1376. To the soul of whom, God grant mercy. Amen.’

After which were added these verses in French, thus translated, according to the homely poetry of those times:

Who so thou art that passest by,
Where these corpse entombed lie;
Understand what I shall say,
As, at this time, speak I may.
Such as thou art, sometime was I;
Such as I am, such shalt thou be.
I little thought on th' hour of death,
So long as I enjoyed breath.
Great riches here I did possess,
Whereof I made great nobleness:
I had gold, silver, wardrobes, and
Great treasures, horses, houses, land:
But now a caitiff poor am I,
Deep in the ground, lo here I lie;

My beauty great is all quite gone,
My flesh is wasted to the bone:
My house is narrow now, and throng;
Nothing but truth comes from my tongue.
And, if you should see me this day,
I do not think but ye would say,
That I had never been a man,
So much altered now I am.
For God's sake, pray to the Heavenly King²,
That he my soul to heaven would bring!
All they that pray and make accord
For me, unto my God and Lord;
God place them in his paradise,
Wherein no wretched caitiff lies!

The death of this Prince (saith Daniel, in his History of England,) was a heavy loss to the state, being a Prince of whom we never heard no ill, never received any other note but of goodness, and the noblest performance that magnanimity and wisdom could ever shew; insomuch, as what praise could be given to virtue, is due to him.

² See the ignorance and superstition of those times, and bless God for our clearer light.

Some Observations on the Use and Original of the noble Art and Mystery of Printing. By F. Burges. Norwich¹: 1701.

[Octavo, containing Seventeen Pages.]

The author of this little piece was Mr. Francis Burges, a printer, who first carried that art and mystery to Norwich: but, meeting with small encouragement, and great opposition, (as if he had brought an additional expence to the city,) he published this, by way of apology. In the first place, shewing, that he broke not in upon any other person's property, that his trade was of great use in a trading-place, a great means to promote piety, and a certain method to do good to several other trades; because, under the printer, the bookseller, bookbinder, joiner, smith, &c. may hope to reap advantage.

Concerning the Usefulness of Printing.

THIS (says a late author) is so plain to all discerning men, that I need say the less; this illustrious art being sufficiently known to be the great propagator and diffuser of all useful knowledge. For, since the art of Printing was found out, which is not yet three-hundred years, all sorts of learning have been more diffused and cultivated, than in a thousand years before: and what great advances and mighty progress is daily made, in finding out abstruse secrets, and discovering the hidden mysteries of art and nature, those that are conversant among books do very well know. And all this is justly to be attributed to this incomparable art, which gives men such an advantage of communicating their thoughts to each other, in so plain and easy a manner, as the ages, before this invention, were ignorant of. And therefore erudition and learning, the improvement of all the works of nature, and the perfection of all arts and sciences, are the genuine effects of this noble mystery, and an evident demonstration of its usefulness, as well as its excellency.

It is by the art of Printing, that we come to know the lives and actions of the renowned worthies of the first ages of the world; whereby those things, that were transacted some thousand years ago, are as familiar to us, as if they had been done but yesterday. It is Printing that does immortalize the memory of ancient and modern heroes, and transmits their worthy deeds and actions to the end of time.

And it is in respect to its usefulness, that Polydore Virgil styles it, ‘a divine benefit afforded to mankind;’ and therefore Carden tells us, ‘That it is an art inferior to none, either for usefulness or wit; far out-doing the most dextrous writer, both for neatness and expedition: for one press can dispatch more business in one day, than the swiftest writer can transcribe in a year or two.’ On this account also, Petrus Scriverius calls it, ‘*palladium, presidium, et tutelam Musarum, et omnis Doctrinæ*; that is, The fortress, garrison, and defence, not only of the Muses, but of all Literature whatsoever.’

This noble mystery has illustriously shewn its usefulness in the assistance it has given to the propagation of the true religion; having banished that Cimmerian darkness that had overspread the face of the earth, and caused the glorious light of the Gospel to shine forth with a resplendent lustre, by the printing that incomparable treasure of a Christian, ‘The Holy Scriptures.’ Before the finding out of this illustrious art, the Epistle of St. James was thought a mighty penny-worth, when purchased for a load of hay; whereas now, both the Old and New Testament may be bought for five shillings.

¹ This was the first book that ever was printed at Norwich, and was published on the 27th of September, 1701.

But it is not by printing of the Holy Bible only, that this noble Art and Mystery (for so it was styled by Queen Elizabeth, when she did it the honour to go and see it) has been serviceable to religion; but also by emitting many other good books and useful tracts into the world, whereby the errors of popery have been discovered and confuted, and the way of Truth made known. Hence, says N. Billingsley, in his *Brachy-Martyrologia*²,

- ‘ The Gospel-light appear’d not very clear,
- ‘ Until the fourteen-hundred-fiftieth year³,
- ‘ Wherein God pleased to unbosom night,
- ‘ The art of Printing being brought to light.’

And another ingenious author to the same purpose says:

- ‘ The noble art of Printing found
- ‘ No sooner, but it Rome did wound;
- ‘ And ever since with nimble ray,
- ‘ Spreads knowledge to a perfect day.’

Lastly, this art of Printing was first brought into England by Simon Islip⁴ in the year 1471, at the charge of King Henry VI. Whence Printing was for many years accounted the King’s prerogative as much as coining: but in process of time it became a free trade. The first Printing-Press, in England, was set up by the fore-named Simon Islip, in Westminster-Abbey, London; and Printing first used there by William Caxton. And its being first set up in a church, occasioned all Printing-houses in England to be called ‘Chapels;’ which name they retain to this day.

Concerning the Original of Printing.

IT would certainly redound very much to the dishonour of Printers, if the original of this noble art should not be transmitted to posterity: since it is by Printing alone, that the earliest actions of antiquity are brought down to the present age. For this art, by multiplying books, hath multiplied knowledge, and brought to our cognisance both persons and things vastly remote from us, and long before our time; which otherwise had perished in oblivion, and been as things which never had a being.

I have therefore endeavoured, in this short essay, to rescue from the iron-teeth of time, the original of that noble mystery, which gives immortality even to learning itself; and is the great conservator of all other arts and sciences.

And yet, to whom the world is indebted, for this excellent invention, we do not certainly know: this being one of the *inventæ adespota* of the ‘masterless inventions,’ of which the only reason, that can be assigned, is,

*Laus veterum est meruisse omnis præconia famæ,
Et sprevisse simul——*

- ‘ Brave men more studious were, in former days,
- ‘ Of doing good, than of obtaining praise.’

² [Or, Breviary of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the saints and people of God, from the Creation to our present times: dated March 1655.]

³ [These lines must have been quoted from memory, or they could not have been so much misquoted. In Billingsley’s book they stand thus:

‘ The Christian world appear’d not very clear,
‘ Until the fifteen-hundred-eighteenth year,’ &c

But Billingsley was evidently wrong in ascribing the invention of Printing to this period, and Burges was nearly right.]

⁴ [This was the assertion of Stowe, but it is disproved by Mr. Oldys in his *Life of Caxton* in *Biog. Brit.*]

That it is a Teutonic invention, is agreed upon by most voices. From hence the poets sing,

*O Germanica ! muneris-repertrix,
Quo nihil utilius dedit vetustas ;
Libros scribere, quæ doces premendo.*

Which may thus be paraphrased,

‘ O noble German ! author of this gift,
‘ (Which ev’n to heaven itself thy fame does lift,)
‘ Antiquity ne’er yet divulg’d that thing
‘ Which did more profit unto mankind bring ;
‘ Or unto learned labours more incite,
‘ Since, by the press, thou dost large volumes write.’

But, whether Higher or Lower Germany shall have the honour of it, is yet a controversy undecided; and in the Upper Germany, whether Mentz or Basil, or Strasburg; for all these do not only challenge it, but contend no less for the birth-place of this noble mystery, than the Grecian cities did for the cradle of Homer: which, by the way, is no small indication of the just value which the world has of it; since there is such striving for the honour of its original. The general voice is for Mentz, and that one John Guttenberg (or Fust, or Faustemberg, as others term him), a knight and citizen of that city, was the true father and inventer of this art, about the year 1440: and that the occasion of it was,—He having cut the letters of his name out of the bark of a tree, which was green, and full of sap; and afterwards putting them into a fine linen handkerchief; the letters impressed upon the linen their own characters. This first inspired him with the thoughts of making characters of metal, that might make an impression upon paper, which he afterwards effected. This is strongly affirmed by the citizens of Mentz; (saith Polydore Virgil, lib. ii. cap. 7. *de Invent. Rerum* :) and for proof hereof, they produce a copy of Tully’s Offices, printed in parchment, and preserved in the library of Augsburg, having this memorandum at the latter end of it: “*Præsens M. Tullii opus clarissimum, Jo. Fust, Moguntinus civis non atramento plumali canna, neque ærea, sed arte quâdam perpulchrâ manu Petri Gersheim, pueri mei, fœlicitèr effeci : finitum anno 1440, die quarto mens. Feb.*” In English thus: ‘ I John Fust, citizen of Moguntia, have happily effected the present
‘ most illustrious work of Mark Tully, performed neither by pen and ink, nor brass, but
‘ by a certain art, purely by the fair hand of my son Peter Gersheim: done in the year
‘ 1440, on the fourth day of February.’ This is cited by Salmuth, in his annotations on Pancirollus, who stands stiffly for Germany (his own country) in this point; and also cites another argument from the library of Francfort, wherein an old copy of the decisions of the Rota are kept: at the latter end thereof it is said, that it was printed *in civitate Moguntia, Artis Impressoriæ inventrice et elimatrice primâ*; that is, ‘ In the city of
‘ Moguntia, being the first inventer and refiner of the art of Printing.’

But, notwithstanding all these evidences for High Germany; yet Hadrianus Junius, a very learned man of the Low-countries, is as stiff, on the other side, for Haerlem; making that the birth-place of this noble art. This Junius (in his history of the Netherlands) tells us, that one Laurence John, (others call him Laurence Coster,) a burgher of good note and quality in the city of Haerlem, was the first inventer of it; and saith, ‘ That he made
‘ letters at first of the bark of trees, (as was before said of the other,) which being set and
‘ ranked in order, and put with their heels upwards upon paper, he made the first essay
‘ and experiment of this art.’ At first he made but a line or two, then whole pages, and then books, but printed on one side only; which rudiments of the art, Junius says, he saw in the town.

And then, to turn John Guttenberg (or Fust, or Faustus,) quite out of doors, he gives us this further account: ‘ That, after this, the aforementioned Laurence John made types or
‘ characters of tin, and brought the art to further perfection daily: but one John Faustus

‘ (though he proved *infaustus* to him) who was his servant and had learned the mystery, stole away all the letters, and other utensils belonging to the trade; and, after several removes, set up for himself at Mentz, making as if he were the first inventor of it.’ Whereas, if what Junius says, be true, he had only stole it from Laurence John; and the first book, he printed there, was the Doctrinal of one Alexander Gallus, which he printed in the year 1440.

This is further confirmed by Hegenitz, who saith, ‘ that the house of Laurence John is yet standing in the market-place of Haerlem, with this inscription in golden letters over the door :

‘ *Memoriæ sacrum.*

‘ *Typographiæ ars, artium conservatrix, hîc primùm inventa, circa annum MCCCCXL.*

That is,

‘ Sacred to memory.

‘ The art of Printing, the preserver of arts, was first invented here, about the year
‘ MCCCCXL.’

And underneath, these verses:

*Vana quid archetypos et præla, Moguntia, jactas?
Haerlemi archetypos prælaque nota scias.
Extulit hîc, monstrante Deo, Laurentius artem;
Dissimulare virum hunc, dissimulare Deum est.*

Which I have thus paraphrased ;

‘ Moguntia, why do you thus vainly boast
‘ Of archetypes and presses, at your cost ;
‘ Whereas, at Haerlem they were first, thou know’st.
‘ There to Laurentius first, inspir’d by Heav’n,
‘ The knowledge of this noble art was given.
‘ To rob the man, who did this art reveal,
‘ Is a like crime, as ’tis from Heav’n to steal.’

Thus I have given the different pleas of both parties; yet will not pretend to determine which is in the right; but leave the decision to the reader’s judgment⁵.

But this is certain, that though the chief honour is due to the inventor, yet that perfection and beauty, that Printing is now arrived to, is very much owing to them that came after; many in the present age having not a little contributed thereto, here in England, where it is at as great perfection as in any part of the world. And it is as true as strange, that where Printing was invented, the art is almost lost, and did never there arrive to any great perfection.

Printing has been in China, above two-thousand years; but their way is so vastly different from the method we use in Europe, that no comparison can be made between them; the former having so many boards, as they have pages in their book, on which their characters are carved, one representing (or standing for) a man, another an house, &c. as they have occasion to place them; and of these characters they have such great numbers, that few of them know the one half; they not making use of four-and-twenty letters to make words, as is used here. This way of the Chinese was not heard of, till within these very few years.

It is well known of the Turks, that they have not the learning, the art in trades, or war, as their neighbours the Germans; and the chief reason is, they have not Printing among them, which they will not suffer; for fear, as is thought, it should undermine their false religion, and plant Christianity in its stead.

⁵ [In the *Archæologia*, vol. xi. a memoir on the Origin of Printing, by Mr. Willet, has satisfactorily established the claim of Mentz to the honour of the invention.]

A brief Chronicle of all the Kings of Scotland: Declaring in what Year of the World, and of Christ, they began to reign, how long they reigned, of what Qualities they were, and how they died.

Aberdeen, printed by Edward Raban, for David Melvill, 1623.

[Octavo, containing Forty-one Pages.]

I. **F**ERGUS, the first King of Scotland, (the son of Ferquhard, a Prince of Ireland,) began to reign in the year of the world 3641; before the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ 330 years; in the years of the 112th Olympiad, and in the 421st year of the building of Rome; about the beginning of the third monarchy of the Grecians, when Alexander the Great overthrew Darius Codomannus, the last monarch of Persia. He was a valiant prince, and died ship-broken upon the sea-coast of Ireland, in the 25th year of his reign.

II. Feritharis, brother to Fergus, began to reign in the year of the world 3666, in the year before the coming of Christ 305. He was a good justiciar, in whose time there was a law made, That if the sons of the king departed, were so young that they could not rule; then, in that case, the nearest in blood should reign, being in age sufficient for government; and then, after his death, the king's children should succeed. Which law continued until Kenneth the Third's days, almost 1025 years. He was slain by the means of Ferlegus, Fergus's brother's son, in the 15th year of his reign.

III. Mainus, King Fergus's son, succeeded to his father's brother, in the year of the world 3680, and in the year before the coming of Christ 291. He was a wise and good king, and died peaceably, in the 29th year of his reign.

IV. Dornadilla succeeded to his father Mainus, in the year of the world 3709, in the year before the coming of Christ 262. He was a good king, who made the first laws concerning hunting, and died peaceably, in the 28th year of his reign.

V. Nothatus succeeded to his brother Dornadilla, in the year of the world 3738, and in the year before the coming of Christ 233. He was a greedy and cruel tyrant, and was slain by Dovalus, one of his nobles, in the 20th year of his reign.

VI. Reutherus, the son of Dornadilla, began to reign in the year of the world 3758, in the year before the coming of Christ 213. He was a good king, and died peaceably, in the 26th year of his reign.

VII. Reutha succeeded to his brother Reutherus, in the year of the world 3784, in the year before the coming of Christ 187. He was a good king; who, after he had ruled 14 years, left the government of the kingdom, even of his own accord, and lived a private life.

VIII. Thereus, the son of Reutherus, began to reign in the year of the world 3798, in the year before the coming of Christ 173. He was an unwise and cruel tyrant; who

was expelled, and banished the realm, by his own nobles, in the 12th year of his reign; and Conanus, a wise and brave senator, was made governor of the land: and Thereus died in exile, in the city of York.

IX. Josina succeeded his brother Thereus, in the year of the world 3810, in the year before the coming of Christ 161. He was a quiet and good prince, a good medicinar and herbister. He died in peace, in the 24th year of his reign.

X. Finnanus, Josina's son, began to reign in the year of the world 3834, in the year before the coming of Christ 137. A good king. He was much given to the superstitious religion of the Druids. He died in peace, in the 30th year of his reign.

XI. Durstus, Finnanus's son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 3864, in the year before the coming of Christ 107. A cruel and traitorous tyrant, slain by his nobles in battle, in the 9th year of his reign.

XII. Evenus the First succeeded to his brother Durstus, in the year of the world 3873, in the year before the coming of Christ 98. A wise, just, and virtuous prince. He died peaceably, in the 19th year of his reign.

XIII. Gillus, Evenus's bastard-son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 3892, in the year before the coming of Christ 79. A crafty tyrant, slain in battle by Cadallus, in the 2d year of his reign.

XIV. Evenus the Second, Dovallus's son, King Finnanus's brother, began to reign in the year of the world 3894, in the year before the coming of Christ 77. A good and civil king. He died in peace, in the 17th year of his reign.

XV. Ederus, Dochamus's son, Durstus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 3911, in the year before the coming of Christ 60. A wise, valiant, and good prince. He died in the 48th year of his reign.

XVI. Evenus the Third succeeded to his father Ederus, in the year of the world 3959, in the year before the coming of Christ 12. A luxurious and covetous wicked king. He was taken by his nobles, and imprisoned, and died in prison, in the 7th year of his reign.

XVII. Metellanus, Ederus's brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world 3966, four years before Christ's incarnation. A very modest and good king. He died in the 39th year of his reign.

XVIII. Caractacus, Cadallanus and Eropeia Metellanus's sister's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4005, in the year of Christ 35. He was a wise and valiant king, and reigned 20 years.

XIX. Corbredus the First succeeded to his brother Caractacus, in the year of the world 4025, in the year of Christ 55. A wise king, and a good justiciar. He died in peace, in the 18th year of his reign.

XX. Dardannus, nephew to Metellanus, began to reign, in the year of the world 4042, in the year of Christ 72. A cruel tyrant. He was taken in battle, and beheaded by his own subjects, in the 4th year of his reign.

XXI. Corbredus the Second, surnamed Galdus, Corbredus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4046, in the year of Christ 76. A valiant and worthy king; for he had

many wars with the Romans, and was often victorious over them. He died in peace, in the 35th year of his reign.

XXII. Lugthacus succeeded to his father Corbredus the Second, in the year of the world 4080, in the year of Christ 110. A lecherous, bloody tyrant. He was slain by his nobles, in the 3d year of his reign.

XXIII. Mogallus, Corbredus the Second's sister's son. He began to reign in the year of the world 4083, in the year of Christ 113. A good king, and victorious, in the beginning of his reign; but, in the end of his life, became inclined to tyranny, leachery, and covetousness; and was slain by his nobles, in the 36th year of his reign.

XXIV. Conarus succeeded to his father Mogallus, in the year of the world 4119, in the year of Christ 149. A lecherous tyrant. He was imprisoned by his nobles, and died in prison, in the 14th year of his reign; and Argadus, a nobleman, was made governor.

XXV. Ethodius the First, Mogallus's sister's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4133, in the year of Christ 163. He was a good prince. He was slain by an harper, in the 33d year of his reign.

XXVI. Satraell succeeded to his brother Ethodius the First, in the year of the world 4165, in the year of Christ 195. A cruel tyrant. He was slain by his own courtiers, in the 4th year of his reign.

XXVII. Donald the First, the first Christian King of Scotland, succeeded to his brother Satraell, in the year of the world 4169, in the year of Christ 199. A good and religious king. He was the first of the kings of Scotland that coined money of gold and silver. He died in the 18th year of his reign.

XXVIII. Ethodius the Second, Ethodius the First's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4186, in the year of Christ 216. An unwise and base-minded king, governed by his nobles. He was slain by his own guard, in the 16th year of his reign.

XXIX. Athirco succeeded to his father Ethodius the Second, in the year of the world 4201, in the year of Christ 231. A valiant prince in the beginning; but he degenerated, and became vicious: and, being hardly pursued by his nobles for his wicked life, slew himself, in the 12th year of his reign.

XXX. Nathalocus, brother's son (as some write) to Athirco, began to reign in the year of the world 4212, in the year of Christ 242. A cruel tyrant; slain by his nobles, and cast away into a privy, in the 11th year of his reign.

XXXI. Findocus, Athirco's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4223, in the year of Christ 253. A good king, and valiant; slain by feigned hunters, at the instigation of Donald, Lord of the Isles's brother, in the 11th year of his reign.

XXXII. Donald the Second succeeded to his brother Findocus, in the year of the world 4234, in the year of Christ 264. A good prince. He was wounded in battle, and, being overcome, died of displeasure, in the 1st year of his reign.

XXXIII. Donald the Third, Lord of the Isles, brother to Findocus, began to reign in the year of the world 4235, in the year of Christ 265. A cruel tyrant; slain by Crathilthus, his successor, in the 12th year of his reign.

XXXIV. Crathilinthus, Findocus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4247, in the year of Christ 277. A valiant and a godly king: he purged the land from the idolatrous superstition of the Druids, and planted the sincere Christian religion. He died in peace, in the 24th year of his reign.

XXXV. Fincormachus, father's brother's son to Crathilinthus, began his reign in the year of the world 4271, in the year of Christ 301. A godly king, and valiant. He was a worthy promoter of the kingdom of Christ in Scotland. He died in peace, in the 47th year of his reign.

XXXVI. Romachus, brother's son to Crathilinthus, began to reign in the year of the world 4318, in the year of Christ 348. A cruel tyrant; slain by his nobles, and his head struck off, in the 3d year of his reign.

XXXVII. Angusianus, Crathilinthus's brother's son, succeeded to Romachus, in the year of the world 4321, in the year of Christ 351. A good king; slain in battle by the Picts, in the 3d year of his reign.

XXXVIII. Fethelmachus, another brother's son of Crathilinthus; he began to reign in the year of the world 4324, in the year of Christ 354. He was a valiant king; for he overcame the Picts, and slew their king. He was betrayed to the Picts by an harper, and slain by them in his own chamber, in the 3d year of his reign.

XXXIX. Eugenius the First, Fincormachus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4327, in the year of Christ 357. A valiant, just, and good king. He was slain in battle by the Picts and Romans, in the 3d year of his reign. And the whole Scottish nation was utterly expelled the Isle by the Picts and Romans, and remained in exile about the space of 44 years.

XL. Fergus the Second, Erthus's son, son to Ethodius, Eugenius the First's brother, returning into Scotland, with the help of the Danes and Goths, and his own countrymen, who were gathered to him out of all the countries where they were dispersed, conquered his kingdom of Scotland again, out of the Romans, and Picts, hands. He began his reign in the year of the world 4374, in the year of Christ 404. He was a wise, valiant, and good king. He was slain by the Romans, in the 16th year of his reign.

XLI. Eugenius the Second, Fergus the Second's son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 4390, in the year of Christ 420. He was a valiant and a good prince. He subdued the Britons, and died in the 32d year of his reign.

XLII. Dongardus succeeded to his brother Eugenius the Second, in the year of the world 4421, in the year of Christ 451. A godly, wise, and valiant prince. He died in the 5th year of his reign.

XLIII. Constantine the First succeeded to his brother Dongardus, in the year of the world 4427, in the year of Christ 457. A wicked prince. He was slain by a nobleman in the Isles, whose daughter he had defiled, in the 22d year of his reign.

XLIV. Congallus the First, Dongardus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4449, in the year of Christ 479. He was a good and quiet prince, and died in great peace, in the twenty-second year of his reign.

XLV. Goranus, or Conranus, succeeded to his brother Congallus the First, in the year

of the world 4471, and in the year of Christ 501. A good and wise prince. He died even in the 34th year of his reign.

XLVI. Eugenius the Third, the son of Congallus, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 4505, and in the year of Christ 535. He was a wise king, and a good justiciar, and died in the 23d year of his reign.

XLVII. Congallus the Second, or Convallus, succeeded to his brother Eugenius the Third, in the year of the world 4528, and in the year of Christ 558. A very good prince, and died in peace, in the 11th year of his reign.

XLVIII. Kinnatillus succeeded to his brother Congallus the Second, in the year of the world 4539, and in the year of Christ 569. He was a good prince; and died (alas!) in the 1st year of his reign.

XLIX. Aidanus, the son of Conranus, began his reign in the year of the world 4540, and in the year of Christ 570. A very godly and good prince; who reigned 35 years, and died in great peace.

L. Kennethus the First, surnamed Keir, the son of Congallus the Second, began to reign in the year of the world 4575; and in the year of Christ 605. A very peaceable prince; and departed this life in the 1st year of his reign.

LI. Eugenius the Fourth, the son of Aidanus, began his reign in the year of the world 4576, and in the year of our Saviour 606. A valiant and good king; and died in the 16th year of his happy reign.

LII. Ferquhard the First succeeded to his father Eugenius the Fourth, in the year of the world 4591, and in the year of our Redeemer 621. He was a bloody tyrant, and being imprisoned, he slew himself, in the 12th year of his reign.

LIII. Donald the Fourth succeeded to his brother Ferquhard the First, in the year of the world 4602, and in the year of Christ 632. He was a good and religious king. He was drowned in the water of Tay, while he was a fishing, in the 14th year of his reign.

LIV. Ferquhard the Second, succeeded to his brother Donald the Fourth, in the year of the world 4616, and in the year of Christ 646. A very wicked man. He was bitten by a wolf in hunting, of the which ensued a fever, whereof he died, in the 18th year of his reign.

LV. Maldvine, Donald the Fourth's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4634, and in the year of Christ 664. A good prince; strangled by his wife, who suspected him of adultery, in the 20th year of his reign.

LVI. Eugenius the Fifth, Maldvin's brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4654, and in the year of Christ 684. A false prince; slain by the Picts in battle, in the 4th year of his reign.

LVII. Eugenius the Sixth, Ferquhard the Second's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4658, and in the year of Christ 688. A good prince. He died in peace, in the 10th year of his reign.

LVIII. Ambirkelethus, Findanus's son, Eugenius the Fifth's son, began to reign in the

year of the world 4667, and in the year of Christ 697. He was slain by a shot from an arrow; by whom it was shot, is unknown; (a vicious prince;) in the 2d year of his reign.

LIX. Eugenius the Seventh, succeeded to his brother Ambirkelethus, in the year of the world 4669, and in the year of Christ 699. He died in peace, in the 17th year of his reign. A good prince.

LX. Mordacus, Ambirkelethus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4685, and in the year of Christ 715. A good prince. He died in peace, in the 16th year of his reign.

LXI. Etfinus, Eugenius the Seventh's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4700, and in the year of Christ 730. He died in peace, in the 13th year of his reign.

LXII. Eugenius the Eighth, Mordacus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4771, and in the year of Christ 761. A good prince in the beginning of his reign; but, thereafter degenerating from his good life, he was slain by his nobles, in the 3d year of his reign.

LXIII. Fergus the Third, Etfinus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4734, and in the year of Christ 764. A lecherous prince; poisoned by his wife, in the 3d year of his reign.

LXIV. Solvathius, Eugenius the Eighth's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4737, and in the year of Christ 767. A good prince. He died in peace, in the 20th year of his reign.

LXV. Achaius, Etfinus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4757, and in the year of Christ 787. A peaceable, good, and godly prince. He made a league with Charles le Main, Emperor, and King of France, which remaineth inviolably kept to this day. He died in the 32d year of his reign.

LXVI. Congallus, or Convallus, Achaius's father's brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4789, and in the year of Christ 819. A good prince. He died in the 5th year of his reign.

LXVII. Dongallus, Solvathius's son, succeeded, in the year of the world 4794, and in the year of Christ 824. A valiant and good prince. He was drowned coming over the river Spey, to war against the Picts, in the 7th year of his reign.

LXVIII. Alpinus, Achaius's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4801, and in the year of Christ 831. A good prince. He was taken in battle, and beheaded by the Picts, in the 3d year of his reign.

LXIX. Kenneth the Second, surnamed the Great, succeeded to his father Alpinus, in the year of the world 4804, and in the year of Christ 834. A good and valiant prince. He utterly overthrew the Picts in divers battles, expelled them out of the land, and joined the kingdom of the Picts to the crown of Scotland. He died in peace, in the 20th year of his reign.

LXX. Donald the Fifth succeeded to his brother Kenneth the Second, in the year of the world 4824, and in the year of Christ 854. A wicked prince. He slew himself, in the 5th year of his reign.

LXXI. Constantine the Second, Kenneth the Second's son, began to reign in the year

of the world 4829, and in the year of Christ 859. A valiant prince. He was slain by the Danes, in a cruel battle fought at Carrail in Fife, in the 16th year of his reign.

LXXII. Ethus, surnamed Alipes, Constantine the Second's son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 4844, and in the year of Christ 874. A vicious prince. He was imprisoned by his nobles, where he died, in the 2d year of his reign.

LXXIII. Gregory, surnamed the Great, Dongallus the Second's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4846, and in the year of Christ 876. A valiant, victorious, and renowned prince through the world, in his time. He died in peace, in the 18th year of his reign.

LXXIV. Donald the Sixth, Constantine the Second's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4863, and in the year of Christ 893. A valiant prince. He died in peace, being beloved of his subjects, in the 11th year of his reign.

LXXV. Constantine the Third, Ethus Alipes's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4874, and in the year of Christ 904. He was a valiant king; yet he prospered not in his wars against England: and, therefore, being weary of his life, he became a monk, and died, after he had reigned 40 years as king.

LXXVI. Malcolm the First, Donald the Sixth's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4913, and in the year of Christ 943. A valiant prince, and a good justiciar. He was slain in Murray, by a conspiracy of his own subjects, in the 9th year of his reign.

LXXVII. Indulfus, Constantine the Third's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4922, and in the year of Christ 952. A valiant and a good prince. He had many battles with the Danes, whom he overcame; but, in the end, he was slain by them in a stratagem of war, in the 9th year of his reign.

LXXVIII. Duffus, Malcolm the First's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4931, and in the year of Christ 961. A good prince, and a severe justiciar. He was slain by one Donald, at Forres in Murray, and was buried secretly under the bridge of a river beside Kinloss; but the matter was revealed, and the murderer and his wife, that consented thereto, were severely punished. He reigned 5 years.

LXXIX. Culenus, Indulfus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4936, and in the year of Christ 966. A vicious and an effeminate prince. He was slain at Methwen, by Radardus, a nobleman, whose daughter he had defiled, in the 4th year of his reign.

LXXX. Kenneth the Third, Duffus's brother, began to reign in the year of the world 4940, and in the year of Christ 970. A valiant and a wise prince: but, in the end, he became cruel, and slew Malcolm, his brother's son; and, in God's judgment, (who suffereth not innocent blood to be unpunished,) he was slain by a strange engine, an image fixed in a wall, at Feticarne, by the means of a noblewoman there, called Fenella, in the 24th year of his reign.

LXXXI. Constantine the Fourth, surnamed Calvus, Culenus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4964, and in the year of Christ 994. An usurper of the crown. He was slain in battle at the town of Crawmond, in Louthian, in the 2d year of his reign.

LXXXII. Grimus, Duffus's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4966, and in the year of Christ 999. A vicious prince. He was slain in battle by Malcolm the Second, his successor, in the 8th year of his reign.

LXXXIII. Malcolm the Second, Kenneth the Third's son, began to reign in the year of the world 4974, and in the year of Christ 1004. A valiant and a wise prince, who made many good laws, of the which a few are yet extant. He was slain by a conspiracy of his nobles, at the castle of Glammes; who after the slaughter, thinking to escape, were drowned in the lock of Forfar; for, it being winter, and the lock frozen, and covered with snow, the ice brake, and they fell in; shewing even the righteous judgment of God. He reigned thirty years.

LXXXIV. Duncan the First, Beatrix Malcolm the Second's daughter's son, began to reign in the year of the world 5004, and in the year of Christ 1034. A good and modest prince. He was slain by Mackbeth traitorously, in the 6th year of his reign.

LXXXV. Mackbeth, Dovada Malcolm the Second's daughter's son, began to reign in the year of the world 5010, and in the year of Christ 1040. In the beginning of his reign, he behaved himself as a good and just prince; but thereafter he degenerated into a cruel tyrant. He was slain by his successor Malcolm the Third, in the 17th year of his reign.

LXXXVI. Malcolm the Third, surnamed Cammoir, Duncan the First's son, began to reign in the year of the world 5027, and in the year of Christ 1057. A very religious and valiant prince. He married Margaret, daughter to Edward, surnamed the Out-Law; son unto Edward, surnamed Iron-side, King of England; a very good and religious woman, according unto those times, who bare unto him six sons, and two daughters. The sons were Edward the Prince, Edmond, Etheldred, Edgar, Alexander, and David. The daughters were Mathildis, or Maud, surnamed Bona, wife unto Henry the First, surnamed Beauclerk, King of England; of whose virtues, is yet extant among us this old epigram:

*Prospera non lætam fecere, nec aspera tristem;
Prospera terror ei, aspera risus erant:
Non decor effecit fragilem, non sceptrum superbam,
Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.*

That is to say in English:

- ‘ Prosperity rejoic’d her not:
‘ To her grief was no pain.
- ‘ Prosperity afraid her eke:
‘ Affliction was her gain.
- ‘ Her beauty was no cause of fall:
‘ In royal state not proud.
- ‘ Humble alone in dignity:
‘ In beauty only good.’

She founded the kirk of Carlisle. Now the other daughter was Mary, wife unto Eustathius, Earl of Bologne. King Malcolm built the kirks of Durham and Dumfermling. He, with his son Prince Edward, were both slain, at the siege of Anwick, in the 36th year of his reign, by Robert Mowbray, surnamed Pierce-eye. He was first buried at Tinnmouth; but afterwards his corpse was removed to Dumfermling, and buried there.

LXXXVII. Donald the Seventh, surnamed Bane, usurped the crown, after the death of his brother, in the year of the world 5063, and in the year of Christ 1093. But he was expelled, in the very first year that he began to reign, by Duncan the Second, King Malcolm's third bastard son.

LXXXVIII. The said Duncan the Second usurped the crown, in the year of the

world 5064, and in the year of Christ 1094. A rash and foolish prince; and by the procurement of Donald the Seventh, he was slain in the Thane of the Meirnes, by Mac-Pendir; when he had reigned a little more than one year.

Then Donald the Seventh was made King again, in the year of the world 5065, and in the year of Christ 1095. He gave the West and the North isles to the King of Norway, for to assist him to attain unto the crown of Scotland. But, within three years, he was taken captive, by Edgar; his eyes were both put out, and, after much misery, he died most odiously, even lying in prison.

LXXXIX. Edgar, Malcolm the Third's son, began his reign in the year of the world 5068, and in the year of our Saviour 1098. He built the priory of Coldingham. He reigned 9 years, and was a good and loving prince. But he died without succession, at Dundee; and was buried at Dumfermling.

XC. Alexander the First, surnamed, The Fierce, succeeded unto his brother, in the year of the world 5077, and in the year of Christ 1107. A very good and valiant prince indeed. He built the abbeys of Scone, and of Saint Colmes-Inch. And he took to wife Sibylla, daughter unto William the Good, Duke of Normandy, &c. He died in great peace at Striviling, but without succession, God wots, in the 17th year of his reign, and was buried at Dumfermling.

XCI. David the First, commonly called St. David, King Malcolm the Third's youngest son, succeeded to his brother, in the year of the world 5094, and in the year of Christ 1124. A good, valiant, and religious prince, according to those times. He built very many abbeys, and other religious houses, such as Holy-Rood-house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Dundranan, Cambus-kenneth, Kinloss, Mell-ross, Newbottle, Dumfermling, Holm in Cumberland; and two religious places at Newcastle, in Northumberland. He erected four bishopricks; to wit, Ross, Brechin, Dumblane, and Dunkeld. He married Maud, daughter to Woldeofus, Earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon; and, after her decease, he married Judith, daughter's daughter to William the Conqueror, King of England; by whom he had one son, named Henry, a worthy and good youth; who married Adama, daughter unto William, Earl Warren, who bare unto him three sons; to wit, Malcolm the Maiden, William the Lion, and David, Earl of Huntingdon; and two daughters, Adama, wife to Florentius, Earl of Holland; and Margaret, wife to Conan, Duke of Britain. He died before his father. St. David died in peace at Carlisle, in the 29th year of his reign, and was buried at Dumfermling.

XCII. Malcolm the Fourth, surnamed the Maiden (because he would never marry) succeeded unto his grand-father, David the First, in the year of the world 5123, and in the year of Christ 1153. He was a good and meek prince; who built the abbey of Cowper in Angus; and departed this life, in the 12th year of his reign, at Jedburgh, and was buried likewise at Dumfermling.

XCIII. William, surnamed the Lion, succeeded unto his brother, Malcolm the Fourth, in the year of the world 5135, and in the year of Christ 1165. A very good and valiant king, indeed. He married Emergarda, daughter unto the Earl of Beaumont. This good king built the abbey of Aberbrothock; and his wife and queen, aforesaid, built the abbey of Balmerinoch. He reigned happily 49 years, and then died at Striviling; from whence his dead corpse was solemnly transported unto Aberbrothock, and buried there.

XCIV. Alexander the Second succeeded to his father William, in the year of the world 5184, and in the year of Christ 1214. A good prince. He married Jane, daughter to John, King of England, by whom he had no succession. After her death, he married

Mary, daughter to Ingelram, Earl of Coucey in France; by whom he had Alexander the Third. He died at Kernery, in the West Isles, and was buried at Melross, in the 35th year of his reign.

XCV. Alexander the Third succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 5219, and in the year of Christ 1249. A good prince. He married first Margaret, daughter to Henry the Third, King of England, by whom he had Alexander, the prince who married the Earl of Flanders's daughter; David, and Margaret, who married Hangananus (or, as some call him, Ericus), son to Magnus the Fourth, King of Norway; who bare to him a daughter, commonly called the Maiden of Norway; in whom King William's whole posterity failed, and the crown of Scotland returned to the posterity of David, Earl of Huntingdon, King Malcolm the Fourth, and King William's brother. After his sons' death, (for they died before himself, without succession,) in hope of posterity, he married Joleta, daughter to the Earl of Dreux in France, by whom he had no succession. He builded the Cross-kirk of Peebles. He died of a fall off his horse upon the sands, betwixt East and West Kinghorn, in the 37th year of his reign, and was buried at Dumfermling.

After the death of Alexander the Third, which was in the year of the world 5255, and in the year of Christ 1285, there were six regents appointed to rule Scotland. For the south-side of Firth were appointed Robert, the bishop of Glasgow, John Cummin, and John, the great steward of Scotland. For the north-side of Firth, Mac-duffe, Earl of Fife; John Cummin, Earl of Buchan, and William Fraser, Archbishop of St. Andrews; who ruled the land about the space of seven years; until the controversy was decided betwixt John Baliol, and Robert Bruce, grand-father to Robert Bruce, the King of Scotland, come of the two eldest daughters of David Earl of Huntingdon: for Henry Hastings, who married the youngest daughter, put not in his suit with the rest, and therefore there is little spoken of him.

XCVI. John Baliol was preferred to Robert Bruce, to be King of Scotland, by Edward the First, surnamed Long-shanks, King of England; who was chosen to be judge of the controversy, upon a condition, that he should acknowledge him as superior; which condition, like an unworthy man, he received. He began his reign in the year of the world 5263, and in the year of Christ 1293. He was a vain-glorious man, little respecting the weal of his country. He had not reigned fully four years, when he was expelled by the said Edward; and, leaving Scotland, departed into the parts of France, where he died long thereafter in exile. And so Scotland was without a king and government, the space of nine years; during which space, the said Edward the First, Long-shanks, cruelly oppressed the land, destroyed the whole ancient monuments of the kingdom, and shed much innocent blood.

XCVII. Robert Bruce began to reign in the year of the world 5276, and in the year of Christ 1306; a valiant, good, and wise king. In the beginning of his reign, he was subject to great misery and affliction, being oppressed by England; but at length, having vanquished Edward the Second of Caernarvon, at the field of Bannocks-burn; by the help of God, he delivered his own country of Scotland from the slavery of England; yea, and set it at full liberty, expelling, even by force of arms, the English nation quite out of the land.

He married, first, Isabel, daughter unto the Earl of Mar, who bare unto him a comely daughter, called Margery, wife unto Walter the great-steward of Scotland; of whose happy race is ruling, this day, not only in Scotland, but also over whole Britain, Ireland, &c. as ye shall hear, God willing, anon, in its own place.

Now, after the death of King Robert the Bruce's first wife, Isabel, the Earl of Mar's daughter (as is said), he married another of the same name, Isabel, who was the only daughter and heretrix unto Haynerus de Burc, Earl of Ultonia, or Ulster, in Ireland; and she bare unto him one goodly son and two daughters; to wit, David the Second; Mar-

garet, the countess of Southerland; and her youngest daughter, Maud, who died in her childhood. This good king, after he had reigned 24 years, ended his toilsome days at Cardross, and was honourably buried at Dumfermling with great solemnity.

XCVIII. David, the second Bruce, succeeded unto his father, in the year of the world 5300, and in the year of our Redemption 1330. He was a good prince, and subject unto very much affliction in his youth: for, first, after the death of Thomas Ranulph, his regent, he was forced to flee into France, even for safeguard of his life; and after certain years, returning homewards to Scotland, was taken prisoner at the battle of Durham by the Englishmen, and holden almost twelve years captive in England; but at length, as God would, he was restored to his free liberty. And he married, first, Jane, daughter unto Edward the Second, king of fair England; and after her death, he married Margaret Logy, daughter unto Sir John Logy, knight; and yet he died without any succession, in the 40th year of his reign, at Edinburgh, and was buried at Holy-Rood-house.

XCIX. Edward Baliol, son to John Baliol, usurped the crown of Scotland, being assisted by Edward the Third, King of England, in the year of the world 5302, and in the year of Christ 1332; but he was expelled at length by David the Second's regents, and David the Second established king.

C. Robert the Second, surnamed Blear-eye, the first of the Stewards, son to Walter Steward and Margery Bruce, King Robert Bruce's daughter, succeeded to his mother's brother, in the year of the world 5341, and in the year of Christ 1371. A good and a peaceable prince. He married first Eupheme, daughter to Hugh, Earl of Ross; who bare unto him David, Earl of Strathern; Walter, Earl of Athol; and Alexander, Earl of Buchan, Lord Barwynoch: and after her decease (even for the affection which he bare unto his children, which he had begotten before he was first married) he married Elizabeth Mure, daughter unto Sir Adam Mure, a worthy knight; who (aforesaid) had borne unto him John, who thereafter was called Robert the Third, Earl of Carrick; Robert, Earl of Fyfe and Monteith; and Eupheme, wife to James Earl of Douglas. But at length this good Prince behoved to go the way of all flesh; and, when he had reigned happily about 19 years, he departed this life in peace, at Dun-Donalde, and was solemnly buried at Scone.

CI. Robert the Third, surnamed John Earnyear, succeeded unto his father, in the year of the world 5360, and in the year of our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus 1390. He was a quiet and peaceable prince, and took to wife Annabel Drummond, daughter unto the Laird of Stobhall, who bare unto him David the Prince, Duke of Rothesay, that died in prison, of very extreme famine, at Falkland; and James the First, taken captive in his voyage to France, and detained a captive, against all equity, almost the space of 18 years in England. He died of displeasure at Rothesay, when he heard of the death of his own son, and captivity of the other. He was buried at Paisley, in the 16th year of his reign.

Then Robert, Earl of Fyfe and Monteith, began to govern the kingdom of Scotland, in the year of the world 5376, and in the year of Christ 1406; and he died in the 14th year of his government, James the First being yet holden captive in England.

Murdo Steward succeeded to his father, Robert Earl of Fyfe, in the government of Scotland, in the year of the world 5390, and in the year of our blessed Redeemer 1420; and ruled four years; James the First still continuing a captive in England. But the father, and his son Walter thereafter, were both executed; even by the said James the First, for oppression of the subjects.

CII. James the First began for to reign in the year of the world 5394, and in the year of Christ 1424. He was a good, learned, virtuous, and a just King. He married Jane, daughter unto John Duke of Somerset and Marquis of Dorset, son to John of Gaunt, the

third son to the victorious King of England, Edward the Third; and she bare to him only one son, and six daughters; to wit, James the Second; Margaret, wife to Lewis, the Eleventh of that name, the Dauphin of France, and thereafter King; Elizabeth, the Duchess of Brittany; Jane, Countess of Huntley; Eleanor, Duchess of Austria; Mary, wife to the Lord of Camp-Vere; and Annabella, who was yet but young.

This good prince was slain traitorously (alas!) at Perth, by Walter Earl of Athol, and Robert Graham, together with their factious confederates; in the 31st year of his reign, if we count from the death of his father; and in the 13th year of his reign, if we count from his happy deliverance out of England. He was buried at the Charter-house of Perth, the which he indeed had builded.

CIII. James the Second succeeded to his father, in year of the world 5407, and in the year of Christ 1437. A prince greatly subject to troubles in his youth. He married Mary, daughter to Arnold, Duke of Geldre, sister's daughter to Charles, surnamed Audax, the last Duke of Burgundy, &c. And she bare unto him three sons; to wit, James the Third, John, Earl of Mar, and Alexander, Duke of Albany. Moreover, she bare a daughter unto him, called Mary, who was first married unto Thomas Boyde, Earl of Arran; and, after his decease, unto James Hamilton, of Cadsow. And the King was slain at the siege of Roxburgh, in the 24th year of his reign.

CIV. James the Third succeeded unto his father, in the year of the world 5430, and in the year of our Redemption 1460. A prince corrupted by wicked courtiers, God knows. He married Margaret, daughter unto Christianus the First, surnamed Dives (that is to say, Rich) King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. And when he had reigned 29 years, he was slain at the field and battle of Bannock-Burn, and princely buried at Cambus-Kenneth.

CV. James the Fourth succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 5459, and in the year of Christ 1489. A very noble and courageous king. He married, first, Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry the Seventh, Earl of Richmond, and thereafter King of fair England. And, after her decease, he married Elizabeth, daughter unto Edward the Fourth, King of England. In whose two persons, the two houses of Lancaster and York were united, and the bloody civil wars of England finished. This good prince was slain at ¹Flowdon, by England, in the 25th year of his reign.

CVI. James the Fifth succeeded to his father, in the year of the world 5484, and in the year of Christ 1514. A just prince, and severe. First, he married Magdalene, daughter to Francis the First, King of France; but she died very shortly thereafter, without any succession. Then he married Mary of Lorrain, Duchess of Longueville, daughter unto Claud, Duke of Guise. He died at Falkland, in the 29th year of his reign, and was buried at Holy-Rood-house.

CVII. Mary succeeded unto her father, James the Fifth, in the year of the world 5513, and in the year of our blessed Lord 1543. A princess virtuously inclined. She first married Francis the Second, Dauphin of France, and thereafter King; and, after his decease, returning home to Scotland a widow, she married Henry Steward, Duke of Albany, &c. Lord Darnley, Son to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, a comely Prince, and pro-nephew to Henry the Second, King of England, unto whom she bare James the Sixth. But (alas!) after 18 years captivity, she was put to death in England, in the year of Christ 1586, the 8th day of February, and lieth now intombed at Westminster.

CVIII. James the Sixth succeeded unto his mother, in the year of the world 5537, and in the year of Christ 1567. A very good, godly, peaceable, wise, and learned prince; as,

² The battle of Floddon field.

indeed, his sundry works, which are already gone forth in print, in sundry languages, even to the view of the whole world, (to the great comfort of us, his loving subjects, and all others, who truly profess the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and to the terror of all hereticks, atheists, and papists,) can testify.

He married Anna, daughter to Frederick the Second, King of Denmark, &c. and to Sophia, Ulricus the Duke of Mechlenburg's daughter; who bare unto him Henry-Frederick, the prince who died in the prime of his youth; Elizabeth, wife to the Prince-Palatine of the Rhine, &c.; and Charles, our hopeful Prince, now about the age of 23 years.

The said James the Sixth, even through God's providence, and righteous succession, is now presently King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland; whom we beseech even the God of heaven, upon the knees of our loyal hearts, to continue his days longer than long amongst us; yea, that his happy posterity remain still to govern over ours, to the farther advancement of God's glory, and the comfort of his elect, even for ever and ever! Amen.

From Aberdeen, 1623, Jan. 30.

An Epistle of the moste myghty and redouted Prince, Henry the viii; by the Grace of God, Kyng of England, and of Fraunce, Lorde of Irelande, Defender of the Faithe, and supreme Heed of the Church of England, nexte under Christe; writen to the Emperours Majestie, to all Christen Princes, and to all those that trewly and syncerely professe Christes Religion.

In this Epistle bothe the Causes are playnely declared, why the Kynges Hyghenes owght neyther to sende nor go to the Councill indicted at Vincence; and also how perylouse a Thyng it is for all suche, as professe the trewe Doctrine of Christ, to come thether.

Hereunto also is annexed the Protestation made the last Yere, by the Kynges Hyghenes, his holle Counsayle and Clergye, as touchinge the Councille indicted at Mantua, &c.

Rede bothe, O Christen Reader, Truthe is comynge Home, longe afore beyng in Captyvyte; steppe forth and meete her by the Waye: Yf thou see her presente, embrace hir; and shewe thy selfe gladd of here Retourne.

London, printed by John Berthelet 1538.

[Octavo, containing Nineteen Pages.]

As the following small piece is one, if not the very first public declaration, of King Henry the Eighth, against the Pope, now extant; I apprehend, that it will be doing great service to the English history, to preserve it in this Collection.

The occasion was the King's being cited by the Pope, in concert with the Emperor, to appear before a general council, as he pretended to be held at Mantua, to answer to such accusations there to be laid against him.

The King communicated this summons to the convocation, then sitting, and demanded their advice; who answered in writing, that before a general council could be called, it was necessary to consider, 'Who had authority to call it?' 2dly, 'Whether the reasons for calling it were weighty?' 3dly, 'Who should assist as judges?' 4thly, 'What should be the order of proceeding?' 5thly, 'What doctrines were to be discussed?' And lastly, 'That neither the Pope nor any other prince, without the consent of all the Sovereigns in Christendom, had power to call a general council.' And,

Henry, well knowing that he must lose his cause before such a council, as proposed; he had been unwise to submit to its decisions: Therefore,

Pursuant to this declaration of his clergy, the King protested against this council; in which protestation he speaks very plainly and freely of the designs and conduct of the Pope: being informed of the council's being moved to Vicenza, he repeateth the same protestation to the Emperor in this letter following.

Henry the VIII. by the grace of God, Kynge of Englande, and of Fraunce, &c. saluteth the Emperour, Christen Princes, and all true Christen men; desyringe peace and concorde amonges them.

WHERE as, not long sithens, a boke came forth in oure and all oure counsayle's names, whyche bothe conteyned many causes, why we refused the counccylle, than by the Bysshoppe of Rome's usurped power fyrste indycted atte Mantua, to be kepte the xxiii. daye of May; after proroged to Novembre; noo place appoynted where it shulde be kepte. And where as, the same boke doth sufficiently prove, that oure cause coulde take no hurt; neyther with any thyng doone or decreed in suche a companye of addicte men to one secte; nor in any other counccille called by his usurped power; we thynke it nothyng necessarye so ofte to make new protestations; as the Bysshop of Rome and his courtes, by subtyltye and crafte, doo invente wayes to mocke the worlde by newe pretensed generall counccilles. Yet not withstandynge, bycause that some thynges have nowe occurred, eyther uppon occasion gyven us, by chaunge of the place; or els throughe other consyderations, whyche, nowe beyng knowne to the worlde, maye do moche good; we thought we shulde do, but even as that love enforceth us, which we owe unto Christe's fayth and relygion, to adde this epistell. And yet we proteste, that we neyther put forth that boke, neyther that we wolde this epistle to be set afore it, that thereby we shulde seme lesse to desyre a generall counccille, than any other prynce or potentate; but rather more desyrous of it; so it were free for all partes, and universall.

And further, we desyre al good princes, potentates, and people, to esteme and thynke that noo prynce wolde more wyllingly be present at suche a counccille than we; suche a one, we meane, as we speake of in our protestatyon, made concernynge the counccille of Mantua. Trewely, as our forefathers invented nothyng more holier than generall councils, used as they ought to be; so there is almost nothyng that may do more hurt to the Christian common-welth, to the faith, to our religion, than generall councils; if they be abused, to luker, to gaynes, to the establyshement of errours. They be called Generall; and even by their name doo admonyshe us, that all Christen men, which do discent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, and without feare of punysshement or displeasure, say theyr mynde. For seynge suche thinges, as are decreed in generall counccils, touche egally all men that gyve assent thereunto; it is mete that every man maye boldely saye there that he thinketh. And verely we suppose, that it ought not to be called a generall counccylle, where alonlye those men are harde, which are determined for ever, in all poyntes, to defend the popysh part; and to arme theym selves to fyght in the

Bysshoppe of Rome's quarelle; though it were against God and his Scriptures. It is no generall councill, neyther it ought to be called Generall; where the same men be onely advocates and adversaries, the same accused and juges. No, it is agaynste the lawe of nature, eyther that we shuld condescende to so unresonable a lawe against our selves; eyther that we shuld suffre our selves to be lefte withoute all defence; and, beyng oppressed with greatest injuries, to have no refuge to succour our selves at. The Bysshop of Rome¹, and his, be our great ennemyes; as we and all the worlde may well perceyve by his doynge. He desyreth nothinge more than our hurte, and the destruction of oure realme. Do not we than violate the judgement of nature, yf we gyve hym power and auctoritie to be our judge? His pretended honour, fyrste gotten by superstition, after increased by vyolence, and other wayes, as evylle as that: his power sette uppe by pretense of relygyon; in dede, both agaynste relygyon, and also contrary to the worde of God: his primacye, borne by the ignorancye of the worlde, nourysshed by the ambition of Bysshops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture, falsely understande. These iii. thynges we saye, whiche are fallen with us, and are lyke to fall in other realmes shortly; shall they not be establyshed againe, yf he maye decyde our cause as hym lysteth? Yf he maye at his pleasure oppresse a cause moste ryghtuouse, and set up his, moste againe truth? Certaynelye, he is verye blynde, that seeth not what ende we maye loke for of our controversie, if suche our ennemye maye gyve the sentence.

We desyre, yf it were in any wyse possible, a councill where some hope may be, that those thynges shall be restored; which, nowe beinge depravate, are lyke, if they be not amended, to be the utter ruine of Christen relygyon. And as we do desyre suche a coun-cyll, and thinke it mete, that all men, in all their prayers, shoulde crave and desyre it of God; even so we thinke it pertayneth unto oure office, to provyde bothe that these popyshe subtylties hurt none of our subjectes; and also to admonyshe other Christen princis, that the Bysshoppe of Rome maye not by their consent abuse the auctoritie of kynges; eyther to the extynguyshing of the true preaching of Scripture, that now begynneth to spryng, to grow, and spread abroad; eyther to the troubling of princes' liberties, to the dimynishynge of kinges' auctorities, and to the great blemyshe of theyr princely majestie. We dout nothing, but a reder, not parciall, wyll soone approve suche thynges, as we write in the treatyse folowyng; not soo moche for oure excuse, as that the worlde maye perceyve both the sondry deceytes, craftes, and subtylties of the Papistes; and also, how moch we desyre, that controversyes in relygyon maye ones be taken awaye. All that we sayde there of Mantua, maye here well be spoken of Vincence. They do almoste agree in all poyntes. Neyther it is lyke, that there wolle be any more at this coun-cille at Vincence, than were the last yere atte Mantua. Trewelye, he is worthy to be deceived, that, beyng twyse mocked, wolle not beware the thyrde tyme. Yf any this last yere made forth toward Mantua, and, beyng halfe on their waye, thanne perceyved, that they hadde taken uppon them that journey in vayne; we do not thynkethem so foolyshe, that they wolle hereafter ryde farre oute of towne to be mocked. The tyme also, and the state of thynges is suche, that matters of relygyon maye rather nowe be broughte farther in trouble, as other thynges are, than be commodiously intreated of and decyded. For where as, in maner, the hole worlde is after suche sorte troubyld with warres; so incombred with the great preparations that the Turke maketh; canne there be any manne so agaynste the setlynge of relygyon, that he wolle thynke this tyme mete for a generall councill? Undoubtedlye it is mete, that such controversies as we have with the Bysshoppe of Rome, be taken as they are; that is moch greater, than that they maye eyther be discussed in this soo troublesome a tyme, or elles be committed unto proctours, without our greate jeopardie; all be it the tyme were never so quiete. What other princes wyll do, we can not tell; but we wyll neyther leave our realme at this tyme; neyther we wyll truste any proctour with oure cause, wherein the holle staye and welth of our

¹ Published a bull of excommunication against him; and tried to excite all princes of Christendom, against Henry, and offered his kingdom to the King of Scotland, &c.

realme standeth; but rather we wyll be atte the handlynge therof our selfe. For, excepte both an other judge be agreed uppon for those matters, and also a place more commodiouse be provyded, for the debating of our causes, all be it al other thynges were as we wolde have them; yet maye we lawfully refuse to come or sende any to his pretended councylle. We wolle in noo case make hym our arbyter, whyche, not many yeres paste (oure cause not hearde) gave sentence agaynste us. We wolle that suche doctrine as we, folowynge the Scripture, do professe, rytely to be examinyd, discussyd, and to be brought to Scripture, as to the onely touche stone of true lernynge. We wyll not suffre them to be abolyshed, ere ever they be discussyd, ne to be oppressed, before they be knowen. Moche lesse we wyll suffre theym to be troden downe, beinge so clerely trewe. No; as there is no jote in Scripture, but we wolle defende it, thoughe it were with jeoparddie of oure lyfe, and peryll of this our realme: so is there no thyng, that doeth oppresse this doctrine, or obscure it, but we wolle be at continuall warre therewith. As we have abrogated all olde popishe tradicions in this oure realme, whiche eyther dyd helpe his tyranny or increase his pryde: soo, yf the grace of God forsake us not, we wyll wel forsee, that no newe naughtye tradicions be made with our consente, to bynde us or our realme. Yf men wyll not be willyngely blynde, they shall easily see, (even by a due and evident prose in reson, though grace dothe not yet by the worde of Christ enter into theym,) howe small thauctorytie of the Bysshop of Rome is, by the lawfull denyall of the Duke of Mantua for the place. For yf the Bysshoppe of Rome dydde earnestly intende to kepe a councyll at Mantua, and hath power, by the lawe of God, to calle prynces to what place hym lyketh; why hath he not also auctoritie to chose what place hym lysteth? The Bysshop chose Mantua; the Duke keppe hym oute of it. Yf Paule, the Bysshoppe of Rome's auctoritye, be so great as he pretendeth; why coulde not he compel Fredericus, Duke of Mantua, that the counccille myghte be keppe there?

The Duke wolde not suffre it. No; he forbadde hym his towne. Howe chaunceth it, that here excommunicacyons flye not abroode? Why dothe he not punysse this Duke?

Why is his power, that was wonte to be more than fulle, here emptye; wonte to be more than all, here nothyng? Dothe he not calle men in vayne to a counccille, yf they that comme at his callynge, be excluded the place, to the whiche he callethe theym? Maye not kynges justelye refuse to come at his call, whan the Duke of Mantua maye denye hym the place, that he choseth? Yf other prynces order hym, as the Duke of Mantua hath doone; what place shall be lefte hym, where he maye kepe his generall counccill? Again, if prynces have gyven hym this auctoritie, to calle a counccille; is hit not necessarye, that they gyve hym also all those thynges, withoute the whyche he canne not exercyse that his power? Shall he call men; and wolle ye let hym fynde no place to call them unto? Truely, he is not wonte to appoynte one of his owne cyties, a place to keepe the counccill in. No, the good manne is so faythefull and frendely towarde other, that seldome he desyreth prynces to be his gestis. And admytte he shulde calle us to one of his cities, shulde we safely walke within the walles of suche our ennemyes towne? Were it mete for us there to dycusse controversyes of relygyon, or to keep us out of our ennemyes trappes? Mete to studye for the defence of suche doctrine as we professe; or rather, howe we myghte in suche a thronge of perylles be in savegarde of our lyfe? Well, in this one acte the Bysshoppe of Rome hathe declared; that he hathe none auctorytye uppon places in other menne's domynyons; and therfore, yf he promyse a counccille in anye of those, he promyseth that that is in an other man to perfourme, and so may he deceyve us agayne. Nowe, if he calle us to one of his owne townes, we be afrayde to be at suche an hoste's table. We saye, 'Better to ryse a hungred, than to goo thense with 'oure bellyes fulle.' But they saye, 'The place is founde; we neede noo more seke 'where the counccill shall be keppe.' As who saythe, That, that chaunced at Mantua, maye not also chaunce at Vyncence. And as thoughe it were very lyke, that the Vene- cians, menne of suche wysedome, shoulde not bothe forsee and feare also that, that the wyse Duke of Mantua semed to feare. Certes, whanne we thynk uppon the state that

the Venecians be in nowe ; hit seemeth noo verye lykely thyng, that they wolle eyther leave Vincence, theyr cytye, to so many nations, without some greate garrison of souldyers ; or elles that they, beyng elles where so sore charged all redy, wyll nowe norysshe an armye there. And, if they wolde, dothe not Paulus hym selfe graunt, that it shulde be an evyll presydent, and an evyll exauple, to have an armed coun-cille? How so ever it shal be, we moste hartely desyre you, that ye wolle vouchesafe to rede those thynges that we wrote this last yere, touchyng the Mantuan coun-cille. For we nothyng doubte, but you, of youre equitye, wyll stande on our syde, agaynste theyr subtyltye and fraudes ; and judge (excepte we be deceyved) that we, in this busynesse, neyther gave soo moche to oure affectyons ; neyther, withoute greatte and mooste juste causes, refused theyr councylles, theyr censures, and decrees. Whyther these oure wrytynges please all menne, or noo ; we thynke, we ought not to passe moche. Noo ; yf that, that indyfferently is wrytten of us, maye please indyfferente reders ; oure desyre is accomplysshed. The false and mystakyng of thynges, by men parcyall, shall move us nothyng, or elles very lytel. Yf we have sayd aughte agaynste the deceytes of the Byssshop of Rome, that maye seme spoken to sharply ; we praye you, impute it to the hatredde we bare unto vices, and not to any evylle wyll that we bare hym. Noo ; that he and all his may perceyve, that we are rather at stryfe with his vices, than with hym and his ; oure prayer is, bothe that it maye please God at the laste to open theyr eyes, to make softe theyr harde hartes, and that they ones maye with us (theyr owne glorie set aparte) study to set forthe the everlastyng glorie of the everlastyng God.

Thus, myghtye Emperoure, fare ye mooste hartely well ; and ye Christen Princes, the pylors and staye of Christendome, fare ye hartely well. Also all ye, what people so ever ye are, whiche doo desyre that the Gospel and glory of Christ maye floryshe, fare ye hartely well.

Gyven at London, oute of oure palace at Westmynster, the eyghte of Apryll, the nyne and twentye yere of our reygne.

The Communication betwene my Lord Chauncelor¹ and Judge Hales, being among other Judges to take his Oth in Westminster-Hall, Anno 1553, the 6th of October.

[Octavo, containing Five Pages.]

Queen Mary no sooner found herself secure on the throne, but she presently forgot both her promises to maintain the Established religion, and the good services done her in that critical juncture by the Protestants ; of which this small piece before us is a flagrant proof.

Judge Hales was the only one of that bench, who refused to sign that instrument, which transferred the crown to Jane Grey ; at the risk, not only of his estate, but of his life also. Yet he was immediately called in question, as you read in the following paper ; and, as history further acquaints us, first cast into the Marshalsea, thence removed to the Compter, then to the Fleet ; for charging the justices of Kent, to conform to the lawes of King Edward the Sixth concerning religion, not yet repealed ; or properly, for being a sincere Protestant.

¹ [Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.]

The Judge, though (as it appears in this communication between him and the Chancellor) he preferred a good conscience to his office, the Queen's favour, his fortune, and even to his life; was so bitterly persecuted, and (when the Warden informed him of the cruelties preparing for those who would not change their religion,) his brains turned so, that he endeavoured to kill himself with a penknife; and, though, in this condition, he was set at liberty, he never recovered his senses, and at last drowned himself. See Burnet, tom. II. p. 248.

Chancellor. **M**ASTER HALES, ye shall understand, that like as the Quene's Highnes hath hertofore receivid good opinion of you; especiallie, for that ye stode both faithfullie and lauffulli in hir cause of just succession; (refusing to set your hande to the booke amonge others that were against hir Grace in that behalfe;) so nowe through your owne late desertes, against certain hir Highnes' dooinges, ye stande not well in hir Grace's favour. And, therefore, before ye take anie othe, it shall be necessarie for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I prairie you, my Lorde, what is the cause?

Chancellor. Information is geven, that ye have indicted certain pristres in Kent, for saing of masse.

Hales. Mi Lorde, it is not so; I indicted none; but indede certaine indictamentes of like matter wer brought before me at the laste assises there holden, and I gave order therin as the lawe required. For I have professed the lawe; against which, in cases of justice, wil I never (God willinge) procede, nor in ani wise dissemble; but with the same shewe forth mi conscience, and, if it were to do againe, I wolde doe no lesse then I did.

Chancellor. Yea, master Hales, your conscience is knowne wel inough; I knowe ye lacke no conscience.

Hales. Mi Lord, ye mai do wel to serch your owne conscience, for mine is better knowne to mie selfe, then to you; and to be plaine, I did as well use justice in your saide masse case, bi mi conscience, as bi the lawe; wherin I am fulli bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected. And, if I have therin done ani injuri or wrong, let me be judged bi the lawe; for I wil seeke no better defence; considering cheiflie that it is mi poffession.

Chancellor. Whi, master Hales, althoughe ye had the rigour of the lawe on your side; yet ye might have hadde regard to the Quene's Highnes' present doinges in that case. And further, although ye seme to be more then precise in the lawe; yet I thinke ye wolde be veri loth to yelde to the extremitie of suche advantage, as mighte be gathered againste your procedinges in the lawe; as ye have some time taken uppon you in place of justice. And, if it were well tried, I beleve ye shuld not be wel able to stand honestli therto.

Hales. Mi Lord, I am not so perfect, but I mai erre for lacke of knowledge; but both in conscience, and such knowledge of the lawe, as God hath geven me; I wil do nothing but I wil maintain and abide in it. And if mi goodes, and all that I have, be not able to counterpoise the case, mi bodie shal be redi to serve the turne; for thei be all at the Quene's Highnesse' pleasure.

Chancellor. Ah, Sir, ye be veri quicke and stoute in your answers; but as it shoulde seme that which ye did was more of a wil, favouring the opinion of your religion against the service nowe used, then for ani occasion or zeale of justice; seinge the Quene's Highnes dooth set it furthe, as yet wishinge all hir faithful subjectes to imbrace it accordingle: and where ye offer both bodie and goodes in your triall, there is no suche matter required at youre handes; and yet ye shall not have your owne wil neither.

Hales. Mi Lord, I seke not wilful wil, but to shew my self, as I am bound in love to God, and obedience to the Quene's Majestie, in whose cause willingly for justice sake (al other respectes set apart) I did of late (as your Lordship knoweth) adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it to be suche as pleaseth God; wherin I am ready to adventure as well mi life, as mi substance, if I be called therunto. And so, in lacke of mine owne power and wil, the Lorde's wil be fulfilled.

Chauncelor. Seing ye be at this point, master Hales, I wil presently make an end with you. The Quene's Highnes shall be enfourmed of youre opinion and declaration. And as hir Grace shal therupon determine, ye shal have knowledge; unto which tyme ye may depart, as ye came, without your oth; for, as it appeareth, ye ar scarce worthi the place appointed.

Hales. I thancke your Lordship; and as for my vocation, being both a burthen and a charge, more then ever I desired to take upon me, whensoever it shal please the Quene's Hyghnes to ease me therof, I shall moost humbli with due contentation obei the same.

And so departed from the barre².

² See the Introduction.

An Epitaph on *Bona fide*, the French King Lewis XIV. (MS.)

HERE lies an old man, of seventy-seven,
 Who died as he liv'd, yet hoped for Heaven:
 In faith and good works (those two saving things)
 He out-did all potentates, princes, and kings;
 There's Utrecht, and Reswick, and Spanish partition,
 Old renunciation, and new demolition:
 And, for his good works, no man did the like,
 They began at Landau, and did end at Mardyke.
 Then, as to his sins, the Jesuits make good,
 That he got remission, by shedding much blood.
 Some thought him immortal, some honest and just,
 Yet he rotted and dy'd in the month of August,
 As did his good sister, now moulder'd to dust.
 To Jacks and Nonjurors such deaths are sad stories,
 For old *Bona fide* was head of the Tories;
 And, as he lay dying on royal state-bed,
 Remembring best friends, 'tis whisper'd he said,
 "O Robin of Radnor, take care of thy head!
 O James Duke of Ormond, my Irish dear joy,
 I bequeath thee to Villars, when he wants a decoy.
 O high-mettled Harry, go cool thy lewd fire,
 By Maintenon's leave, with the nuns of St. Cyr.
 O bold Charles of Sweden, expect a defeat;
 O Turk in Morea, expect a retreat.
 O Philip of Spain, more tractable prove;
 O Duke of Lorraine, the Pretender remove.
 O Clement of Rome, thy church bull recall;
 And, if Worcester says true, prepare for thy fall,
 For George of Great-Britain will manage ye all."

A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Cloyne¹.
By a Gentleman in the Army, in the Year 1739. (MS.)

The following letter (which is now printed from a manuscript) appears to have been written about the year 1739, on occasion of a dissertation published by the Bishop, on this text, 'Gallio cared for none of these things;' in which he explained the necessity of asserting, by the secular authority, the reverence due to religion. The effect which his arguments have had, may appear, in part, from the following letter, which contains so many touches of elegance and judgment, that we could not refuse it a place in this Collection; in which, though it was our original design to recover such pieces as begin to disappear, by their antiquity, we shall not neglect sometimes to preserve those writings from destruction, which, by accidents or envy, have been hitherto kept secret. J——.*

My Lord;

AT my return from recruiting, (in which duty I was employed for many months,) I was informed that the author of the 'Minute Philosopher' had published the second edition of an excellent address to the magistrates against open blasphemy. I was impatient to read it, and, though I am an officer of pretty long standing and service, I cannot but admire, with some amazement, the courage of a man, not only to appear openly for things so much out of fashion; but to demand the aid of laws, and the secular arm of the magistrate, in defence of speculative opinions, as these great criticks affect to call them; which piece of wit I am told they borrowed from one Tindall², once a profligate apostate to popery, and always a disguised missionary for it. It is true indeed, and you prove evidently, that all our actions are directed by our thoughts, opinions, and desires; and that the civil peace of the world, and all the comforts of social life (the whole of religion and its obligation, according to the Free-thinkers, who aim at a little reasoning) are concerted in the principles which men entertain about God, virtue, and even that offensive enemy to their present ease, called religion: and that, therefore, such avowed declarations of war, against all the bands and fences of society, are properly objects of the magistrate's care, and of his indispensable duty to repel the attack, and punish the actors. I have heard all their stock of learning, which consists in chiming three or four words a thousand times over, with great clamour and insult; 'Freedom of thought, freedom of speech, liberty of the press, are all of them natural rights, and unalienable from a free people; the contrary is popery, slavery, arbitrary power, priestcraft, and the pretender.' But let us take this, even according to the lowest notion of any who are willing to exclude a Divine right in every sort of government and system; and are therefore most particularly averse from every notion of a church, as a regular formed society; with powers, positive institutions, and officers, independent of every man's own sweet self, in the sincerity of his heart; according to whatever principles he is pleased to prescribe to it: according to which most orderly principle, every man of every nation (for societies these men's wise schemes will not allow) has full liberty of thinking, speaking, and acting; but the rulers, the princes, senators, or other chief magistrates, who being trustees for the people and their rights, it is plain that they can have none of their own, but are and must be the only

¹ [Dr. George Berkeley, the learned and ingenious author of 'The minute Philosopher,' published in 1732, who was still more known by his treatise intitled *Siris*, concerning the virtues of tar-water.]

² [Matthew Tindal, LL.D. the deistical author of 'Christianity as old as the Creation,' &c.]

ultimate subjects in every community; yet even such allow our church and religion the sanction of acts of parliament, consequently the law of the land, and to be an essential part of our constitution; to preserve which no millions of money, or of men, were ever thought too much; and therefore I say, that magistrates may take cognisance of, and severe vengeance for all outrages committed against it; otherwise the whole frame of the state is in the utmost danger, whatever the church may be; and, for that very reason, no doubt, many a man has been for helping her at some critical times, who never understood much of her, or cared for her; nay, who derive all government, and consequently all law, both civil and religious, from the people, who every day of their lives have drank the ‘*Litany-Health*,’ as it is called, against her. I will venture to go even a step lower in moderation, if that can well be done; I will suppose that Christianity has only a share in that toleration which is extended to the several sorts of dissenters: sure an application may properly lie to the magistrate to make good this toleration to it, and to protect it from being insulted in the very church, and in the midst of divine service; as was done in the church of Omah, county of Tyrone, and diocese of Deny, about twenty months ago (if I am rightly informed) in the most blasphemous and riotous manner. One would think that the two acts of Uniformity were repealed; for in them there are penalties provided for any thing said or done in contempt of, or derogation to, any part of the divine service contained in the book of ‘*Common Prayer*.’ And if these statutes continue still in force, ought not the magistrate, both spiritual and temporal, to put them in execution? Has not our Bible the sanction of law? and if so; may not a bold magistrate appear in defence of it, without just imputation of bigotry? I will ask but one question more, What would the magistrate, what would mankind say, but above all, what would the Free-thinker and Latitudinarian libertine say and do, to a man who should be always railing against the act of Toleration, forming cabals against it, running into coffee-houses and play-houses to sputter against it, and breaking into meeting-houses to disturb and affront the society, in the midst of what they call their devotions, with a ‘*Down with Tolerations, Rumps, and Round-heads*?’ I should not despair of seeing such a club in Newgate or Bridewell, *sed deorum offensæ diis curæ*.

I think nothing can possibly be more plain, than that all our first notions must be prejudices, received either by the mere authority of some instructor, or taken up on credit from the publick; and very many things there are in life, which all mankind must, and the wisest ought to, receive on authority; for by authority only they can be proved, as all divine institutions, and all human ones, not inconsistent with them. *Vir bonus est quis? Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat*. I really believe that even very learned men do take up conclusions, in parts of learning that they are great masters of, without examining every one of them minutely; nay, without being able to investigate them through the whole precedent chain of demonstrations; as I have heard some people say particularly of a book called ‘*Sir Isaac Newton’s Principles*,’³ as your Lordship has very clearly shewn; in the instances of all those professions or trades which depend on mathematical reasoning, which they can use in work, but never understand in theory. I am far from being a great engineer, but I am not the very worst in the army. I can do several things in my way pretty cleverly, but were your Lordship to examine me as to the grounds and reasons on which my work depends, you would be almost as much amazed at my ignorance in mathematicks, as at that of a Free-thinker, when he pretends to chop logick about any thing that looks like religion, virtue, honour, or good sense.

Without what they call prejudices, (that is, early impressions before they can reason,) mankind could have no opinions at all; because they could not have any knowledge without education. Pray, my Lord, give me leave to observe the impudence of these men, in obtruding such a bare-faced contradiction on us.—All prejudices must be excluded, the young mind guarded from them, that is, no instruction, no information, no rules prescribed; then, when he is grown up, he is to make a complete system of all he owes to

³ [Or ‘*Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*,’ which first appeared in 1687.]

God, his neighbour, and himself, founded on a moral sense, and the fitness of all things; resulting from the thorough knowledge of their natures, and all the several relations thereof, eternal and immutable. I really believe, my Lord, that all created beings, put together, do not know so much of the universe, as to be able to trace out the various relations, natural and moral, of all its constituent parts; which yet these modest gentlemen require from every man, that he should instruct himself in all this, and that what he thus discovers is his only rule of action and intercourse with all other men, and the origin of obligation to God as well as man. So that, according to this wise scheme, every man is supposed equal to every thing, and able to supply himself, out of his own inexhaustible native stock, with all knowledge; every man is born a complete divine, lawyer, politician, chymist, physician, philosopher: in short, in all its branches, is this true; or else all men are equally knowing. What! is there no difference between the knowledge of the Bishop of Cloyne and Peter Lens? Yes; as much in their understanding and learning, as in their virtues and worth. One would think that the word Learning should point out to us how we came by it: how can any one learn, but from a person, or a book, which teaches him? I suppose that, according to these men, the original of libraries was, that some odd fellow took it into his head to invent an alphabet; then compiled an horn-book; taught himself and others to read it; and thereby let them into the knack of composing as many and as large volumes as ever they should have a mind to. But was it not a silly and a wicked thing in him to do so? Is it not propagating prejudices, which no man ought to be fettered with, before he can judge for himself? No man ought to go into, or so much as bathe his hands in water, before he can swim perfectly well.

If I am capable of understanding these men and their assertions, for I cannot call them principles, they contradict themselves flatly; they require from every man a great deal more, not only than any one man ever was capable of, but than all mankind, and their abilities put together, could effect; and yet will not allow him any previous instruction or study, for fear of prejudices. Can any Saracen, Turk, or Fanatick, declare himself more a persecutor of learning and learned men; throwing all libraries into the fire, as contraband goods? But I suppose this is what our noble masters of Free-thinking would be at; for, if there were a thorough cessation of all instruction and preaching for a competent number of years, till the present set of prejudiced folks were gone off the stage; there would be fine hopes of an utter cessation of all knowledge, learning, and religion, to the end of the world: and then, what glorious days! the jolly Free-thinkers, having rescued the world from prejudices, and got it all to themselves, might wallow undisturbed in their mire, and unstinted seraglio; without the importunate din of laws divine and human ringing in their ears, to no other purpose in nature, but to intrude upon and sour their diversions. Yet, for all this fine scene of a world, which they paint out so agreeably to us, I own, my Lord, that I cannot see why the discoveries of one man, age, or nation, in arts and sciences, may not be communicated and descend to another, as well as estates, houses, or any other kind of property; and why I may not procure, by exchange or purchase, a little knowledge from my neighbour, as well as any other toy to play with. I protest, my Lord, I would not be without the comfort and advantage I fancy I have received from the very few books that have fallen in my way to read: for, besides the health and frugality of passing a winter's evening agreeably with an author, I have received no small advantage in the knowledge of my profession, from the excellent treatises on military discipline (written by some worthy gentlemen justly entitled to the rank they have in our service) besides 'Vauban and Cohorn's Fortification,' *Les Travaux de Mars*, &c. And I fancy, that even the greatest geniuses, that make improvements, and carry things the furthest; must have been taught the first principles of those things, they afterwards so far excelled their masters in. What profession, what trade, without an apprenticeship? Captain Millan (who, though an officer, is actually a graduate doctor of physick) has declared a thousand times, that a physician's skill is altogether founded on the experience of other men, and his own grafted on it; and that the experience of several thousands must have concurred to form such a physician as Herman Boerhaave, in all the several branches of that voluminous science.

How many thousand names of plants, of materials in a druggist's, of preparations in an apothecary's shop, in a chymist's laboratory, in the dispensary, anatomy-school, surgeon's hall, &c. When I was a young man, I imagined that great scholarship consisted in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and such hard matters, but I had a severe conviction to the contrary; for I fell into a law-suit, in defence of a very beneficial lease, which had been long in our family, by the sale of which, I flattered myself to be one day able to buy a regiment; but, after several warm campaigns in the courts, I almost carried my cause, but broke my heart, health, and fortune in it; for justice was so skilfully barricadoed, and obstinately defended by the outworks and troops of the law; and it took up so much time and ammunition, in the necessary methods of approaches and attacks; that when we were almost within sight of her, our courage on each side sunk with our strength, we proposed a truce, at once, and after a short conference, we saved the mere point of honour on both sides, and abandoned the field of battle to new competitors: for the invader owned that he was sorry, on many accounts, that his ambition had led him into a war, not altogether either clear as to the title, or necessary on any score; so we shook hands, he withdrew his troops, I sold the disputed premises in order to discharge mine, and he mortgaged a wing of his estate for the same service; and ever since we continue a complaisant splenetic kind of friendship with each other, whenever we meet. I was amazed, at our first hearing (which was within four or five years after the commencement of the suit) to hear as many books quoted, as I thought it possible for any man to retain the names of, and such a capping of cases *pro* and *con*, with as many hard terms as the surgeon of our regiment, or ever an apothecary of them all; many of which they have borrowed from the military and other professions. To open, is common to the eloquence of the bar, and the hunters in the field; we open orders, trenches, and ranks; the law has its parties, challenges, motions, defences, recoveries, engagements, charges, discharges, indentures, investitures, traverses, conversions, entries, lodgments, possessions, surrenders, forges, confederates, spies, informers, assaults and batteries, but above all things contribution and pay, as well as we; and I have been told, that combats were once legal decisions in England. Both professions deal much in prisoners and executions, and both, for the most part, leave them to rot, whether in prison or the field; and, as we have serjeants of the halbert, (officers of no small consequence, for all the low discipline of the army depends chiefly on them,) so they have right worshipful serjeants of the coif, and terrible ones at arms, and of mace; but they say there never was a volunteer in the *militia togata*. Nay, not only the council learned in the law abounded in the specific eloquence of the bar; but I saw half a dozen of books in my attorney's room, with five-hundred dozen of hard words in them, which he assured me were his necessary tools to work with; precedents and forms, I think he called them.

My Lord, there are two books about Ancient History which I have read, Plutarch's Lives and Rollin; and in those, I find that one Lucullus read himself into a general, and that a famous Scipio was constantly reading Xenophon's Cyrus; and Morrison assures us, that Sir Charles Blount studied his military skill in books, not in armies; that he vastly outshone Norris, Essex, and all the great Martinet generals; and therefore he always carried his books along with him to the camp, as his most valuable equipage, and lodged them in his own tent. The late Prince Eugene left an huge library behind him, and his Grace of Argyle and General Dormer, they say, have choice collections; and I am told, that, in France, it is a custom for every officer almost to write his own memoirs.

But in this assertion, my Lord, that discipline is the life of an army, I shall have the public voice on my side; and that, according to the several degrees of that discipline, such is the vigour and health of armies, to so vast a difference, that ten-thousand Athenians might easily be an overmatch for three hundred-thousand Persians at Marathon; as Rollin assures me they were. I have read the story long ago, and lately the poem of Leonidas,⁴ and with both I am delighted. To what was that invincible greatness of

⁴ [By Glover; which passed through four editions in the first year of its publication, and is now as undeservedly slighted as it was then extravagantly praised.]

mind owing? To their being bred up according to Lycurgus's rules, in Sparta, that tamer of men, all whose pupils feared more to transgress the laws, than to attempt to conquer all the world combined to force them so to do; as Demaratus said, and as Leonidas acted. Thus it was, and thus it continued for six or seven hundred years, (as Plutarch and Rollin tell me,) till one Lycander's ambitious schemes and fatal victories, brought Persian, Sicilian, and Athenian wealth and luxury into Sparta; which, in about a score of years or so, annihilated all their former valour with their other virtues. A most virtuous Theban beat them at Leuctra with a much smaller number, and they became the most dissolute nation in Greece, and the most litigious; for, such as the polity at home, such is the conduct and discipline abroad; such as the citizens, such are the soldiers.

Nor is a good polity to be established or preserved only by advice, and the reason of the thing; it can prevail upon no other principles but that of a rigorous execution of obedience; an early, strict, and constant discipline; and, if possible, that they should see or know nothing else, till this national education become easy and natural; that all virtue was supposed to consist therein, and all the glory, strength, and happiness of the Commonwealth, as it was in Sparta. Children cannot understand the reasons and grounds of virtue; grown persons, who are at their own disposal, will not pursue virtuous schemes merely from advice, unless they have been reconciled to them by a long and early practice: it is authority only and restraint, that can unite a large number of men in any uniform system of life; but above all men, the Infidel and Free-thinker are to be restrained with bitt and bridle, lest they fall upon thee, for they are like horse or mule, having no understanding; or, as is fully expressed in the xxvith chapter of Proverbs, 'A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back.' As I take it, my Lord, the word fool has a moral sense also, and signifies a scoundrel as well as a blockhead, in all the writings of Solomon and David. I profess I never read the 10th verse of St. Jude's epistle, but it brings in full view before my eyes every Deist, every Infidel of my acquaintance: 'But these speak evil of those things, which they know not: but what they know naturally as brute beasts; in those things they corrupt themselves.' I shall never forget an observation of my first Colonel, now General Clayton; that, whatever opinion he had slightly entertained of some smart Free-thinking blades in the city, he had none at all of their military capacity in the camp, unless it were in a sutler's tent or a brothel; that all of that Infidel stamp he ever knew, were luxurious, lazy, mutinous, noisy companions, impetuous in drunken brawls, (for their valour always required a bottle to whet it,) and then Dulcinea's beauty was a sounder cause of war, than the Spanish depredations in America. I have been assured, that the most noted Breteur, about London, ran down under hold, in the Dutch war, and roared out all the time the great guns did; but, as soon as that battle was over, swore he would never go to sea again, and that he would fight any man on shore, who should but dare to whisper what he had done on shipboard; and I have been also assured, that a whole hell-fire club was actually put to flight, and chased out of the house, by a goose dropped down a chimney that was on fire, within at most twenty miles of Dublin, and about that number of years since.

Your Lordship has a very remarkable and melancholy observation in the seventeenth page, in these words: 'And, in effect, for several years past, while the reverence for our church and religion hath been decaying and wearing off from the minds of men, it may be observed, that loyalty hath lost ground in proportion; and, now, the very word seems quite forgotten. Submission for conscience, as well as for wrath, was once reckoned an useful lesson; but now, with other good laws, is laid aside, as an obsolete prejudice.'

My Lord, I agree so thoroughly with you, that I do not conceive how a bad Christian can make a good subject, nor how a bad subject can possibly make a good Christian; therefore I could never be prevailed on to drink to the pious memory of old Huntington, (though I am told, some heroes often do it on their bare knees, with great devotion, and to the

mighty edification of the company;) because I take it to be against some express acts of parliament, as well as the general tenour of our laws. I have long remarked, that they who hold loose principles, as to one kind of government, carry on the same to every other sort; and no more allow divine institutions and ordinances in the church, than in the state; and another small observation I have made, that these men generally exact the most implicit subjection, both in their families, and every other degree of power in their hands. All which, I think, may be easily accounted for; that they, whose pride sets them above ordinances, should hold all other men indispensably obliged to the observance of theirs.

This, my Lord, brings me to the impudent and senseless clamour of persecution. Atheism implies no religion, it would tolerate none; therefore, whatever forbearance the professors of one religion might expect from those of another, they are all to unite against a common enemy, a ravenous wolf who attacks all flocks alike, as hating the whole species, not the property only of any particular man or society. No man can have any tolerable pretence to speak blasphemy, or treason; such discourse must proceed from the propense malice of the heart; and why should not the petulant tongue be restrained from railing either at God, or the King; or punished for doing it? Mr. Salkeld, the worthy chaplain of Colonel Blakeny's regiment, who has been at Jerusalem, assures us, that a man would be impaled in Turkey, for such outrageous blasphemy against the person and religion of Christ, as is frequently, of late, used with all imaginable safety in these countries of liberty. I protest, my Lord, I am as much against persecution as any man living; but as the point, in debate at present, is only, whether a negative may not be imposed, a mere silence enjoined on a few topicks, for the peace of society, without the imputation of tyranny; it is what I would be gladly resolved in. I would not, had I power, go about to convert Mahometans, Jews, Pagans, &c. by the sword, croisades, fire, and faggot, with Rome, Spain, Portugal, and Presbytery; but should any Jew, Mahometan, Pagan, or Infidel, thrust himself into the churches of Christians (which are set apart for, and they assembled together, to worship their God and Saviour therein) and revile him whom they adore, and disturb them in doing it. I think that such an one deserves to die the death; and that God will not hold that magistrate guiltless, who does not vindicate the honour of the Lord his God, so far as the laws impower and require him so to do. Your Lordship has shewn, that mathematicks are useful to artificers of every sort; suppose then, that it were made penal to rail at Euclid's Elements, to form cabals against studying them, running into the schools where they are taught, reviling the teachers, and disturbing the learners; until such reformers condescended to understand them, at least, if not to be capable of demonstrating their falsity, and substituting better in their place; pray, my Lord, where would be the cruelty of all this? Not to insist a little on the decency of treating with a little complaisance that which was thought the wisdom of their ancestors, and is still the law of their country. I can't help thinking, that the world owes its subsistence to the struggle which the few virtuous men in it make, against the universal prevalence of vice. Let us suppose an universal practice of every Christian virtue; would not the condition of mankind be much more safe and delightful, than it is at present? Let us suppose every man universally abandoned to every vice; would it not bring an hell upon earth? Could mankind be easy, could it subsist at all in such a state? Thus, we see, the Infidel is to be restrained from undoing himself, as well as others; and from tearing down the fences which secure his property, his own ease and pleasure, as much as those of every other man: for your Lordship has well observed, that there can be no such thing as wealth, any more than learning or virtue, in the mere savage state of nature; so that the Infidel would soon find himself the miserable victim of his own project, were it suffered to go on. The law will condemn a man for setting fire designedly to his own house; and I knew a person who was sent to St. Lazare in Paris, for attempting to murder himself; and in a few weeks proper diet and discipline, he returned to so sound a mind, that he found security for his future peaceable behaviour, and was restored to his liberty.

All that ever I could hear any of these Infidels chatter against religion, was some indigested stuff about mysteries, and articles of hard belief, concerning which, and other grounds of credibility, they never bestowed one serious thought; for, if they had, they could not fail to assent to the highest reasonableness of receiving for truths things proposed to them by the Divine veracity; though all mankind must own, that they have not faculties to comprehend the whole physical and moral essence of God. Nay, I have heard learned men say, that no philosopher understands the essence even of the things he is most conversant about; nor what makes continuity, why grass is green, and a multitude of other properties in those, and every thing else, which we shall never be able to discover; but let us view his plain rational creed, and, I persuade myself, that we shall find it composed throughout of unintelligible difficulties, and contradictions in every article of it. The Atheist tells me, that the world and we have been making one another from all eternity, but that religion and government are of a much later date; for that, immediately after the great showers of men, which used to fall in the Isle of Pines, time out of mind, or that used to start up from the ground, when it was manured by proper prolific rains, (for their philosophy differs a little in that small circumstance,) those same casual, or upstart fellows, fell a knocking one another's brains out, as soon as ever they popped up their heads: that this savage custom prevailed a huge while, till, at last, one wiser than the rest appeared, who roared out his prologue as loud as ever he could bawl, as he was descending gracefully in his cloud, or like old Jack Falstaff, rising gradually to mount the stage, (for their historians relate it both ways,) 'O yes, O yes, silence there, a truce, a truce:' and so he laid before them the uncomfortableness of that short life of theirs, and the great advantage of society; that man, from his many wants, was plainly designed for a sociable animal, but that, if they continued to slay each other, as soon as they came into life, they could never try the experiment how long, and how merrily they might live; therefore, he advised them to a suspension of arms, that for the future, they should choose to come into the world with the help of a couple of parents, (as the folks of all the other nations of animals did,) whom, with a little management, they might make their slaves, or the instruments of their diversion; as we try it with great success in stags, bucks, hares, foxes, &c. and other nations in wolves, bears, and wild boars: and I have been told, that the Mogul's court never makes so fine an appearance as at a grand lion-hunting, and the French King at a grand hawking, or setting. The orator further proposed, that in order to this, they should appoint committees to frame languages, that they might be able to chat with one another, and to carry on their affairs by free conferences, rather than club musket; besides the great comfort of making love in fine speeches to the fair-sex: that other committees should be appointed to invent all the arts necessary for the convenience and pleasure of life, and, in short, for whatever they had a mind to; and that, if they did not like it after trial, they might renew the war, whenever they pleased: that, if they would not all of them come into this, for their own sakes, he devised such as were of sounder minds, and more comfortable dispositions, to range themselves on his side, and exert at least equal valour in a much better cause, in defence of the liberty and property of human nature; which the mere heroes were for overthrowing, only for the pleasure of hacking and hewing, whereby they would justly forfeit all their pretensions even to life itself. On this harangue they all put up their swords, shook hands together, signed the original contract, and fell to execute all the other parts of the scheme. Hence (pursues the Atheist) it is evident, that the state of nature is a state of war, that the majority is the true decider of right and wrong, that *vox populi* is the only *vox Dei* that should be suffered to speak, and that it ought always to be revered as such. But the Deist pretends to mend it a little: he says, that a God had some hand in making the universe, but none in governing it, for that were needless, man having reason enough to find out what is fit to be done in all cases; so that to tell what his reason knows already, is not worth while, and to tell him what his reason does not know, must never go down. But that the wise architects of this noble system, considering that there would be mobs in the world, on the future increase of mankind, (for at first they were all Duke

Trinculo's, every one of them,) whom it would be convenient to keep in awe, with some shrewd device; invented religion, and notions of heaven and hell in a life after this: that, in pursuance of this piece of politicks, they chose gods to worship, planets, kings, living and dead, their pictures, and every thing in nature, for emblems of such; but that none ever thought of making God Almighty one of them, till a despicable people, at his own request, chose him on a mountain called Horeb, where they made a contract with each other; the people of course, reserving their original power of revocation or dislike of the administration, which they often exerted in favour of Baal, Rimmon, Moloch, &c. This ingenious system was the fruit of all the studies in divinity, law, philosophy, and politicks of one Tindall, who was a furious renegado from religion to popery, in King James's time; but, when the revolution, in 1688, had blasted the avowed design of carrying on that cause by storm, he soon went a step further; and, taking a more silent way, he declared for the rights of mankind against priest-craft, and proceeded ever after against the church by the sap, and intelligence with traitors, if he could find or make any such within her walls. I have heard from a confidant of the great Bishop Burnet, who had it from his Lordship's own mouth, that he was credibly informed at the very time, in Rome, that Innocent the Eleventh had a most despicable opinion of that prince's understanding, and declared with much heat, "That he should never play a game for him; he, who began it by shewing all his hand, and bragging what feats he would do, and yet threw all the cards up to his antagonist, because he lost a trick or two by his own fault, and then vamped fairly off with himself." I have really been told by very sober men, and good judges, that there are many popish strokes in that same book of Tindall's, called 'the Rights of the Christian Church;' insomuch that I cannot help having some fears, that if genuine Christians were once clearly rooted up, Popery, or Fanaticism, might be raised instead of it. I dread the omen, and hope that our magistrates will join, to a man, on the Lord's side, to avert it; for magistrates and parents must be told, that they are not only guilty of their own sins, but of other men's also; unless they exert their utmost abilities to prevent or redress them by proper instruction or correction. Why should the voice of authority be a moment silent in the cause of religion? I have heard, that *inter arma silent leges*; but we have had a long calm; so that I cannot see the least pretence for entering into the shortest cessation of hostilities against his infernal mightiness, or having measures to keep with any of his confederates.

I declare, my Lord, I can meet with no satisfaction in the infidel schemes; nor can I conceive any more safety in these originals, of what they call religion, law, or government, than the Trojans found in bringing an huge wooden-horse with a belly full of armed Greeks, within their walls to garrison the city. So far from any thing of light or order in their schemes, that they are bound up in chains of darkness; of darkness that may be felt; where they lie far exiled from the eternal Providence. But I easily and clearly understand this, that sin is the transgression of a law, and that without a law there could be no transgression. I have examined my own nature, as much as ever I could; and, if by that, I can make any estimate what sort of a thing human nature is, I find it utterly incapable of inventing its own knowledge; as much so, as of creating his own existence, or forming all its other faculties and powers. I remember who taught me every scrap of that little I know, and I doubt not, but, in your Lordship's vast reading, you could name the authors which furnished you with it all. Therefore, since I find that all nations, in all ages, from the beginning, have placed all hopes of pardon of sin, in the substitution of some other creature to suffer in their stead; and that this could not possibly be the result of human reason, because it is neither reasonable, nor indeed intelligible, in any other view, but that of its institution; as a type of the death of the Son of God: therefore, I say, that this universal observance of expiatory sacrifices, and of a priesthood to offer them up, is an authentic record of the divine original of both; as also that salvation through Jesus Christ, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Jesus Christ, 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever,' is the only rational religion of human nature, the only one that fits it: for I am sure, that infinite series of matter and

motion, plastic forms, moral senses, fitnesses, and relations, eternally and immutably going on right; for (according to these profound philosophers and divines) God himself cannot act contrary to, nor break through the unchangeable nature of these relations, unless when men overturn them, wherein consists all their moral evil. All this stuff, I say, can satisfy no understanding, can quiet no conscience; and as to moral evil, however man and it have become acquainted, I do not see how they can ever be separated again, by any of these men's schemes: I see no other deliverance from the 'body of this death,' but in that victory obtained over sin and death by our Saviour Jesus Christ. And for any schemes, but the revealed will of God, I disclaim them in the words of Moses, Deut. xxix. 29. 'The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed, belong unto us, and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.'

My Lord, I have seen a book, called '*Religio Medici*;' I have read, and was well pleased with one, called 'the Gentleman's Religion,' and have seen 'the Christian Hero;' and I could wish to see a very good one, with a title of 'the Soldier's Religion.' Our life here is called the Christian warfare, God is the Lord of Hosts, and Christ the great Captain of our salvation, into whose faith I was baptized; and 'under whose banner I am sworn manfully to fight against sin, the world, and the devil; and to continue his faithful soldier and servant unto my life's end.' And God grant that I may keep this solemn vow! which if I do, now in the time of this mortal life; while I am a member of the church militant here in earth; I know that 'he is faithful and just to forgive me my sins,' and to make me a member of the church triumphant in heaven, which he has purchased to himself, by the all-sufficient merits of his blood-shedding: in which blessed communion of saints, that I may participate, I request your Lordship's prayers, though unknown to you.

I am sincere, though inconsiderable,

and very much,

my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble Servant.

A Declaration of the Quene's Majestie, Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Quene of England, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defendor of the Fayth, &c. Conteyning the Causes which have constrained her to arme certeine of her Subjectes, for Defence both of her owne Estate, and of the moste Christian Kyng, Charles the Nynth, her good Brother, and his Subjectes. Septemb. 1562.

Imprinted at London, in Powle's Churchyarde, by Rycharde Jugge and John Cawood, Printers to the Quene's Majestie.

Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

[Quarto, containing Thirteen Pages, Black-letter.]

This political Queen, Elizabeth, having discovered that great endeavours were carrying on by the Papists to restore their religion by force of arms, under a pretence of the Queen
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of Scotland's title to the crown of England; and that the Duke of Guise was to assist her rebellious subjects with a French army, to execute their treason; and that the Duke of Guise, with the Cardinal of Lorraine, had engaged the King of Navarre, or Anthony of Bourbon, to their support; with a promise to guarantee to the said King the crown of England, if he would assist in dethroning Elizabeth: she resolved to support the French Huguenots, in opposition to the Guises, and procured for them a favourable edict, called, 'The Edict of January.'

The Duke of Guise, penetrating into the Queen's intentions, concerted and assisted in the execrable massacre of Vassy: which at once deprived the Queen Regent of France, and her son the King, of their liberty; and obliged the Huguenots, or French Protestants, to desire succours from Queen Elizabeth; promising to put her in possession of Havre de Grace, till she had Calais restored to the crown of England.

The Queen, glad of this opportunity to declare against the Guises, agrees to furnish them with an hundred-thousand crowns, and six-thousand foot; and then published the following declaration, or manifesto.

ALTHOUGH the myserable and afflicted estate of the realme of Fraunce is to be lamented of all Chrystien princes and nacions, and requyrethe som good remedie; not only for preservation of the Kyng there, with the Quene his mother, and the subjectes of that realme from danger and ruyne; but also for the staye of the reste of Christendome in peace, and to be free from the lyke cyvyle warre; into the whiche, as it appeareth by these straunge dealinges in the sayde realme, it is meant the same shall fall: yet there is no prince, that hath more juste cause to have regarde herunto, nor that hath more indifferently and earnestly intended the recovery of quietnesse and accomde therin, than the Quene's Majestie of this realme of Englande; both by her owne gracious disposition, and by advyse of her councell. For, (as the matter is nowe playnly discovered to the worlde, and as her Majestie hath proved the same sufficientlye by her owne late experience,) she is not only touched, as other princes ought to be, with great compassion and commiseration, for the unnaturall abusyng of the French Kyng, her good brother, by certen of his subjectes; the daunger of his person and his bloud; the lamentable and barbarous destruction, havocke, and spoyle of so manye Chrystien innocente people beyonde all measure: but her Majestie also evidently seeth before her eyes, that yf some good remedye be not, by God's goodnesse, provided in season; the very fyre, that is nowe kindeled and dispersed there, is purposely ment and intended to be conveyed and blowen over, to inflame this her crowne and her realme. Whiche greate peryll, although it be so playnly sene to all wyse and provident men, both at home and abroad, that they can not mislyke her care and providence to remedye the same in tyme; yet hath her Majestie thought not unmeete to notifie some parte of her dealynges herin, so as it shall well appeare howe sincerely her Majestie hath both hytherto proceeded with her neyghbours, and how playnly and uprightly she is determined to continue.

Fyrst, It hath ben well sene to the worlde, howe well disposed her Majestie was, even at the beginning of her raigne¹, to the restitution of peace to Christendome; that, for love therof, was contented to forbear for certein yeres, the restitution of a portion² of her auncient dominion; when all other parties to the same peace, with whom, and by whose alliaunce her crowne susteyned losse, were immediatly restored to the most parte of their owne in possession. And yet, it can not be forgotten, within howe short a space, or rather no space after, and by whom, and upon howe greate, evidente, and juste causes (aswell by meanes of force and armes first taken, as by other open attemptes agaynst her Majestie) she was constrained to prepare like armes of defence only, even for her whole crowne and kingdome; and joyntly therewith for the safetie of her nexte neyghbours³ from a playne

¹ 1 Apryl, 1550. The peace made at Casteau, in Cambresy.

² The towne of Callayse, which was to be restored to the Quene of Englande.

³ The Scots.

tirramye. And also, howe sincerely her Majestie proceeded therein⁴; firste, by sundry requestes and meanes made to forbear their attemptes; next, by open declaration of her intent to be onely for defence of her selfe, and by the whole handelyng of the matter; and, lastly, by the event and issue of the cause all the worlde hath clerely understande.

After which daungerous troubles pacified, the Quene of Scottes, at her returne to her countreye, felyng the greate commoditie herof folowyng, both to her selfe and her realme, and understanding the sincere dealyng of the Quene's Majestie in all her former actions, dyd by divers meanes geve signification to her Majestie, of a greate desire to enter with her into a strayghter kynde of amitie: wherunto her Majestie, being of her owne nature much enclined, redely accorded. And howe farre and prosperously they both proceeded therein, by many and sundry mutuall offices of frendshippe, aswel the good wyl shewed by her Majestie to the Quene of Scottes uncles, the Guyses, and to all her frendes and ministers, passyng and repassyng through this her realme; as also the accomde of the enterview intended betwixt them both, this last sommer⁵, hath well declared.

But in the midst of these her Majestie's quiet and peacyble determinations, she hath ben, to her great grieve, utterly disapoynted; and constraind, for her owne interest, to attende and intermedle in the pacification of these great troubles in Fraunce neare to her realme, the same beyng styrrd up by suche, as both were her laste manifest greate enemies, and have also (they know howe) continued the cause of mistrust tyl this day, by manifest argumentes of injustice, which her Majestie is content to conceale, for the great affection that she beareth to the Scottysse Quene. Fyrste, her Majestie at the beginning, (doubting, by the encrease of these Frenche troubles, that not onely that realme should fall into daunger of ruyne⁶ by division, as it nowe is; but also that the reste of Christendome, and specially her owne realme, both for the nearenesse thereto, and for the respectes of them which were the principall aucthous and parties in these troubles, shoulde be also disturbed and brought to daunger;) used all the meanes that might be, by messages, by solicitations, by advyse, yea, by a speciall ambassade⁷ of a person of good credite, to have some mediation made betwixt these parties beyng at controversie. But suche was the policie and violence of the one partie in hastye proceeding, even at the firste, as no mediation coulde be harde of, or allowed. And yet coulde not her Majestie discontinue her good intent; but, seying the cruelties encrease, the bloudsheddyng and murders continue; yea, which was most peryllous, the yonge Kyng, and the Quene his mother, being sodeynlye assayled, and founde without force, were directed and drawen altogether, by the verye aucthous of the troubles, to suffer their name and auctoritie to be abused, even to the kyllinge of the Kyng's owne unarmed innocente people, the spoylyng of his ryche townes, the breakyng of his best advysed edictes, the persecutyng of his owne bloud and his nobilitie, the destroying of his faithfull approved⁸ servauntes, with many suche other heapes of mischiefes; and all these for no other cause, but for the particuler appetites of some, and to breake with violence the ordinaunces⁹ of the realme, specyallye those which were lately devysed by the long and great councell of the realme, both for quietnesse in matters of religion, and for the reliefe of the Kyng's estate divers wayes¹⁰.

And, finally, her Majestie understandyng very certainly of an open destruction and subversion¹¹ there, put already in ure; and lykewyse intended against all states and persons professyng the Gospell abroad; her Majestie thought it very nedefull to thynke of some other meanes of more efficacie, to induce the aucthoures of those troubles to geve eare to some reasonable mocions of accomde, and not to adventure the ruyne of a realme for their particuler appetites; and therefore determined¹² to sende a solempne ambassade

⁴ 20 Apryll, 1560.

⁵ 1562.

⁶ 1 March, 1562. The slaughter of Vassy.

⁷ 29 Aprill, 1562, Syr Henry Sidney, Lord President in Wales.

⁸ Protestant.

⁹ Of the great parliament at Orleans, in Jan. 1560.

¹⁰ The edict of 17 Jan. 1562.

¹¹ The slaughters at Vassy, Paris, Sens, Tholose, Blois, Tours, Angers, and other places, by credible estimation reported out of Fraunce, to the number of an hundred thousand persons, between the 1st of March and the 20th of August last.

¹² 26 July, 1562.

of a certeine numbred of personages of her councell, (being of great auctoritie, experience, and indifferencie,) to repayre into Fraunce, to assay howe some stayer myght be reasonably devysed for these extremities; by preservyng of both partes indifferently, to the service of the Kyng theyr Sovereigne, according to theyr estates of byrth and calling.

But thys maner of proceeding also could no wyse be lyked nor allowed, nether could answer be hadde hereunto from the good yonge Kyng, nor the timorous Quene his good mother, without the onely direction of that part, which both began and continued the troubles from the begynnyng.

And whylest her Majestie was thus well occupied, meanyng principallie the weale and honour of the Kyng, her good brother; and, secondly, well towards both the parties beyng at devision, without the prejudice of eyther; a playne contrary course and proceeding was used agaynst her Majestie, by the whiche was made manifest what was further ment and intended by them that had so often tymes refused to heare her Majestie speake for mediation and accomde. All her Majestie's subjectes and marchauntes, aswell of her cities of London and Excester, as of other porte townes in the west partes of the realme, beyng at that very tyme¹³ in divers partes of the countrey of Bryttayne, (resortyng thither onely for trade of marchaundizes, and ready to returne to theyr owne portes,) were in the same tyme¹⁴ apprehended, spoyled, miserably imprisoned; yea, such as sought to defend themselves, cruelly kyled, theyr shyppes taken, theyr goodes and marchaundize seased, and nothyng sayde nor devysed to charge them, but onely furiously calling them al Hugenots: a word, though very strange and folyshe to many of the honest marchauntes and poore maryners, yet fully sufficient to declare from whence these commaundementes came, and what their intent is to prosecute, when theyr tyme shall serve them. Neither were these spoyles small or few, but in value and numbred greates and many; neither done by private furye, but by publique officers, who were also maintained by governours of the countreys; yea, none of her Majestie's subjectes were there spared; that could be taken, though some escaped with great hazarde. Well; herof complaint was made¹⁵ where it ought to be; but therein hath ben as small regard had, as was before, for robbing of her Majestie's owne messengers with her letters from her embassadour; and yet the fact unpunished, without any satisfaction for the same. Wherin her Majestie surely noteth and pitieth the lacke, rather of auctoritie then of good wyll, in the Kyng, or the Quene his mother, or the Kyng of Navarre his lieutenaut; but seethe manifestly, by this, and by al other proceedinges, in what harde tearmes the estate of the yong Kyng is set, that can neither be permitted to preserve his owne people and servauntes, his owne lawes and ordinaunces; neither to aunswere to other princes and people, in forme of justice, that which he ought to do.

Upon these, and other former daungerous enterprises agaynst her Majestie and her crowne, may it well appeare, to all persons of indifferent judgement, howe these violent proceedinges in Fraunce, conducted at this tyme by the Duke of Guyse and his adherentes, do touch the Quene's Majestie much nearer for her state and realme, then anye other prince of Christendome. Wherefore, seyng the auctoritie of the King, and the Quene his mother, with theyr quiet good counsellours, can not at this tyme have place to direct theyr affayres, neyther towards theyr owne people, nor towards theyr neyghbours; neither can any mediation, sought by her Majestie, for concorde, be allowed; but, contrarywise, the tender persons of the King, and the Quene his mother, be manifestly abused, and daungerously caried about, for the particuler pleasures onely of a few persons, and specially those of Guyse; to wastethe King's countreys, to sacke and spoyle his ryche and greates townes, to kyll and murder the multitude of his good and true subjectes: and, seyng also the quarrell manifestly publyshed and prosecuted, both by wrytyng and otherwyse, by them; is to subvert the whole profession of true¹⁶ religion through Christendome by force, without mercy, and thereby to stirre up a civile bloudy lamentable warre in all Christendome. Lastly, seyng they, whiche be the aucthous and mainteyners of all these divisions, are well knownen to

¹³ 30 July.¹⁴ 19 Aug. 1562.¹⁵ 20 Aug. 1562.¹⁶ Protestant and Evangelical.

the worlde to be the same, that when tyme served them, bent theyr whole endeavours to offend and diminishe the crowne and dignitie of this realme of Englande¹⁷; and of late tyme, for the exaltation of theyr particuler house, devysed unjustly to assaile the whole crowne of Englande¹⁸ by sundrye wayes: though, by God's goodnes, theyr practises and counsels turned, for that tyme, to theyr owne confusion; as, by the same goodnes, they shall at all tymes hereafter.

Howe may her Majestie, without note of manifest unkyndnes to her deare yonge brother and confederat; of unmercifulnes to her next neighbours, his subjectes; of uncarefulnes to the common quiet of Christendome; and, lastly, (whiche is nearest to her selfe,) of mere negligence to the suertie of her owne estate, her countrey, and people, suffer these fewe troublesome men, firste, to destroye and shedde the bloud of a number of Chrystien people, whose bloud, by nearnesse of place to her Majestie's realme, may be stopped, or some wyse saved: nexte, to surprise and take such townes and havens, whereby theyr former long intended and manifest practises agaynst the crowne of this realme may be most easily for them, and daungerously for this realme, put in ure and execution. Wherefore, for these reasonable, evident, urgent, and necessary considerations, (and not without the lamentable and continuall request of the Frenche Kyng's subjectes,) her Majestie's nexte neyghbours, crying to her Majestie onelye for defence of themselves, their portes, and townes, from tyranny and subvertion, duryng this theyr Kyng's minoritie; or, at the least, duryng this his unhabilitie to pacifie these troubles; her Majestie hath put certayne numbres of her subjectes in order, both by sea and land, to save some parte of her good brother's innocent people from this tyranny, slaughter, and ruine; and to preserve some speciall townes and portes of importaunce for the Kyng, her good brother, that they come not into the possession of them; who, yf they hadde them, myght more easely therby prosecute theyr old particuler practises against this realme, as in tymes lately paste they dyd manifestly attempte; wherby of necessitie they muste nedes endaunger the perpetuities of the peace betwixt the Frenche Kyng and her Majestie, and so, consequentelye, though agaynste the meanyng of the Kyng, deprive her Majestie of her good ryght to her towne of Callyce, and the membres thereof, wherof it behoveth her Majestie, as thinges be handled, to have good regarde. And, in this sort, her Majestie doubteth not, but the sinceritie of her doynges, tendyng onely to procure Chrystien quietnes, by saving of Chrystien bloud, shal wel please Almyghtie God; content the Kyng her good brother, when he shal be in estate and libertie, to ponder the same indifferentlye; and serve also for the juste and naturall defence of her selfe, her people, and countreys; and, finallye, by God's grace, shal establyshe the continuaunce of some more assured peace and concorde betwixt both theyr Majesties and countreys, so as eyther of them quietly enjoy and rule theyr own. And, in the meane time, her Majestie assureth the sayde Kyng, the Quene his mother, the Kyng of Navare, and al his good counsellours and subjectes; that, whatsoever anye malicious or miscontented person shall sinisterly report of her intent and doynges; her Majestie meaneth nothing herin, but sincerely, and as the necessitie of the time and cause requireth, without usurpyng any thyng, or doying wrong or violence towards any the Frenche Kyng's subjectes; protesting before God and all the worlde, that her meanyng is for a necessary defence onely of the true and good subjectes of the Frenche Kyng, whiche otherwyse apparantly, in this troublesome tyme, shoulde be violentlye kylled or destroyed: and so, consequentelye, her Majestie intendeth, by al maner of meanes possible, to kepe and continue good peace with the sayde Kyng and all his countreys, and to neglect no reasonable meanes, that may procure libertie to hym selfe, and quietnesse betwixt his subjectes; which then shall succede, when it shall please Almyghtye God to geve to the first and chiefe aucthous¹⁹ of these troubles, grace to content them selves with theyr owne estates, and to lyve within the compasse of theyr degrees, lyke quiet subjectes, and favour-

¹⁷ By denying the restitution of Calice.

¹⁸ From 1560, there were French armies sent by way of Scotlande, and other devyses, to clayme the crowne of Englande, &c.

¹⁹ The Guises.

ers of the common peace and tranquillitie of Christendome: a matter more necessarye at this tyme to be sought for, rather by conjunction of Christen princes and states in unitie of mynde, and love of peace and concorde, then in this sorte by sworde and fyre, by private devises and secrete factions, to stirre a devisiion and civile warre in Christendome, under the cloke and pretence of religion.

A Discoverie of the Treasons practised and attempted against the Queene's Majestie and the Realme, by Francis Throckmorton, who was for the same arraigned and condemned in Guyld-hall, in the Citie of London, the one and twentie Day of May last past, 1584.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-eight Pages.]

The following narration has, in part, been copied both by Holinshed and Camden, yet not without the omission of several useful and necessary particulars to illustrate this part of the English history; which may be supplied, by preserving this true and genuine account, there is sufficient reason to suppose was published by authority.

When this traitor was brought upon his trial, he denied what he had confessed at his examination; affirming, as Stowe relates, that he had invented it on purpose to avoid the rack. But, says Camden, 'after his condemnation, upon the evidence of his own letters to the Queen of Scots, and the papers found in his coffers, he owned all, and even made a more circumstantial declaration than at first;' and yet, in favour to the Queen of Scots, (lest such a confession should influence the people against her liberty,) he again retracted and denied whatever he had confessed; to discover which prevarication, and to prevent any misapprehensions of the justice of his trial and execution, this following true and faithful account was published.

TO the READER.

THERE is in this short discourse delivered unto thee, gentle reader, a true report of the treasons and practises of Francis Throckmorton, and his complices against the Queene's Majestie and the realme; which comming to my handes, by chance, from a gentleman, to whom it was sent into the countrey, I have presumed to commit the same to the print; to the ende, that such as in opinion and conceite are not satisfied, touching the matters proved against him, and the course of proceeding helde with him, might, by the sight thereof, (if trueth and reason may perswade them,) bee resolved of all such doubtes and scruples as have risen by the variable reportes made of the qualitie of his offences, and the maner of dealing used towards him; for the better knowledge whereof, I referre thee to the declaration following, and so commit thee to God.

A Letter sent from a Gentleman of Lions-Inne, to his Friend ; concerning Francis Throckmorton, who was arraigned and condemned of High-treason.

SYR, with my last letters of the first of June, I sent unto you in writing the arraignment of Francis Throckmorton, (penned by a gentleman of good skill and credite, being present at the same,) and because it hath seemed unto me, that here is some scruple in your conceite touching the sufficiencie of the evidence produced against him ; I have, for your better satisfaction, endeavoured to attaine to more particular knowledge thereof, and by the meanes of a secret friend, there is come unto my hands a verie perfect declaration of the whole proceedings, helde by such as were in commission for the examining of him, before his triall, containing the materiall points of the treasons by him confessed ; whereunto there is annexed a submission written by Francis Throckmorton to the Queene's Majestie, the fourth of June, whereby he acknowledgeth that he hath untruly and unduetifully denied his former confessions, and under his own hand-writing hath eftsoones repeated and confessed the same confessions to be true (some fewe things onely detracted, but of no moment) which may, in mine opinion, remooove all matter of doubt or scruple, conceived by you or by any other, of his just condemnation. You know howe well I have always loved the man, and delighted to converse with him, in respect of the good partes, wherewith he was indued, and of the pleasant humour that for the most part did possesse him when hee came in companie of friendes ; yeelding at no time (to my seeing) any shew or suspition, to have been a dealer in matters of that quality ; and therefore, I cannot but pitie his misfortune the more, wishing all men to make profite of his fal, and to note that miserie and calamitie of this kinde doeth for the most part followe such as forget God, to whose protection I committe you.

From Lyon's Inne, the 15 of June, 1584.

Your assured friend.

Q. Z.

A true and perfect Declaration of the Treasons practised and attempted by Francis Throckmorton, late of London, against the Queene's Majestie and the Realme.

WHEREAS there have bene very lewde and slaunderous bruites and reportes given out, of the due and orderly proceedings held with Francis Throckmorton, (lately arraigned and condemned of high treason at the Guild-hall in London the xxi. day of May last,) whereby, such as are evill affected toward her Majestie and the present government, have indevoured falsely and injuriously to charge her Majestie and her faithfull ministers, with crueltie and injustice used against the said Throckmorton ; by extorting from him, by torture, such confessions as he hath made against himselfe, and by inforcing the same to make them lawful evidence to convict him of the treasons therein specified. Albeit, her Majestie's subjects in general, (calling to mind the milde and temperate course she hath helde all the time of her most happie reigne,) might rather impute her clemencie and lenitie, used towards all sortes of offenders, to a kinde of fault, then tax her with the contrarie ; yet such as allowe of practises and treasons against her Majestie, do alwayes interpret both of the one and of the other, according to the particular affections that doe possesse them ; that is, to the worst. And forasmuch as the case of Throckmorton, at this time, hath bene subject to their sinister constructions ; and considering that lies and false bruites cast abroad are most commonly beleaved, until they be controlled by the trueth : it hath bene thought expedient, in this short discourse, to deliver unto your view and consideration, a true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by the

said Throckmorton, against her Majestie and the realme; by him confessed before his arraignment; whereby her Majestie was justly and in reason perswaded to put him to his triall. You shall likewise perceive what course hath bene helde with him by her commissioners, to bring him to confesse the trueth; with what impudencie, and how falsely he hath denied his sayings and confessions. And lastly, how by a new submission and confession of his said treasons (sithens his condemnation) he endevoureth to satisfie her Majestie, and to shew the reasons that mooved him to denie the first, which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last; which may in reason satisfie, though not all, yet such as are not forestalled, or rather forepoysoned and infected with the lies and untruths alreadie spread and delivered, in favour of the traitor and his treasons. You shall therefore understand, that the cause of his apprehension grewe first upon secret intelligence given to the Queene's Majestie, that he was a privie-conveieur and receivour of letters, to and from the Scottish Queene¹; upon which information, neverthesse, divers moneths were suffered to passe on, before he was called to answer the matter; to the end there might some prooffe more apparant be had to charge him therewith directly; which shortly after fell out; and thereupon there were sent unto his houses in London, and at Leusham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, certain gentlemen of no meane credite and reputation; of whom, two were sent to his house by Poule's-wharfe, where he was apprehended, and so by one of them conveyed presently awaye; the other remaining in the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c. which might give prooffe of his suspected practises.

In that search, there were found the two papers containing the names of certain catholique noblemen and gentlemen, expressing the havens for landing of forraigne forces, with other particularities in the said papers mentioned; the one written in the Secretarie hand, which he at the barre confessed to be his owne hand writing; and the other in the Romane hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shewe how the same came unto his hands. Howbeit, in his examinations he hath confessed them both to be his owne hand writing; and so they are in trueth. There were also found, among other of his papers, twelve pedigrees of the discent of the crowne of England, printed and published by the Bishop of Rosse, in the defence of the pretended title of the Scottish Queene, his mistresse; with certaine infamous libelles against her Majestie, printed and published beyond the seas; which being found in the hands of a man so evil affected, comparing the same with his doings and practises against her Majestie, you wil judge the purpose wherefore he kept them.

Shortly after his apprehension, hee was examined by some of her Majestie's privie-counsell, how he came by the said two papers of the havens; and he most impudently denied, with many protestations, that he ever sawe them; affirming they were none of his, but were foisted in (as he termed it) among his papers, by the gentleman, that searched his house. Notwithstanding, being more earnestly pressed to confesse the trueth; he sayd they had been left, he knew not how, in his chamber by a man of his, (who long before was departed out of the realme,) named Edward Rogers, *a'ias* Nuttebie, by whome they were written. And, to make this device to carie some colour of trueth, after his committing to the Tower; he found the meanes to get three cards, on the backside of which cardes he wrote to his brother George Throckmorton, to this effect: 'I have bene examined, by whom the two papers, containing the names of certaine noblemen and gentlemen, and of havens, &c. were written; and I have alleaged them to have bene written by Edward Nuttebie, my man, of whose hand writing you knowe them to be:' meaning, by this device, to have had his brother confirme his falsehood. These cardes were intercepted, and thereby the suspition before conceived of his practises increased; whereupon, as upon other just cause and matter against him, having bin sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of her Majestie's most honorable privie-counsell, and by them with all industrie examined, and perswaded in very milde and charitable maner, to confesse the trueth; promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would bewray the

¹ Mary.

depth of his practises : but no persuasion prevailing, her Majestie thought it agreeable with good pollicie, and the safetie of her royal person and state, to commit him over to the hands of some of her learned counsel, and others her faithfull servants and ministers, with commission to them, to assay by torture to drawe from him the trueth of the matters appearing so waightie as to concerne the invading of the realme, &c. These men, by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the counsell had formerly done, by way of persuasion, to induce him to confesse ; but, finding that course not to prevaile, they were constrained to commit him to such as are usually appointed in the Towre to handle the racke, by whom he was layd upon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much ; for, at the end of three days following, he had recovered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking, which if it had then or any other time bene ministred unto him with that violence, that hee and his favourers have indevooured slaunderously to give out, the signes thereof would have appeared upon his limmes for many yeeres. At this first time of torture, he would confesse nothing ; but continued in his former obstinacie and deniall of the trueth. The second time that he was put to the racke, before hee was strayned up to any purpose, hee yeelded to confesse any thing he knewe, in the matters objected against him ; whereupon he was loosed, and then the commissioners proceeded with him according to such interrogatories as had bene delivered unto them, which for the more brevity shall here bee omitted : the intent of this declaration tending onely to discover unto you the treasons, and treacherous dealings of the said Francis Throckmorton, aswell before as sithens his imprisonment ; for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and just proceedings held with him by her Majestie's commissioners, appointed to that service. And here you are to note, that when hee was first pressed to discover by whome the plottes of the havens were sette downe, and to what purpose ; he began (without any further interrogation ministred) by way of an historicall narration, to declare that at his being at Spaw in the countrie of Leige certaine yeres past, he entred into conference with one Jenney, a notorious known traitor, touching the altering of the state of the realme here ; and how the same might be attempted by forraine invasion ; and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with Sir Francis Englefield² in the Low-countries, who (daily solicited the Spanish King in Spaine, and his governours in the said countreyes, to attempt the invading of the realme,) continued a course of practising against her Majestie and the state, by letters betweene Sir Francis Englefield and himselfe, untill within these two yeres last past ; and that he did, from time to time, acquaint Sir John Throckmorton³, his late father, with his traiterous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probabilitie of successe in them, dissuaded him from any further meddling with those practises.

He hath further confessed, that he used his father's advise and opinion in setting downe the names of the Catholique noblemen and gentlemen ; and did acquaint him with the description of the havens for the landing of forces, which he conceived, and put in writing, onely by view of the mappe, and not by particular sight or survey of the said havens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that upon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betweene Sir Francis Englefield and him, he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throckmorton, by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan, by letters, (two of the principall confederates and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scottish Queene and her confederates in France, and in other forreine partes, and also in Englande, for the invading of the realme.

That the Duke of Guyse should be the principal leader and executer of that invasion.

That the pretention, which shoulde be publicquely notified, should be to deliver the Scottish Queene to libertie, and to procure, even by force, from the Queene's Majestie, a tolerance in religion, for the pretended Catholiques : but the intention (the bottome whereof

² Who had been of Queen Mary's Privy-Council.

³ Chief-justice of Chester ; but lately put out of the commission ; Camden, p. 497.

should not at the first be made known to all men,) should be, upon the Queene's Majesty's resistance, to remove her Majesty from her crowne and state.

That the Duke of Guyse had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, money, and the assistance of a convenient partie in England, to joyne with the forraine forces; and a third thing, how to set the Scottish Queene at libertie without perill of her person.

For the first thing wanting, viz. money; messengers were sent from forraine parts both to Rome and Spaine, and their returne daily expected to their liking. And the Spanish Ambassador⁴, to encourage the English to joyne both in purse and person, did give out, that the King his master would not onely make some notable attempt against Englande, but also would bear halfe the charge of the enterprize. For the seconde thing, viz. the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receive and to joyne with the forraine forces; one especiall messenger was sent over into England in August last, under a counterfaite name, from the confederates in France, to signifie the plotte and preparation there, and to sollicit the same here.

That Thomas Throckmorton, his brother, made him privie to his negotiation, at his last being here in England; and that thereupon Frauncis Throckmorton tooke upon him to be a follower, and meane, for the effectuating thereof, among the confederates in England, with the help of the Spanish Ambassadour; whom he instructed howe, and with whome to deale, for the preparing of a convenient partie heere within the realme: for that himselfe would not be seene to be a sounder of men, lest hee might be discovered, and so endanger himselfe and the enterprize; knowing that the Ambassadour, being a publique person, might safelie deale therein without perill.

That the Duke of Guyse, and other heads of the enterprize, had refused some landing places, and made speciall choice of Sussex, and about Arundel in Sussex; both for the neere cutte from the parts of Fraunce, where the Duke did, or best could assemble his force; and for the opportunitie of assured persons to give assistance, &c.

That hee, taking upon him the pursuite of this course, shewed the whole plotte and devise of the havens for landing to the Spanish Ambassadour, who did encourage him therein; he promising, that if hee might have respite untill the next spring, the same should be done more exactly.

That, at the time of Thomas Throckmorton's being here, (lest the negotiation of the enterprize, by some casualtie, might faile in the only hand of one man, Thomas Throckmorton,) there was also, from the confederates, sent over into Sussex, Charles Paget, under the name of Mope, *aldis* Spring; and thereof an advertisement covertly was sent to Thomas Throckmorton, both that Thomas might understande it, and not be offended that another was joined with him in his labour.

That the Spanish Ambassadour, by advertisements from the confederates, was made privie to this coming of Charles Paget, under the name of Mope, and yet knowne to him to be Charles Paget.

That the sayde Ambassadour did, according to his sayde advertisements, knowe and affirme, that Charles Paget was come over to view the havens and countrey for landing of such forraine forces about Arundell; and specially to sound and conferre with certaine principall persons for assistance.

The same ambassadour also knewe and affirmed, that Charles Paget had accordingly done his message, and had spoken with some principall persons heere, according to his commission, and was returned.

Hee moreover confessed, that there was a device betweene the Spanish Ambassadour and him; howe such principall recusants here within the realme, as were in the commission of the peace in sundrie counties, might (upon the first bruite of the landing of forraine forces,) under colour and pretext of their authoritie, and the defence of her Majesty,

⁴ Mendoza, who upon this information was desired to come to the council; where, not being able to gainsay what Throckmorton had deposed, he behaved very insolently by way of recrimination, and was in a few days after ordered to depart the kingdom. Camden.

levie men, whome they might after joyne to the forraine forces, and convert them against her Majestie.

In these fewe articles is briefly comprised the whole effect of his confession, made at large; without any interrogatorie particularly ministred, other then upon the two papers before mencioned, containyng the names of men and havens. And heere you are to note, that at the time of his apprehension, there was no knowledge or doubt had of these treasons, or of his privitie unto them, but onely an information and suspition delivered and conceived of some practise betweene him and the Scottish Queene, as is before mentioned. For the discovering whereof, after he had bene sundrie times, upon his alleagaunce, commanded to declare his doings, in conveying and receyving of letters to and from her; he did voluntarily confesse, that he had written divers letters unto her, and had conveyed many to and fro, betweene her and Thomas Morgan in Fraunce, by whose meanes he was first made knowne unto her; and that he had received as many letters from her. Hee also declared the effect of his letters to her, and of hers to him: which letters betweene them were alwaies written in cipher; and the cipher, with the nullities and markes for names of princes and counsailors hee sent unto the Queene's Majesty, written with his own hand. He also delivered the names of some, by whome hee conveyed his letters to the Scottish Queene, as by one Godfrey Fulgeam, (who fled the realme immediately upon Throckmorton's apprehension,) and one other person, whom he described by his stature, shape, and apparell; and the man, sithens apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same. The man's name is William Ardington.

The summe and effect of the most part of these confessions, although they were, at the time of his arraignment, opened and dilated by her Majestie's sergeant, attorney, and solicitor-generall, at the barre; and therefore seeme not needfull to be repeated heere; yet, because the purpose of this discourse is to shew sufficient prooffe, that the matters contained in his sayde confessions, are neither false nor fayned, (as Frauncis Throckmorton most impudently affirmed at his triall; alleadging, that they were meere inventions of himselfe, by policie to avoyde the torture,) they have bene here inserted, to the ende you may the better judge of the proofes, presumptions, and circumstances folowing, by comparing the matters with their accidents, and consequently see the falsehoode of the traitor, the just and honourable proceedings of her Majestie, and the honest and loyall endeavours of her ministers employed in the discovering of the treasons.

First, it is true, and not denied by himselfe, that he was at Spaw, about the time by him mencioned, and had conference with Jenney in that place, and with Sir Francis Englefield in Flaunders; and that he hath written letters to Sir Frauncis, and received letters from him. For, if he should denie the same, he were to be convinced by good prooffe; for it hath bin noted in him, by many of his countrey-men, English subjects, that both in those parts and in Fraunce, he did continually associate himselfe with English rebels and fugitives. If then, you consider with whome he hath conversed beyond the seas, and compare his religion with theirs, you will judge of his conversation accordingly: and it is to be supposed, that those men, known to be continuall practisers against the Queene's Majestie and this realme, from whence, for their treasons and unnaturall demeanures, they are worthily banished, will not, in their conventicles and meetings, forget to bethinke them of their banishment, and howe they might be restored to their countrey, whereunto no desert in her Majestie's life-time (which God long continue!) can well (without her Majestie's great mercie) restore them. Then, I pray you, what conferences might M. Throckmorton have with Sir Francis Englefield, with Jenney, with Liggons, with Owen, and with such like; who were his daily companions in Fraunce, and in the Lowe-countries? He hath written letters to Sir Frauncis Englefield: To what purposes? He haunted continually two ambassadours in London, by whose meanes he sent and received letters to and from beyond the seas daily. To whom, and from whom? Even to and from Thomas Morgan and Thomas Throckmorton, at Paris; men known to her Majestie and her counsell, to be notorious practisers, very inward with the Duke of Guyse, and contrivers of the treasons and devises for the invasion intended. And, for very certaine knowledge

thereof, we neede not be beholding to Frauncis Throckemorton onely, although he hath said much of them,) but to others of better credite then himselfe.

That the Duke of Guyse did undertake the enterprize to invade the realme with a forraine power, to be defrayed by the Pope and King of Spaine, (a part of M. Throckmorton's confession, and he, in trueth, the first discoverer thereof to her Majestie :) If he will say that it was but invention, it will approve false. For, sithens he discovered the same, there have bene divers advertisements thereof sent to her Majesty from forraine princes, (her Highnesse loving neighbours and allies,) as also by other good meanes and intelligences from her ambassadours and servants residing in other countries.

If he denie (as he hath done) that he never had knowledge of any such matter, when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of trueth; for Throckmorton was never knowe to be a prophet to foretell things *de futuro*⁵.

He resorted often to the Spanish Ambassadour, at least twice in a week, when he was in London. This often repayre could not be to conferre with the Ambassadour for the exchange of money for his brother, as he pretended at his arraignment; there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a casket covered with green velvet, very cunningly conveyed out of his chamber by a maide servant of the house, taken up under a bed's side in his chamber, (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber, and unknowing thereof;) which casket, not long after his apprehension, was, by one John Meredith (a follower of Frauncis Throckmorton) conveyed to the handes of the Spanish Ambassadour. And why to him? If the matters therein might well have abidden the light, why shoulde not the casket have bene kept still at home? And if not there; why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanish Ambassadour? It is to be conceived, that this casket was not conveyed thither without the direction of Frauncis Throckmorton, though caried by Meredith, who did well knowe of what moment the matters were, that were within the casket, and of what danger to Throckmorton, if they had bene disclosed; and therefore meant to bestowe them in a safe place, where they could not readily be had, as he thought, and with a person not unacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliverie of the casket, Meredith fledde; for, in trueth, he was privie to the treasons, and a fellowe practiser in them; to whom Frauncis Throckmorton, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to runne up a staire to deface a letter which he was then in writing to the Scottish Queene in cipher, as he hath confessed, being suddenly apprehended, and so forced to depart away presently out of his house, delivered privily, into the hands of Meredith, either the cipher by which he was writing his letter to the Scottish Queene, or a letter in cipher by him written unto her; therefore he trusted Meredith, as a man privie to his doings. You are also to understande, that Throckmorton was in very great fear of the discovering of this casket, after his apprehension; for, remayning two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Tower, he was permitted to talke with a solicitor of his lawe causes; who brought him certaine bookes drawn, or other like papers written, which he made shewe to peruse. But that was not the matter why he sent for his solicitor: for, in perusing the bookes, he conveyed into them a little piece of paper, upon the which he had written with a cole, "I would faine know whether my casket be safe;" or to the like effect. The solicitor departing from him, and resorting to Trockmorton's house, not farre distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this piece of paper, which he took up and delivered to one of Frauncis Throckmorton's men, but the casket was alreadie conveyed to the Spanish Ambassadour. Whereby you will perceive what care he had of the casket, and how much it might import him to have the writings, or matters within the same, concealed. He, being examined touching the casket, and what was in the same, he denied, at the first, that ever he had any such casket; but, finding afterwards that the casket was discovered, he con-

⁵ i. e. to come.

essed the casket, and said that there were certaine letters therein, that came to his hands for the Scottish Queene from Thomas Morgan at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed.

That Charles Paget came over into the realme to evill purposes, (as Throckmorton doth declare in his confession,) could not be invented; for, even at the same time that he mentioneth Paget came over in secreet and suspitious manner, staied not above fiftene dayes, indevoured in a sorte to finde the disposition of William Shelley, Esquier, how he might stand affected to give assistance to the treasons, although Paget discovered not directly his traiterous intents to Shelley; therefore all Throckmorton's confessions were not forged or invented.

But, because the two papers, produced at his arraignment, (containing the description of the havens, for the commodious landing of forces,) do most apparantly condemne him, and are a manifest argument of his privy to the whole treason. You may not forget, that he acknowledged one of the papers, written in the Secretarie hand, to have bene of his owne doing, but denyed the other written in the Romane hande; in the which, under the title of Cheshire, &c. is said: 'Upon the landing of forraine supplies, Chester shall be taken.' But what, in your opinions, might be understoode by that sentence, 'Chester shall be taken,' when you shal compare the paper in Secretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled, 'The names of noblemen and gentlemen, in every countie, fitte to bee dealt withall in this matter;' which, in trueth, were both one; although the Romane were somewhat more enlarged. The question is to be asked, 'What matter?' The answer followeth necessarilie, 'To assist the forraine forces that shall come to invade the realme;' for that there is an other title in that paper, over the names of the havens, &c. 'Havens in every coast fitte for the landing of forces.' Now judge you, to what end these names of men, and descriptions of havens, their entries, capacities; what windes bring unto them from Spaine, Fraunce, and Flanders; were written and set downe by Throckmorton. The papers are both of his owne hand-writing, and the Secretarie but a project or copie of the Romane.

Is it not likely, thinke you, that he would acquaint the Spanish Ambassadour with these papers, as he hath confessed, when he made him partaker of the rest of his traiterous practises and devices, as you have heard; and thought his casket of treasons to be most safely committed to his hands? It may bee thought, that there is no man of so simple understanding, that will judge to the contrarie, unlesse he be partially affected to excuse the treasons.

And now, to shew unto you what mynd this man hath carried towards her Majestie; you are to be informed, that Francis Throckmorton, (after he had discovered to her Majestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plain dealing, in the bewraying thereof,) sayd to some of the commissioners, upon occasion of speach, "I woulde I had bene hanged, when I first opened my mouth to declare any of the matters by me confessed." And, being at other times sent unto by her Majestie with offer of pardon, if he would discloase the whole packe and complices of the treasons; he used this argument, to perswade her Majestie that he had confessed all, saying, "That, sithens hee had alreadie brought himselfe, by his confessions, within the danger of the lawes, to the utter ruyne of his house and familie; he wondered why there should be any conceite in her Majestie, that he had not declared all." But, to perswade such as were sent unto him for these purposes, the rather to beleeve that he could discover no more, at one time he used these speaches following with great vehemencie: "Nowe I have disclosed the secrets of her who was the dearest thing to me in the worlde (meaning the Scottish Queene), and whome I thought no torment should have drawen me so much to have prejudiced, as I have done by my confessions; I see no cause why I should spare any one, if I could say ought against him: and, sith I have failed of my faith towards her, I care not if I were hanged." And when he began first to confess his treasons, (which he did most unwillingly,) after hee was entered into the declaration of them, before all the commissioners, upon advisement, hee desired he might deliver his knowledge but to one of them onely; whereunto they yelld:

and thereupon, removing aside from the place where he sate by the racke, he used this pre-
verbe in Italian, *Chi a perso la fede, a perso l' honore*, that is, 'He that hath falsed his faith,
hath lost his reputation.' Meaning thereby, as it may be conceived, that he had given his
faith to bee a traitor, and not to reveile the treasons; and then began to confesse, as you
have heard.

By this discourse, contayning the principall heads of his treasons, and the proofes and
circumstances of the same, you that are not transported with undutifull myndes and
affections, will cleerely perceive howe impudently and untruely he denyed, at his arraigne-
ment, the trueth of his confessions; charging her Majestie with crueltie, and her minis-
ters with untrueths, in their proceedings against him.

But the cause, that moved him thereunto, was a vaine conceite he had taken, that his
case was cleere in lawe, by the intermission of the time betwene his confession made
and his arraignment; grounding himselfe upon a statute of the thirteenth year of her
Majestie's reigne; in the which, there are certaine treasons specified and made, of that
nature, that no person shall be arraigned for any of those offences committed within anie
of the Queene's Majestie's dominions, unlesse the offender be thereof indicted 'within
sixe monthes' next after the same offence committed, and shall not be arraigned for the
same, unlesse the offence be proved by the testimonie and othe of two sufficient witnesses,
or his voluntarie confession without violence; wherein he was greatly deceived; for it
was made manifest unto him by the Lord Chiefe Justice, and other of the judges in
commission at his trial, that his treasons were punishable by a statute of the twenty-fifth
of Edward the Third, which admitted no such limitation of time or proofe.

Herein his skill failed him, and he forgot the advice given unto him by some of the com-
missioners, who (pitying his misfortune for sundrie good gifts of the minde appearing in
him,) assured him, that there was no way so readie for him to redeeme his life, as by sub-
mission and acknowledging of his offence; which, for a time after he had confessed his
treasons, he was contented to followe, and now eftsoones after his condemnation, by a
new submission to the Queene's Majestie the 4th of June, hath resumed that course. The
submission *verbatim*, written with his owne hand, followeth.

‘ To her most excellent Majestie, even to her owne Royall Handes.

‘ **M**OST excellent Prince, and my most gracious Sovereigne, sith to me, the most mi-
‘ serable of all your Majestie's poore distressed subjects, being justly condemned, by the
‘ ordinarie and orderly course of your Majestie's lawes, there resteth no further meane of
‘ defence but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent Prince, graciously to accept the
‘ same; which, prostrate in all humilitie, I here present unto the hands of your most ex-
‘ cellent Majestie; beseeching the same, that as justice hath been derived from your
‘ Highnesse, as from the fountaine, to the triall of mine actions; so I may receive, from
‘ the same spring, some droppe of grace and mercie for the great and grievous offence
‘ whereof I rest, by your Majestie's lawes, justly condemned. Some part, I say, of that
‘ your accustomed gracious clemencie, whereof most of your distressed subjects have tasted,
‘ and few have bene deprived. And albeit the inconsiderate rashness of unbridled youth
‘ hath withdrawen me from that loyal respect, which nature and duetie bounde me to owe
‘ unto your Majestie, as to my lawfull and naturall dread Sovereigne; and that the natu-
‘ rall care in me, of the defence of my life, mooved me lately to the untrue and unduetifull
‘ gainsaying of some such pointes as had bene before by me, in most humble sorte, con-
‘ fessed. Nevertheless, I most humbly beseech your most excellent Majestie, that in
‘ imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you holde, as also in
‘ regarde of your singular wisdom, and other the rare and singular vertues and perfec-
‘ tions, wherewith God and nature hath plentifully endewed you) you represent unto us
‘ here in earth; it may please your Majestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of me,
‘ now the most miserable of all your Majestie's subjects; and graciously to graunt unto

‘ me remission and forgiveness, that not only doe most humblie confesse my selfe worthe
‘ of death, but also, in shewe of my repentance, and sorrowful afflicted minde, do not
‘ crave at your Majestie’s handes the prolonging of my life, (if the same shall not stande
‘ with your gracious good pleasure,) but rather desire the trebling of the torment justly,
‘ by your Majestie’s lawes, imposed upon me, (if the same may be any satisfaction to
‘ your Majestie,) for the haynous cryme whereof I remaine, by your Majestie’s lawes,
‘ justly condemned; or any mitigation of your Majestie’s indignation worthily conceived
‘ against me; that desire not to live without your favour, and, dying, will wish from my
‘ heart, that my ende may bee the beginning of your Majestie’s securitie, and my death
‘ the preservation of your life, and the increase, both to your Majestie, and to this your
‘ most flourishing common wealth, of al the most happie blessings of Almighty God.

‘ Your Majestie’s most woful Subject,

‘ in that he hath offended you,

‘ FRANCIS THROCKMORTON.’

He sent unto her Majestie, together with the sayd submission, a declaration written like-
wise with his owne hand, contayning the effects of the most principall pointes of his trea-
sons formerly confessed: retracting onely the accusation of his father, and some other par-
ticularities, of no moment to cleare him of his treasons, the effect whereof followeth in his
owne words, as he set them downe :

‘ **T**HE onely cause why I coyned the practise first by me confessed, and unjustly
‘ touched my father, was, for that partly I conceived that the paper, written so long
‘ sithens, could not now by lawe have touched me: but principally, for that I was willing
‘ thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and havens in Romane hand, which
‘ were written long after the time by me confessed, upon occasion of conference betweene
‘ the Spanish Ambassadour and me of this later practise.’

‘ Mine intelligence with the Scottish Queene began a little before Christmas was two
‘ yeres. The cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in Fraunce; the first letter I received
‘ by Godfray Fulgeam; by whom also came all such others as I after received for the most
‘ part, unlesse it were such as came to me by F. A.⁶ his hands, who, as he tolde me, re-
‘ ceived them of the fellowe, by me spoken of, in my former confessions; whose name,
‘ I protest before God, I knowe not, nor whence he is. And for such letters as came unto
‘ me, in the absence of Fulgeam, they were inclosed under a coverture from Fulgeam,
‘ and were delivered me by the hands of Robert Tunstead, his brother-in-law, to whom I
‘ delivered such as I had for the Scottishe Queene, covered with a direction to Fulgeam;
‘ and once, I remember, or twise I sent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the
‘ Scottish Queene to the house of the said Tunstead, neere Buckstones, covered with a di-
‘ rection to Tunstead, and under a letter to Fulgeam. In such letters as came to me
‘ from the Scottish Queene were inclosed letters to F. A. many times, and most times
‘ some for Thomas Morgan. Her letters to me contayned, &c. But, before I retourned
‘ mine answer to her, I understoode of the death of the Duke of Lenox, and withall
‘ heard from Morgan, with whom all mine intelligence was, (for with my brother I never
‘ had any, other then that the matters, by me written to Morgan, were by him imparted
‘ to my brother most times,) that by the perswasion of the Pope and the King of Spaine,
‘ the Duke of Guyse had yeelded to performe the journey in person; and that it was
‘ thought, that the next way to attayne libertie for the Scottish Queene, and to reforme
‘ Scotlande, was to begin here in England: and therefore he desired to knowe from me,
‘ whether (in mine opinion) Catholiques would not backe any such force as should be
‘ sent, considering a demaunde of tolerance in religion for them should insue the wel per-
‘ forming of the said enterprise; and what I thought the force would amount unto, both

‘ of horse and footemen, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answer
 ‘ was, that, as then, I sawe no great probabilitie of the good successe of such an enter-
 ‘ prise, for that the Catholiques were timorous, dispersed, the matter perilous to be com-
 ‘ municated to many, without which I saw not how any estimate could be made of the
 ‘ forces: besides, that it was an eminent danger to the Scottish Queene, whereof I sawe
 ‘ no remedie.

‘ I tooke notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scottish Queene; whose answer
 ‘ was, that she lately heard of that determination, &c.

‘ Upon my former answer to Morgan, he desired me, that I would conferre with the
 ‘ Spanish Ambassadour, to whom I should bee recommended from thence. Hereupon,
 ‘ the sayd Ambassadour sent for me, and brake with me, in this matter; assuring me, that
 ‘ in his opinion he found it verie easie to make great alteration here, with very little force,
 ‘ considering the disuse in men to warre, and troubles would so amase them (as he thought)
 ‘ that they would be assoone overthrowen as assailed, and he could not thinke but in such
 ‘ a case Catholickes would shewe themselves, sith the purpose tended to the obteyning
 ‘ for them libertie of conscience. And therefore he desired me to acquaint him, what I
 ‘ thought men would doe in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what
 ‘ holdes in these partes were easiest to be surprisid.

‘ I answered him, that as it seemed the enterprise stood upon great incertainties, if it
 ‘ depended of the knowledge of a certaine force to be found here⁷, which no man could
 ‘ assure him of, unlesse he had sounded all the Catholickes, which was not possible with-
 ‘ out a manifest hazarde of the discoverie of the purpose. For, as for any great person-
 ‘ age, I know no one to be drawen into this action, that could carie any more then his
 ‘ ordinarie retinew. The onely way in such a case was (I tolde him) for such as would
 ‘ bee drawen into this matter, and were of credite in their countreys, to levie forces under
 ‘ colour of the Prince’s authoritie.

‘ But for that these things depended upon uncertaine groundes, which was not fit to be
 ‘ used in so great an action, I said, it was to be resolved, that the force to bee sent should
 ‘ be of that number, that what backing soever they shoulde finde here, they might be able
 ‘ of themselves to encounter with any force that might be provided to be sent against
 ‘ them; and therefore they could not bee lesse then fifteen-thousand men. For the place
 ‘ of their landing, I said, it depended much upon the force that should be sent; for, if
 ‘ that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed; if in a small companie,
 ‘ then was it requisite that it shoulde be in the countreys best affected, and furthest from
 ‘ her Majestie’s principall forces, which I said to be in the Northern parts, on either
 ‘ side.

‘ To the danger of the Scottish Queene by me objected, he said he knewe no remedie,
 ‘ unlesse she might be taken away by some two-hundred horse; which I tolde him I sawe
 ‘ not to be possible: for that I knewe not any gentleman in those partes (which were men,
 ‘ if any, to perfourme it) that I durst wish to bee made acquainted with the matter be-
 ‘ forehande.

‘ Finally, our conclusion was, that I shoulde informe him of the havens as particularly
 ‘ as I could; and within fewe days after, finding by him that the force, intended hither,
 ‘ was farre inferiour to that I spake of; and that there was some differens betweene the
 ‘ Pope and the King of Spaine for the charge; I tolde him that the surest course, and of
 ‘ least danger, were to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breede a
 ‘ great alteration, and things being there established by the good liking of the King, I
 ‘ thought it was in him by a continuall warre, and by incursions, so to anoy this state, as
 ‘ her Majestie here shoulde be forced to yeelde the libertie of the Scottish Queene; and
 ‘ what should thereupon have bene reasonably demaunded for the benefite of Catholickes
 ‘ here. And herein, I said, it would be a great furtherance, if, at the same time, some
 ‘ fewe were landed in Irelande; where, although they abid the same hazarde that the

⁷ See this largely proved on page 142, Vol. I.

former forces sustained, yet would the charge be so great to her Majestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of her forces, as a much lesse companie then was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a convenient place) shake the mindes of men generally, and be of force (if any thing) to drawe them to shewe themselves, in the furtherance of the purpose.

He utterly rejected the purpose for Irelande, and disliked not the purpose for Scotlande. But still he was in minde to have forces landed here; and therefore desired me verie earnestly to inquire particularly of the havens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion⁸, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification.

The next time that I went to the Spanish Ambassadour, he found himselfe agrieved that he understood matters were determined in Fraunce, without his privitie; and told me that Parsons the Jesuite was gone to Rome, sent, as he thought, to understand the Pope's minde.

Soone after came over my brother Thomas, to make an ende of our accompt, and to perswade me to come over; assuring me, that for aught he could see in likelihood, the enterprise was never like to take effect. In the time of his being heere, and while I entertained intelligence with the Scottish Queene, concerning her libertie; the Spanish Ambassadour sent for me, and tolde me of the comming over of Mope to view Sussex, and the havens, and as he thought, to take the best of accompt there. Whereat he seemed to bee agrieved, for that such matters had not bene left to him; beeing one that they in Fraunce made beleieve that they relyed upon principallie in this enterprise. Afterwardes, the Ambassadour tolde me, that it was Charles Paget, and that he was retourned, but, where he had bene, hee knewe not; and, at the same time, I received a letter from Morgan, that it was Paget; but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the Ambassadour, that his comming was not to move any man, but onely to viewe the countrey; for that the mooving of any man was referred to him. I did so; and he intreated me to remember him for those foresaide names and havens; saying, that so it were done exactly by the spring, it would suffice; for that sooner he saw no likelihoode of the execution of the enterprise.

My brother, having made an ende of his accompt with me, retourned with this resolution betweene us, (I protest before God,) that, if the enterprise succeeded not betweene this and the next spring nowe past, that I would settle my things here and goe over. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrey, both to sell and take order for my land in those partes; as also to fetch the draught of gentlemen and havens for the most part of England, which had bene set downe by me, above two yeres since, and left behinde me at Feckenham in my studie.

Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I retourned to London, where I founde the note of names in Secretarie hande, which I caried to the Spanish Ambassadour, and there drewe that other in Romane hande in his studie; putting downe Chester to be taken, in respect of the easinesse, as I thought, and the rather to give him incouragement in the matter. I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I would perfect it, if I taried so long; making knowne unto him, that I was had in suspition, and my determination to be gone; but he pressed the contrarie of me, assuring me, that if the enterprise proceeded not, he would then also depart.

Whether Sir Frauncis Englefielde were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not; but sure I am (for so the Spanish Ambassadour tolde me) that Sir Frauncis had intelligence with the said Ambassadour, all the time of his being here.

The Spanish Ambassadour tolde me, that he heard the people of Northwales were generallie well affected⁹, and therefore he desired to have the havens of that countrie. I tolde him, that hereafter I would help hime thereunto, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession. And hereupon,

⁸ viz. Popish.

⁹ To the Popish faction.

‘ the day before mine apprehension, the Ambassadors sent me backe the said paper in
 ‘ Romane hand, desiring me to set downe the same at my leasure more exactly; which
 ‘ was the cause that it was not in my greene velvet casket. The writings in my casket
 ‘ were such as were by me confessed, and came unto my hands as I have confessed.

‘ **I** Most humbly beseeche her most excellent Majestie, that the extremitie which
 ‘ I have already sustained, and the causes by me discovered, to the safetie of her Majestie
 ‘ and the state, not made knowne (as hath appeared) by any other meane then by my
 ‘ selfe, maye crave at her handes the extending of her gracious commiseration towards
 ‘ the relieving of the lamentable estate of me (her Majestie’s poore distressed subject) and
 ‘ mine, if God for mine offences forbid not the same.

Nowe judge all yee, that be not perversly affected, whether Thockmorton be justly condemned; and whether his confessions (though, as he pretended, extorted from him by violence,) be of force in lawe against him. He hath conspired to overthrowe the state, to bring in strangers to invade the realme, to remove her Majestie from her lawfull and naturall right and inheritance to the crowne of England, and to place a stranger in her seate. But this last point, for placing of a stranger, will (perchaunce) be denied: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise was, ‘ they found no way how to put the Scottish Queene in safetie.’ Then, if these dangerous treasons be discovered by torture (the onely meanes left unto princes to discover treasons and attemptes against their states and persons, where they finde apparant matter to induce suspition, as in the case of Throckmorton, upon sight of the plottes of havens, &c.) may the law touch the traitour or not? If any man holde this question negatively; holde him for a friend to traitours and treasons, and an enemy to the Queene’s Majestie, whome God long preserve, and confound her enemies!

The true Report of the lamentable Death of William of Nassawe, Prince of Orange; who was trayterously slayne with a Dagge, in his owne Courte, by Balthazar Serack, a Burgunian, the First of July, 1584. Herein is expressed the Murtherer’s Confession, and in what manner he was executed, upon the Tenth of the same Month. Whose Death was not of sufficient Sharpnes for such a Caytife, and yet too sowre for any Christian.

Printed at Middleborowgh, by Derick van Respeawe, Anno 1584.

[Octavo, containing Eight Pages.]

G. P. His Proheme to the Inhabitaunts of Flaunders.

WHO so considereth the state of princes (although they are as gods upon earth, beeing anoynted of God, having theyr authoritie from God, and sitting in God’s seate, to rule the sword with the law,) may perceave that they live in more care, and greater daunger,

than the simplest subject. Lamentable therefore is their late example of the Prince of Orange, slayne (by a treacherous villain) in his owne courte. His death, and the manner thereof, may forewarne other princes to be carefull, whome they retaine into the presence of theyr person. Great is thy losse, and greater will be thy misery, O Flaunders! for the want of thy Prince; who did guide thee, and governed thy people, with wisdom, love, policie, and continuall care for thy quietnes: he was thy comfort, and the stay of thy state in all extremities.

The cheefest states of thy countrey shall misse him; the widdowe, the sucking babe, and the fatherlesse childe, shall have cause to bewaile his death. Yea, rich and poore altogether may lament his mishap, and cry woe upon that man that bereaved him of life, whose noblenesse deserved fame, and whose woorthy acts and enterprises, beeing honourable, are meete to be registred among the most lawdable reportes of learned historiographers. If the Romaines did bemone the death of Cæsar, the Troyans the losse of Hector, and the Lacedemonians the want of Alexander; then hast thou, O Flaunders! more cause to lament the losse of thy good Prince; who with wisdom, force, and great care, (ayded by the power and providence of God himselfe) did keepe thy countrey from the handes of him, that woulde make a monarchie of realmes in his owne handes, to the utter spoile of thee and thine, and to draw other realmes under his subjection. O most accursed wretch that he was! so subject to the subtilties of Sathan, to worke the untimely death of so gracious a Prince, that hetherto he hath defended your liberties and maintayned your right these many yeeres, to the great glory of God, the advauncement of your wealth, and the mayntenaunce of true religion. It were too tedious to set downe in what subjection all the Lowe-countreys of Flaunders hath beene many yeeres yoked in by their enemies; the effect whereof is so notorious and apparent to all the world, and the same so truely layd open by many, that it is heere needlesse to touche it; as also to handle the great care of this Prince from time to time, who continually sought to maintaine your liberties, and to defend your countrey from extreme misery; which doubtles hath sharply pinched you; and now, having lost him who was the principal prop of the Lowe-countreys, it is like to fall out to the utter overthrowe, ruine, and destruction, of that poore cominaltye (a matter most lamentable) except God (the onelie defender of those that truste in him) doo speedely procure and stirre up a carefull and godly prince, to bee the defender of that people and countrey, that there by the townes and villages there about, may become more populous and thorowly replenished (now greivously impoverished through civill dissention) to the quietnes, wealth, and peace of the same.

And considering it is most necessary to publish a true discourse of this late lamentable mishappe, I have thought it good breiefely and plainly to set downe the true circumstaunce thereof; and that for one speciall cause, which is, that considering the untrue imaginations and fayned reportes of this Prince's death, now blased abroad, as well to hys freendes as to hys enemies; the trueth being layd open, and made manifest to all men, that then those reportes may be accounted fryvolus, and to be trodden under foote. I therefore admonish you, O yee people of Flaunders! that, having lost the stay and staffe of your countrey, that you yet vouchsafe, with patience, to remaine content with God's workes, who provideth wonderfully for you. It is your sinnes that is the cause of al your care; wherefore call upon God in this your time of affliction, and with prayer and hearty repentance, to turne unto the Lorde, who no doubt will deliver you from danger, as he did the children of Israell; and assure yourselves, that he will so establish your countrey, in short time, powing thereon peace and plenty, that the remembraunce of your great extremity, now fallen upon you, shall in short time grow out of memory, and be made a flourishing common-wealth, which God the Father with al speede graunt to confirme. Amen.

The Dyscourse of the Treason wrought against William of Nassawe, Prince of Orange, by Balthazar Serack, a base-born Gentleman of Burguni, of the age of twenty-five Yeeres.

UPON the 12. day of June last past, 1584, there came to the Prince of Orange, a base-borne gent. of Burguni, who brought certain letters from the states of Fraunce, conserning matters of newes, touching the death of the Frenche King's brother, who died a little before; which letters the Prince in most thankful manner did receive, and gave the messenger such freendly entertainment in his owne courte, as became a prince in such causes. The Prince, liking well of this messenger, would sundry times use conference with him, touching the garison of the Prince of Parma, whose souldiers greatly impoverished the countries round about. This messenger (in whom there remained nothing but subtilty and secret mischiefe) dyd show unto the Prince, howe he coulde at any time bring him or his souldiers into the Prince of Parma's garison, whereby he might take the advantage of the Prince of Parma's power; for that this messenger beeing a cunning penman, coulde finely counterfet the Prince of Parmae's owne hande, so neere that the one should not be known from the other. The Prince, notwithstanding, woulde not so deale by his devise, but yet he woulde enquire of him how all thinges stood, aswel in the Prince of Parmae's garison, as of the Prince's pretence towards the Low-countreys, who continually certefied unto the Prince of Orange the trueth; which caused the Prince to repose a greater trust and confidence in him, so that he remained in the court without suspition of any trechery. But behold what followed; on the 1. day of July last past, (which, by the newe computation of the Romish church, was the tenth day of the same moneth) this traytor, thus harbored and lodged in the courte of this good Prince, seeing a small pistoll or dagge in the hands of one of the Prince's servauntes, did demand what it might cost him? saying, "I have occasion to ryde a journey shortly, and that dagge would be a good defence for me upon the high way side:" wherefore, he requested the Prince's servaunt that he might bye it of him; who (thinking nothing of that which hapned afterward) did sel it to him for the some of 10 shillings of English mony. The Prince then being in his court at Delph, (a town of great strength, where the cheefest states doo inhabit) who beeing gon to dinner, and the garde attendaunt about his person; this traytor, seeing it a meete time to compasse his pretended mischiefe (which was to bereave the Prince of his life, as he did) went into his chamber, and charged the pistoll with powder, and put three bullets in the same: that doone, he placed it privelye in his pocket, and went downe to dinner; who, after he had dined, (hearing that the Prince would anon goe up into his privie chamber,) devised in his minde where he might best plant himselfe for the finishing of his wicked entent; who, finding a privie corner upon the stayres, where he might be shadowed and not be seene, placed himselfe untill the Prince's comming.

The Prince, so soone as he had dined (which was betweene one and two of the clocke in the afternoone) came forth of the great chamber, with his lady and gentlewomen attendaunt: his lady, purposing to walke abroad, took her leave of the Prince, who going towards the stayres which did leade to the privie chamber, and seeing an Italian named Ma. Carinson, who had stayed to speake with the Prince, to whom the Prince very freendly spake, saying, "Carinson, welcome;" and tooke him by the hand, willing thys Italian that he should goe up with him into his privie chamber, proposing there to use some conference with the Italian gentleman; and, before the Prince entred the stayres, there came an English captaine, called Captaine Williams, who, dooing reverence unto the Prince, was entertained in moste freendly manner, laying his hand upon Captain Williams' head, wylling him also to come up with him.

The garde then attendant upon the Prince, Maister Carinson and Captain Williams followed: but the Prince going up the stayres, not thinking of any such matter as happened, no sooner came directly against this villenous traytor, but he presently discharged

his pistoll, wherein (as before mentioned) he having put 3 bullets, two of those bullets went through the Prince's body, and the third remained in his bellie; through which wicked stroke the Prince fell downe suddainly, crying out, saying, "Lord, have mercy upon me, and remember thy little flocke."

Wherewith he changed this life; to the great grieve of his lady, who greatly lamented his death; as also to the great sorrowe of the whole countrey. The garde pursued the murtherer, and sought to slaye him; but he overscaped the first garde, and was staid by the second watch garde, which was within the Prince's court.

When he was taken, they demaunded of him, "What he had doone?" who very obstinately answered, "That he had doone that thinge, which hee would willingly doo, if it were to doo againe." Then they demaunded of him, "For what cause he did it?" Hee answered, "For the cause of his Prince and countrey:" more confession at that time they could not get of him. Forthwith they committed him to pryson, where he remained alive, to the pleasure of the estates of the countrey; who shortly after devised a torment (by death) for this murderer, which was reasonably sharpe, yet not so terrible as he deserved.

Greevous was the cry of the people that came flocking to the Prince's gates, to heare the report and trueth of what had happened; which knowne, every houshold was filled with sorrowe, who powred forth their plaintes, and did shedde teares, for the losse of so good a Christian and so carefull a Prince.

The murtherer, while he remayned in pryson, was sundry times examined by the chiefe estates of the countrey, "Upon whose procurement he committed the said fact?" Who answered, "At the Prince of Parmae's request, and other princes, at whose hands he shoulde receive for dooing the same 25000 crownes."

The order of the torment, and death of the murtherer, was as followeth, which was foure dayes: He had the 1 day the strappado, openly in the market; the second day whipped and salted, and his right hand cut off; the third day, his breastes cut out and salt throwne in, and then his left hand cut off: the last day of his torment, which was the 10 of July, he was bound to 2 stakes, standing upright, in such order, that he could not shrinke downe, nor stirre any way. Thus standing naked, there was a great fire placed some small distaunce from him, wherein was heated pincers of iron; with which pincers, two men, appointed for the same, did pinch and pul his flesh in smal peeces from his bones, throughout moste partes of his body. Then was he unbound from the stakes, and layd upon the earth, and againe fastened to fowre postes, namely, by his feete and hands; then they ripped up his belly, at which time he had life and perfect memorye; he had his bowels burned before his face, and his bodie cut in foure several quarters. During the whole time of his execution, he remained impenitent and obstinate, rejoycing that he had slaine the Prince.

Upon the 16 day of July, the Prince was very royally buried, in the new church at Delph; being lapped in seare cloth and leade, according to the manner of other princes in time past.

The cittizenen of Antwerp are many times driven to shut up theyr gates, by reason of theyr enemies, who wold gladly take the citty at some advauntage: the enimie hath built a forte upon the banke, between Antwerp and Lullo, so that they doo what they may to stop the passage of the river from them.

There is not as yet any governour chosen for the Lowe-countries: but they are in hope that some order will be taken for them very shortly.

God, for his mercy sake, sende quietnes in those partes, that the people may enjoy theyr owne, to the health, wealth, and comfort of them all now distressed. Amen.

The Present State of England, expressed in this Paradox :

Our Fathers were very rich with little,
And We poor with much.

Written by Walter Carey.

London, printed by R. Young for William Sheffard in Pope's-head Alley.
Anno Dom. 1627.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-one Pages.]

WHEREAS I intended to shew the present state of England, by the exposition of this paradox ; yet would I have none to think, that I intend to meddle or speak of any matter of government thereof, *quia Jovem tangere periculosum*¹ ; but only to express the manners and conditions of the people, and to shew the difference of this present time, and of that which was 60 years since, when I was (as it were) but a springing *cima*² of sixteen years old. Neither will I therein use any long discourse, but with all possible brevity deliver only this pamphlet, as a glass, wherein men of this present age may see their monstrous deformities ; or, as a theme for wiser wits to play upon, setting aside, in effect, whatsoever I shall write more than the words of the very paradox itself ; for, *verbum sapienti sat est*³. The duty also, which by the law of God, and the law of nature, I owe unto my native soil, and the great heart-sorrow I have to see the follies, misdemeanours, and ill behaviour of many of this time, hath moved me now in my withered age, to leave these few lines, as tokens of my love : with great hope, that if the same, perhaps, shall come to the hands of our wise, religious, virtuous, learned, and most gracious Sovereign King ; the blessed peace of England ; he will thereby be put in mind, *scabra hæc nostra dolare*, that is, ‘ to make these our rugged ways plain.’

The Exposition of the Paradox.

AS in all others, so in this paradox, the words carry a strange sense ; and seem to import a mere contrariety and untruth. For, according to the word, how can it be, that one having little, should be rich ; and another much, should be poor ? Wherefore, we must seek another, and more secret meaning ; knowing, that every paradox hath both an outward and inward sense : the one (as I may term it) superficial, the other essential ; the one left to the gazing of fools, with admiration ; the other to the wise, with deep consideration : the one to the eye and outward appearance only ; the other to the inward sense and judgment. For my promised brevity's sake (omitting many) I will speak only of three things, with their appurtenances ; wherein our then wise fathers did greatly differ from us now fools.

These three, which have turned things upside down, and strangely altered our estate, are suits of law, suits of apparel, and drunkenness ; which being well considered, with matters subsequent, it will appear that these three foul stains, in our fair commonwealth, do plainly lay open and prove the inward truth of my paradox : for, to speak first in

¹ i. e. ‘ It is dangerous to meddle with Jupiter.’

² i. e. ‘ bud.’

³ i. e. ‘ A word to the wise is enough.’

general, our fathers in apparel were very plain; drunkenness was abhorred; and, as it is a most base trade, so used only of the most base, and some few of the very abject sort. They did not ambitiously strive to get that which they could not compass, to borrow that which they could not repay, neither to contend for every trifle in law, which, at this day, are causes of infinite suits; but, living quietly and neighbourly with that they had, they were ever rich, able to give and lend freely. But now, on the contrary, (our rents being generally five times as much as our fathers received for the same land,) the idle and senseless drunkards; the outrageous charge of suits in law; the monstrous prodigality in apparel, maketh us (seeming great and rich in outward show) to be full of care, trouble, ever needy, and very beggarly. For, by these three means, we strive to seem kings, but contend, indeed, who shall be first beggars; so that the old proverb is in this age most truly verified; *Stultorum plena sunt omnia*, i. e. ‘The world is full of fools.’ Now of these three particularly; and first,

Of Drunkenness.

THIS most monstrous vice is thus defined: *Ebrietas est privatio motus recti et intellectus*, i. e. ‘Drunkenness is the privation of orderly motion and understanding.’ This definition agreeth in part with that which Galen hath, *lib. xxx. de locis affectis*, of natural folly, which is, *Stultitia est amissio intellectus*, i. e. ‘Folly is the loss of understanding;’ and another saith, it is *absentia intellectus*, i. e. ‘The absence or want of understanding.’ But I need not stand much about the definition of drunkenness, or to shew what it is: for (with grief I speak it) the taverns, alehouses, and the very streets are so full of drunkards, in all parts of this kingdom, that by the sight of them, it is better known what this detestable and odious vice is, than by any definition whatsoever. God hath made all things for man; hath made him ruler and governor over all; which office that he may the better perform, he hath given him reason (a most divine thing and precious jewel) to govern his actions; whereby he far excelleth all other creatures. This is well compared to a carpenter’s rule: for without a rule the carpenter can never orderly compose his work; but every part will be out of frame; so that these drunkards (having expelled reason, that most excellent rule) are in far worse case than brute beasts; for they have neither reason nor nature to direct them, but shew themselves either fools or mad-men, as they are formerly defined. I would to God, they would consider how many murders have been, and daily are committed by drunkards; so that some of them are killed and taken away in the midst of their wickedness; others hanged, losing lands and goods, to the overthrow of their houses. This sin is (in a word) in itself damnable, and the very path-way leading to all other wickedness whatsoever. *Inter alia, hoc me mirificè excruciat, quòd academiæ nostræ morbo hoc pernicioso laborare dicuntur: nam fontes si inficiantur, rivi omnes non nisi aquam putidam præbere poterint*⁴. But (still mindful of my promised brevity) I will only set down notes, as it were, or short speeches of drunkards or drunkenness, and so take my leave of that, wherewith I was never acquainted.

I read of one brought up from his infancy in a wilderness, at last coming to a city, and seeing a drunken man go up and down the streets, using clamorous and outrageous words, far from reason, in his gait staggering, and in all his actions foolish and rude, asked, “what creature that was, being so like in shape to a man, and no man?”

Another, seeing one come drunk out of a tavern, falling down in the street, and vomiting up in great abundance the wine with which he had overcharged his stomach, said, “Look, look, I will shew you a strange sight; this man hath in this sort vomited many

⁴ i. e. ‘Amongst other things, I am sore grieved, that our universities are reported to be infected with this sore disease: for, if the fountains are infected, all the rivers can give us no better than corrupt water.’

goodly lordships, and great treasure, left him by his father ; and now he hath neither wealth, nor wit, but is a beggar, and a besotted fool."

It is written, that one coming into a place where many were drunk, one of them offered him a full cup ; to whom he said, " There was poison in it, or worse than poison ; for it hath bereft you all of your wits and understanding : I will none, I thank you."

One, seeing a man extremely drunk, and still drinking excessively, said, " Alas ! let him drink no more." To whom another answered, " Let him drink still, for he is good for nothing else ; and it is not fit for a man to live, that is good for nothing."

They, that force others to drunkenness, are like stinking sinks, which receive all filthy and loathsome things, and therewith infect others.

One being asked, " What he thought of a man often drunk ?" said, " He is a piece of ground good for nothing, which bringeth forth nothing but weeds."

A drunken man sleeping soundly, one said, " It is pity he should ever wake ; for now he doeth no harm ; but, when he is awake, he is ever speaking or doing something that is naught."

I have heard, that in Spain, if one be drunk, his oath is never after to be taken before a judge.

A philosopher, hearing one brag of his great drinking (as many do in these days) said, " My mule doth far excel thee in that virtue."

It were very fit that drunkards, having lands, should be made wards, of what age soever ; for they are not able to govern themselves nor their livings, more than children.

Sentences of wise Men, touching Drunkenness and Drunkards.

COMES ebrietatis paupertas ; ' Beggary is the companion of drunkenness.'

Qui sunt crebrò ebrii, citò senescunt ; ' They that often drink, are quickly old.'

Nulla fides ebrío danda, nec huic negotium committendum ; ' There is no trust to be given to a drunkard, neither any business to be committed to him.'

Ebrietas contentiosa ; ' Drunkenness is full of quarrels.'

Ebrietas fomes libidinis ; ' Drunkenness is fuel for filthy lust.'

Ebriosi psittacorum more modò loquuntur ; ' Drunkards speak but like parrots.'

Vino repletus, vinum habet, seipsum non habet ; ' He that is full of wine hath wine, himself he hath not.'

Ebrietas dulce venenum ; ' Drunkenness is a pleasant poison.'

Nescit ebrietas vel imperare, vel parere ; ' Drunkenness knoweth neither to govern, nor to be governed.'

Ubi ebrietas, ibi sola fortuna ; ubi sola fortuna, ibi nulla sapientia dominatur ; ' Where drunkenness is, there only fortune ; where only fortune is, there no wisdom doth bear rule.'

Ebriosus semper in præcipiti stat ; ' A drunkard standeth always as it were in a place ready to break his neck.'

Ebrium noli consulere ; ' Never ask counsel of a drunkard.'

Ebrietas non minor quàm insania, sed brevior ; ' Drunkenness is no less than madness, but shorter.'

So have you heard, what the wisest men long since have said of this filthy vice, and the vicious followers of the same.

To conclude, I wish all drunkards to read this every morning as soon as they rise, that thereby they may be persuaded to reformation that day ; and to remember how greatly that beast-like and loathsome sin hurteth the soul, the body, the purse, and the name or reputation. It is in itself so odious and detestable before God, and all civil men, that, as one saying, " Lo, yonder is a cruel lion ;" which words cause a man presently to fly and shift away : so, if I had but named *drunkenness*, that only word should be a sufficient persuasion for wise men to avoid the same. For the lion is not so dangerous, who killeth only the body, as drunkenness, which killeth body and soul.

Of the excessive Abuse in Apparel.

THERE are professors of a rare and strange art or science, who are named Proportionaries ; but seldom set to work. If you deliver one of these a bone of your grandfather's little finger, he will by that find the proportion of all his bones, and tell you to an inch how tall a man your grandfather was : so I herein mind to use some of their skill ; for, seeing it is an infinite matter, *sigillatim* to write all the peevish, childish, and more than foolish costly ornaments now used (especially being object to every man's sight) I will only take the head with the neck, and by these tell you what proportion all the rest of the body holdeth, down to the lowest part of the foot. I saw a complete gentleman of late, whose beaver hat cost thirty-seven shillings, a feather twenty shillings, the hatband three pounds, and his ten-double ruff four pounds ; thus the head and neck only were furnished, and that but of one suit, for nine pounds seventeen shillings. Now taking the proportion of the bravery for the rest of the body ; the cloke lined with velvet, daubed over with gold lace two fingers broad ; the sattin doublet and hose in like sort decked ; the silk stockings, with costly garters hanging down to the small of the leg ; the Spanish shoes, with glittering roses ; the girdle and steletto : I leave it to those that herein know more than I, and can speak of greater bravery than this, to cast up the total sum ; wherein also, as an appurtenant, they may remember his mistress suited at his charge, and cast up both sums in one. But, on the contrary, I observed, but sixty years since, generally a man full as good or better in ability than this complete, lusty looking lad, whose hat and band cost but five shillings, and his ruff but twelve pence at most. So you see the difference of these sums ; the one is nine pounds seventeen shillings, the other six shillings. Then, after this proportion, the whole attire of the one cost above thirty times as much as the attire of the other : forget not also, that the one lasteth three times as long as the other ; subject to change, as fashions change. There is another appurtenant to this gilded folly ; for if his mistress say, it doth not become him, or if the fashion change, that suit is presently left off, and another bought. I will not forget, but touch a little the foolish and costly fashion of changing fashions, noted especially, and objected against our English nation ; and in one thing only (I mean the hat) I will express our prodigious folly in all the rest. Of late the broad-brimmed hat came suddenly in fashion, and put all others out of countenance and request ; and happy were they that could get them soonest, and be first seen in that fashion : so that (a computation being made) there is at the least three-hundred thousand pounds, or much more, in England only, bestowed in broad-brimmed hats, within one year and an half. As for others, either beaver or felts, they were on the sudden of no reckoning at all ; insomuch that myself (still continuing one fashion) bought a beavers hat for five shillings, which the year before could not be had under thirty shillings. The like, or more, may be said of the change from plain to double ruffs : but, if you will see the effect of these follies, and what lamentable estate it bringeth many unto ; go to the King's-bench prison, to the Fleet, to the Compters, and like places ; where you shall find many, that in golden glittering bravery have shined like the sun, but now (their patrimonies and all being spent, and they in debt) their sun is eclipsed, and they rest there in very miserable case, bewailing their vain and more than childish course of life ; and some of them call to mind, how they have heard, that their forefathers, on that living (which they have in lewd sort spent, and disinherited their family for ever,) lived bountifully, quietly, pleasantly, and, as I may truly say, like kings in their little kingdoms : they seldom or never went to London, they did not strive for greatness, they did not long for their neighbour's land, neither sold of their own, but (keeping good hospitality, and plainly ever attired) were very rich. Well, if the hat alone, and in so short a time, hath put England to that charge, by change of fashion only ; what hath lawns, cambricks, silks, sattins, velvets, and the rest done, and change of fashion in them ? I will deliver you my opinion (out of love to my country, and desire of reformation) and leave it to the correction of the wiser. The money, which is most superfluously bestowed

in apparel in this little island, is thought able to maintain a navy, to command the sea-forces of all our neighbours bordering on the narrow seas, of Spain, and of the pirates, and all others in the Mediterranean sea. How far they further may shew their force in the sea leading to Constantinople, I will not take upon me to judge. Yet one other effect these peacocks' feathers (in this gilded, not golden age) worketh: the most part of the gentry of this kingdom are so far in the usurers' books, by their over-reaching heads to climb to greatness, and they and their wives to exceed their neighbours in bravery and place, that they live in continual care, and, like fishes in nets, the more they strive to get out, the faster they hang. I could bring many sentences of the wise and learned against these vain, peevish, childless, thriftless, and painted fools, as I did against drunkards; but I will only tell you an old tale, and so conclude this part. A knight named Young, a man of an excellent mother wit, very pleasant, and full of delightful and merry speech, was commended to our late Sovereign Queen Elizabeth, who caused him to be brought to her, took great pleasure to talk with him; and, amongst other things, she asked him, "How he liked a company of brave ladies that were in her presence?" He answered, "As I like my silver-haired conies at home; the cases are far better than the bodies." These our named gallants are well compared to such conies, and are deceived much, to think they better their reputation by their bravery; for many, even ordinary tailors in London, are in their silks, sattins, and velvets, as well as they: and, in Italy, every base ordinary blacksmith doth exceed, on the sabbath-day and other holidays, or equal the bravest of them. I wish them therefore to compare the sweet country with the unsavoury London, wherein they are most resident; which is the cause of great expence, in bravery, in gaming, drinking, resorting to plays, brothel-houses, and many other great follies: and I dare say, they shall find more true pleasure in one year, living like their fore-fathers in the country, than in twenty living in London.

Touching Suits in Law.

HEREIN I must bear an even hand, and speak nothing that shall give just cause of offence; and yet *veritas non culpanda*⁵.

In our law proceedings, I find (in my simple judgment, ever subject to the correction of the wiser) sundry inconveniences. The first is, that although they have in their law a maxim, *De minimis non curat lex*⁶, yet they admit every trifling action for gain; even of such poor clients also, as have scarcely bread to give their children: wherein oftentimes is more spent, than thrice the value of that they strive for.

I heard of two men, who fell at variance about an hive of bees, and went to law, until he, that had spent least, had spent five-hundred pounds.

I heard also of two brethren, who contended in chancery for a chain of gold worth sixty pounds. The elder, being executor, kept the chain; the younger had proof, that his father said often in his life-time, that the chain should be his. The suit proceeded, until they had spent above an hundred pounds: and, on a day, being both at the chancery-bar, they touched one another; and the elder brother desired to speak with the younger, and said, "Brother, you see how these men feed on us, and we are as near an end of our cause, as when we first began; come and dine with me, and I will give you the one half of the chain, and keep the other, and so end this endless cause: and, I pray you, let us both make much of this wit, so dearly bought." Thus was this cause ended.

There was a widow and a gentleman, that contended for a seat in the church, at the civil law; and this gentleman, talking of his suit for his seat, protested that it had cost him so great a sum as that (for the credit of these courts) I am loth to name. One wondering thereat, he said, it was most true; and said further, "They have spun me, at length, like a twine thread;" and named the number of courts he had been twisted in, and the

⁵ i. e. 'Truth ought not to be blamed.'

⁶ i. e. 'The law takes no cognisance of trifles.'

strange number of chargeable commissions which passed between them. Thus you see the old saying true: 'If you go to law for a nut, the lawyers will crack it, give each of you half the shell, and chop up the kernel themselves.'

There is a thing which long since happened in France, very memorable, touching the endless causes in the civil law. A stranger, having sold great store of merchandise there, and not paid, entered suit against his debtors, wherein he spent more than his debts came unto; and thereupon greatly perplexed, especially seeing no likelihood of an end of his suits, or obtaining his debts; he went to the King, and said, "I have a great complaint against one in your kingdom, and I humbly desire you to hear me patiently." The King said, "Tell me against whom; I will very patiently and willingly hear thee." "My lord, (said he) it is against yourself." "Against me, (said the King,) how so? Whatsoever it be, speak it freely, and fear nothing." Whereupon the merchant told him, that he did suffer most intolerable, costly, and tedious courses, in the proceedings of law in his kingdom, (which is there only the civil law) and such as, I think, will never have an end, as long as the clients have money to give the lawyers; and told him withal, of all his proceedings. "Well, (said the wise King) I will first see thee fully satisfied, and then reform this foul abuse." And presently thereupon did take such excellent order for the quick and just end of causes, that his subjects did name him, *pater patriæ*; and he was so admired, and so heartily loved of them, as, I think, never king was before or since.

I could speak further of two citizens of London, who fell out for the kicking of a dog, and went so long to law, until their books could not be contained in two bushel bags. This cause, thus standing without show of end, our late gracious Sovereign Queen Elizabeth caused to be arbitrated.—I could speak of many more like vain and trifling suits, which, as little springs, first creep out at the foot of an hill, and, by long running, grow to be great rivers: but these shall suffice, *quia in infinitis instare infinitum*⁷.

I have heard of a very laudable order in Spain. There are appointed certain men, called Justices, which are dispersed over the whole kingdom; every one limited to certain parishes, in which he hath authority to hear complaints of misdemeanours, and trifling quarrels; and to punish offenders, either by fine (whereof he hath part, and the King the rest) or corporal punishment, as he seeth good: and to end also causes for trifling debts, and other matters (being of no great moment) whatsoever, without suit. Whereas, in England, there are an infinite number of suits tolerated for words, for the least blow, for cattle breaking into ground, for trifling debts, and such like; so that, if one have ten shillings owing him, nay five, or less, he cannot have it but by suit in law, in some petty court, where it will cost thirty or forty shillings charge of suit. But, to end this chapter, I could wish that our justices, by commission, were authorized to sit in several parts, to which they dwell nearest; and, before any suit be brought, the plaintiff should shew his cause of complaint, and thereupon, if it were for title of much land, or matter of great moment, he should be suffered to proceed in law; but, if otherwise, they should determine it themselves, or refer it to others, as (the persons and causes considered) they thought good, and likewise to punish misdemeanours; which would breed great peace in this land, and prevent the utter undoing of many.

A Second Inconvenience.

This is the multiplicity of attorneys at the common law or chancery, under-clerks, and many pettifoggers dwelling and dispersed over all this kingdom; which may well be compared to such as stand with quail-pipes, ever calling the poor silly bird into the net.

I heard it credibly reported, that, a few years since, there were not above two or three attorneys in the Isle of Wight, and not many more causes or suits at law; but now there are (said the reporter) at the least sixty, and many more suits in law. The reason, he added, was this: If any be angry with his neighbour, he hath one of these ready and

⁷-i. e. 'Because there would be no end of such endless matters.'

near at hand, to whom he openeth his grief; who is also as ready presently to set him on for his own gain, telling him his cause is clear, and he shall never wag his foot, but he will do all for him, and fetch his adversary about well enough. On the contrary, the other hath one as ready to tell him, how well he will defend his cause. So these two enter combat, and, when both are weary, then neighbours end the cause; and to that end, for the most part, come all suits of England. How much better, then, were it, at the first, to commit causes to neighbours? For no causes seldom have so good end by law, as by neighbours: *Iniquissima pax justissimo bello anteferenda*; i. e. 'The most unjust peace is preferable to the most just war.'

The Third is, Motions made in the Courts, especially in the Chancery.

There are some counsellors, who will, in their motions, report whatsoever their client telleth them, be it true or false; and these are well said to have *voces venales*, that is, to be such, as that, for money, you may have them tell what tale you will⁸. These also abuse the courts, and cause divers orders to be made, by their false suggestions, which make suits very tedious, and more costly; insomuch that, about orders only, there is oftentimes more money and time spent, than ought to be about the whole substance of the cause.

The Fourth.

This is, the great fees which counsellors take, whereby the clients are much impoverished; for they, not looking into their consciences, what they deserve, or how hardly their client (perhaps poor) may spare it, take all that comes; and are like gulfs without bottoms, never full. And further, if you have a day of trial, or hearing, and fee your counsellor, although he be absent, and do you no good, yet he swalloweth your fee as good booty. There is a remedy by law for excessive fees, as I have heard; but it taketh no good effect.

The Fifth.

This is, making long bills in the English courts, full of matter impertinent, from the fulness of their malice, to put the defendant to greater charge. These men are often in like sort requited, and beaten with their own rods; wherefore I compare them to one, that will put out one of his own eyes, to do his enemy the like harm. I wish that such a man may pay well for his folly to his enemy.

The Sixth.

This is especially in the English courts also, where the under-clerks, with their large margins, with their great distance between their lines, with protraction of words, and with their many dashes and slashes, put in places of words, lay their greediness open to the whole world; and I have heard many say, that they are as men void of all conscience, not caring how they get money, so they have it; and that, with as good a conscience, they may take a purse by the high-way, but not with so little danger; and that is all the difference. I did see an answer to a bill of forty of their sheets; which, copied out, was brought to six sheets; in which copy there was very sufficient margin left, and good distance between the lines. Hereby every man may see how infinitely, by the abuse of petty-clerks (the court of chancery swelling, and ready to burst with causes, the Star-chamber, and the rest) the whole kingdom is robbed, as it were; for that copy, which should have cost but four shillings, cost four nobles. There was one presented our late worthy lady and queen, Elizabeth, with a piece of paper, no bigger than a penny, whereon were written the *pater-noster*, the creed, and a prayer for her. Now I wish, that all such clerks should be apprentices a while to such a scribe; for so, falling from one extreme to

⁸ Quere, Do not the council, who plead for a brief, do the same?

another, they may be brought to a mean. But, as for the higher clerks and officers, they would fain have this foul and unconscionable fault amended, because it maketh nothing for their profit.

The Seventh.

This last that I will speak of, but not the last, yet least by many, is touching interrogatories, and examinations of witnesses. There are many, that set down vain and frivolous interrogatories, nothing at all to the matter in question; and thereupon cause many to be examined, whose testimony maketh nothing to any purpose, neither is ever read or heard, but only causeth long, tedious, needless, and costly books, to the grievance and excessive charge of the subject.

Thus have I, as it were, only nominated seven inconveniences, to persuade men to peace, and to end at home such quarrels as arise; without great vexation of mind, without great trouble of body in riding and running, and without excessive expences; all which, together with neglect of all business, do necessarily follow suits and controversies in law: *ictus piscator dixit*. As for many others, which are greater, and whereof the last parliament began to speak, with intent to reform the same; I will say nothing. But these seven motes I desire to be picked out of their long gowns.

So have I briefly (without our new-born ink-pot terms) delivered to the view of the world my paradox, and exposition thereof; with hope to persuade some of the wiser sort to avoid drunkenness, excess in apparel, and controversies in law, with matters subsequent; which are three of the most common, costly, and offensive evils now reigning; that, by their example, others may learn to live a civil, plain, quiet, and contented life; whereby, seeming poor, they shall be rich: whereas others, bestowing much in feasting and drunkenness, braving it out with a glorious outside only, and painted apparel; living in controversy, and sparing no large fees, or great bribes, to overcome their adversaries; seem only to be rich, but are indeed very beggarly. Wherefore I conclude, as I began, 'Our fathers were rich with little, and we beggars with much;' for we use our much ill, and they used their little well.

An Historical Account of the Life and Tryal of Nicholas Anthoine, burnt for Judaism at Geneva, in the Year 1632.

[Quarto, containing Fifteen Pages.]

NICHOLAS ANTHOINE was born of popish parents, at Brieu in Lorrain. His father took a particular care of his education, and sent him to the college of Luxemburg, where he studied five years. From thence he was removed to Pont-à-Mousson, Triers, and Cologne; where he went on with his studies under the direction of the Jesuits, till he was about twenty years of age. Being returned to his father's, and disliking the church of Rome, he repaired to Metz, and applied himself to M. Ferry, an eminent divine of that city, who instructed him in the Protestant religion, which he heartily embraced. From that time, he professed himself a Protestant, and endeavoured to convert his relations to the Reformed religion. From Metz, he was sent to Sedan, in order to study divinity; and from thence to Geneva, where he continued his theological studies. He applied himself particularly to the reading of the Old Testament; and finding several difficulties in

the New, which seemed to him unanswerable, he inwardly embraced the Jewish religion, about five or six years before his trial. His first doubts were occasioned by his comparing the two genealogies of Jesus Christ, as they are related by St. Matthew and St. Luke: but when he came to examine the passages of the Old Testament, that are applied to the Messiah in the New, he proved so weak as to renounce his Christianity. And, as new notions of religion frequently make a greater impression, than those wherein men have been bred up from their younger years; he grew so zealous for Judaism, that he resolved to make an open profession of it. Accordingly he left Geneva, and returned to Metz, and immediately discovered his opinions to the Jews of that city, and desired to be admitted into their synagogue. But they refused him, for fear of bringing themselves into trouble; and advised him to go to the Jews of Amsterdam, or Venice. Whereupon, he resolved to take a journey to Venice, and earnestly intreated the Jews of that town to circumcise him. But he was again disappointed; for those Jews refused to comply with his desire; and told him the senate had forbid them to circumcise any body that was not born a Jew. Anthoine, longing to receive the seal of the Jewish covenant, went quickly to Padua, in hopes that the Jews of that place would be more favourable to him; but they gave him the same answer. The Jews of that city, and those of Venice, told him, that he might be saved, without making an outward profession of Judaism, provided he remained faithful to God in his heart. This made him resolve to return to Geneva, where he had more acquaintances than any where else. M. Diodati, minister and professor of that city, took him into his house, to be tutor to his children. He pretended to go on with his theological studies, and was for some time teacher of the first class. Afterwards he disputed for the chair of philosophy, but without any success. All that time he lived outwardly like a true Christian; for he confessed at his trial, that he had constantly received the communion; but, in private he lived, and performed his devotions, like a Jew. At last, being poor, and weary of the condition he was in, and wanting a settlement, he desired a testimonial of the church of Geneva, which was granted him; and went to the synod of Burgundy, held at Gex, in order to be admitted into the ministry. He was admitted according to custom, promising to follow the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, the discipline and confession of faith of the reformed churches of France, &c. and was appointed minister of the church of Divonne, in the country of Gex.

He had not been long there, when the lord of that place perceived he never mentioned Jesus Christ in his prayers and sermons; that he took his text only out of the Old Testament, and applied to some other persons all the passages of the Old Testament, which the Christians understand of Jesus Christ. This raised great suspicions against him. When he came to hear of it, he was very much perplexed; and, being naturally of a melancholy temper, he fell into a fit of madness, in the month of February, 1632: which was looked upon as a manifest judgment of God, because it happened the very next day after he had expounded the second Psalm, without applying it to our Saviour. He grew so distracted, that he moved upon his hands and feet in his chamber, publicly exclaimed against the Christian religion, and particularly in the presence of some ministers of Geneva, who went to see him. He horribly inveighed against the person of Christ, calling him an idol, &c. and saying that the New Testament was a mere fable. He called for a chafing-dish, full of burning coals, and told the divines, who were in his chamber, that he would put his hand into the fire to maintain his doctrine, bidding them do the like for their Christ. His madness increased to such a degree, that he ran away in the night from those under whose custody he was, as far as the gates of Geneva, where he was found the next morning half naked, and lying in the dirt; and having pulled off his shoes in the name of the true God of Israel, he worshipped him barefooted, prostrated upon the ground, and blaspheming against Christ.

The magistrates of Geneva ordered him to be carried into an hospital, where the physicians took care of him, and he was visited by some divines. His mind was composed by degrees, and then he left off speaking injuriously of Christ, and the Christian religion, but stoutly maintained Judaism. Being thus recovered from his madness, he was com-

mitted to jail, where he remained a considerable time before the magistrates took cognisance of that affair; being only visited by several divines, who used their utmost endeavours to make him sensible of the falsity of his doctrine, and the enormity of his conduct, and to bring him over to the Christian religion; but he persisted in his opinions.

M. Ferry¹, a minister of Metz, who, as I have said before, had converted Anthoine to the Protestant religion, hearing of the sad condition, and the great danger he was in, writ a letter about him, the 30th of March, to the ministers and professors of the church and academy of Geneva. It contains several particulars relating to the history of that unhappy man; and therefore, I think it necessary to insert it in this place, and I hope no curious reader will blame me for it. The letter runs thus:

‘Gentlemen and most honoured Brethren,

‘**I** Beg your pardon for the fault I am going to commit, if you take it to be such: and indeed, I do not pretend to represent any thing to you, but in order to submit it to your censure. I have heard, with an unspeakable grief, what has happened to that poor wretch, who is amongst you; and I beseech you to forgive my freedom in writing to you about it. I do not do it altogether without the request of others. Besides, one must not expect a call to preserve an unfortunate man, who runs himself into destruction; since God and nature, and our ancient acquaintance and friendship, may be a sufficient motive for me to do it. To which I add, that having been instrumental in bringing him to salvation, I think I have great reason to desire that he may not undo himself; and to endeavour, with your leave, to prevent it. I thank God, since he has thought fit to make him a new example of human frailty, that he has brought him amongst you, that you might prevent his doing mischief, and endeavour to reclaim him. I think, Gentlemen, that mildness and patience will be the most proper means to succeed in it. I make no doubt that his illness proceeds from a black and deep melancholy, to which I always perceived he was very much inclined; especially after he had seduced a young man, whom he brought hither from Sedan, in hopes to get something by teaching him philosophy; and then he privately carried him farther, though I had earnestly desired him to send him back, and exhorted the young man to return to Sedan, which was M. Du Moulin’s desire, to whom he had been recommended. From that time he could not bear the light in any room of a gentleman’s house, where I had placed him; being always uneasy, restless, and silent. Nay, he had much ado to express himself, and it was a hard matter to make him speak; (though I earnestly desired him to be more free, and sent for him, and made him dine with me now and then, and took all possible care of him;) which we ascribed to the ill success he had in a synod of the isle of France, whither he had been sent with a testimonial, and recommendation of the church and academy of Sedan; notwithstanding which, he did not appear sufficiently qualified for the ministry. After he had enticed away that young man, he writ several letters to me, wherein he expressed a great grief for it; and in all of them he used many words, which shewed his mind was very much dejected, being above all things sensible of the reproofs he had received for it. So that I thought myself obliged to write to him now and then, to clear his mind of those needless scruples, and of such an unreasonable and dangerous vexation; and to exhort him to apply himself to his study with cheerfulness, and a resolution to do better for the time to come. It is therefore highly probable that his melancholy has been heightened by those cloudy thoughts, and likewise by the poverty and want of many things, into which he fell soon after, and whereof he complained to me in his letters, so far as to mention the temptations under which his mind was almost ready to sink. To this I may add the nature of his studies bent upon the Old Testament, on which he writ to me, that he was drawing up a concordance. However, though those things were not the true cause of his illness; you know, Gentlemen, that

¹ A large account of that eminent divine may be seen in the *Historical and Critical Dictionary*.

there is a sort of melancholy, in which the physicians acknowledge *δεινόν τι*, which is neither a crime, nor a divine punishment, but a great misfortune. Certainly, that which he lies under, is very deplorable; but, Gentlemen, I think I may say that, though nature is the instrument of God's providence, yet all accidents ought not to be looked upon as punishments, or signs of a wicked life, nor the madness of that poor wretch as a formal chastisement for his error; there being so many reasons to believe that it proceeds from the disorder of the brain, and from melancholy. His madness seems to be only an exorbitant fit of melancholy, which being allayed by remedies, he appears now in his former state: and, though he errs only in the single point, for which he is prosecuted; there is no reason to infer from it, that he speaks in cold blood, and with a sound mind. For it is the property of that sort of melancholy, to have but one object; leaving the mind free in all other things, as you know better than I. There are some who speak upon any subject with great learning and sedateness, and have but one grain of madness, which they discover only by intervals, to those who hit upon it. I am the more willing to compare that unfortunate man to them, because, in that very thing, wherein he pretends to be wise, he appears most ridiculous; for he says that he would be ashamed of out of his fit, though he were no Christian; since he denies, as I hear, what the very Heathens and Jews acknowledge. And therefore it is not a heresy, but a blasphemy, which proceeds from a mind rather distempered than perverted. His usual frights and horrors are, in my opinion, a certain sign of it; and there is no reason to ascribe them to a divine judgment, and to infer from thence that he is a reprobate. After all, Gentlemen, it is certain he imposes upon you, when he tells you that he believed, eight or ten years ago, what he believes now: for, since that time, he has not only given all manner of proofs of his Christianity, but also brought over to the Reformed religion his eldest brother, who lives honestly among us; and he has endeavoured to work the same effect upon his father, to whom he has writ many letters, several of which I have opened; wherein he expressed a great zeal, and a wonderful love for Jesus Christ, and the Christian truths, that are taught in our churches. And, in order to bring over his relations to our religion, he writ to them, "That he was ready to die for it, if God required it of him." Nay, when he was admitted into the ministry, he acquainted me with it, in a letter from Geneva, dated the twenty-ninth of November; being used to call me, as he did then, his "dear ghostly father," whom God had been pleased to make use of, in order to bring him to the knowledge of the true religion: and he desired me to acquaint his relations with it, being fully resolved for the future to lead a better life, and to perform his duty to the utmost of his power. And therefore, Gentlemen, and most honoured Brethren, I think he ought not to be believed in what he says, during such a disorder of his mind; and I hope, that, if you allow him some time to recover from his phrenzy, as I understand you do, he will no longer blaspheme, and God will give you comfort after your labour and patience. To that end, I wish none may have access to him, but such as are familiarly acquainted with him, or for whom he has a particular respect and veneration, and by whom he may be gently used; lest his mind may be exasperated by too many visitants, or by an unseasonable, though just severity.

Gentlemen, give me leave to tell you, that it seems highly necessary, for the edification of the church, that this affair should be managed with great prudence. If you make an example of him; it will, doubtless, prove extremely prejudicial. I intreat you to consider the great scandal, it will occasion far and near; and what might be said against the office and profession of a man converted from popery, who has learned to judaize among us, in the most famous academies, conversing every day with several pastors. Besides, Judaism being no dangerous sect, it does not seem necessary to prevent the ill consequences of it, by a public punishment; nay, perhaps, every body would not approve of it. There are some extraordinary crimes, for which when the guilty person is to be punished, it is not done in public; and the proceedings are suppressed, to clear the present age from such an infamy, and to leave no marks of it to posterity. However, there is no need of being too hasty in a thing, that may be done as well in time,

‘ and when a delay cannot be prejudicial, but rather useful, Servetus had a long time allowed him for his amendment, though he had dogmatized above twenty years in cold blood, and in several places, both by word of mouth, and in written and printed books, about things much more subtle and dangerous: and yet, Gentlemen, you know the various discourses, that were occasioned by his execution. I do not say this, because I find fault with it; on the contrary, I think such pernicious errors could not be better suppressed, than by committing the author to the flames. But this man cannot be compared to Servetus; I pray God to give him a better end. And I beseech you, Gentlemen and most honoured Brethren, not to grow weary in this work of your great charity, wherein He will direct you to use such remedies, as are necessary to reclaim that unfortunate man, and to preserve the church from such an infamy. This is the design of this letter, which I humbly beseech you not to be offended with; otherwise I should be sorry to have writ it, excepting the wishes I have just now made, and my further prayers to God, that he would plentifully bless you and your holy labours, increase your church, and ever keep you under his protection. I beg of you the continuance of your benevolence, being, with great sincerity, Gentlemen,

‘ Metz, March 30, 1632.

‘ Your most humble,

‘ most obedient, and most

‘ affectionate Servant,

FERRY.”

M. Mestrezat, a learned divine of the church of Paris, writ two letters to M. Chabrey, his brother-in-law, and minister of Geneva; wherein I find two passages, that deserve likewise to be imparted to the publick. M. Mestrezat thought Anthoine had been a monk. His first letter is dated from Paris, March 12, 1632.

‘ I am troubled for you (says he, in that letter) about your Antitrinitarian. The writings of our predecessors, *de puniendis hæreticis*, have not been very edifying, and prove very prejudicial to us, in the countries where the magistrates are our enemies. It is true, the enormity of that man, his blasphemies, his profession of Christianity, and his ministry, aggravate his crime. May God Almighty direct your magistrates in the matter! If every body had the same thoughts of monks as I have; none of them should ever be admitted into the holy ministry. I pray God to remove, by the efficacy of his word, the scandal occasioned by that profligate man, and to keep you under his protection.’

The second letter of M. Mestrezat is only dated March 30, 1632, but it was likewise written from Paris. The following passage is to be found in it:

‘ As to what concerns your Jewish monk, and revolted minister, the most judicious persons in this town wish he may be confined to a perpetual imprisonment, and not be allowed to see any body, but such as are qualified to reclaim him. They are very much afraid of the consequences of a public execution, lest it should be inferred from it, by our adversaries in these parts, that words spoken against the Pope (the pretended vicar of Jesus Christ) or against the host of the mass, are likewise blasphemies against Christ, and ought to be punished in the same manner: for they talk in the same strain, and all supreme magistrates are judges of consequences, in their jurisdictions.’

Whilst Nicholas Anthoine was a prisoner, he presented three petitions to the council. The first is dated March 11, 1632, and begins thus: ‘ In the name of the great God of heaven, who is the mighty God of Israel: His holy Name be blessed for ever. Amen.’ He beseeches the council to get some papers concerning his faith restored to him, which he had delivered to a divine, who asked for them in their name; that he may revise, correct, and finish them, before any thing be inferred from them. And then he adds: *Enquerez vous de ma vie*; &c. That is, ‘ Enquire into my life: I have always endeavoured to live in the fear of God, and to seek and follow the right way to salvation. God discovers his secret to those who honour him. What I do, is only to give an ac-

‘ count of my faith, to the glory of God, and for the salvation of my soul. God knows my heart, and is a witness to my integrity and innocence. Do not draw innocent blood upon your heads, nor upon your families, and your city; and God, in whose hands we all are, will bless you, if you love his holy ways. I beseech him with all my soul to bless you, and to touch your hearts, that you may be moved with pity and compassion towards me, the poor and afflicted servant of the Lord, &c.’

Anthoine presented his second petition the next day, March 12; which I shall insert at length.

‘ In the name of the Lord, the God of Israel.

‘ Magnificent and most honoured Lords,

‘ **W**HAT I am going to represent to you is not with an intent to avoid death. According to God, I do not deserve it; for I fear him, I love him, and bless him, and will bless and worship his holy, glorious, and adorable Name, to my last breath. Nevertheless, according to your laws and belief, and what is commonly objected to me, you will think I justly deserve it. If God would be pleased to do it, he would shew his great wonders, by delivering me; not for my sake, (who am a poor and miserable sinner,) but to glorify his great and adorable Name, and that all the earth might know, that he is the Almighty God, who reigns in the world. I invoke his holy Name, and implore his grace and mercy. Whosoever puts his trust in the Lord, shall never be ashamed. Why should we be afraid of men? God is above all, and nothing comes to pass without his permission.

‘ Magnificent and most honoured Lords, since two things are commonly objected to me, 1. That I have strayed from the way to salvation. 2. That though I were in the right way to salvation; yet, having such a belief, I should not have embraced the office of minister, nor come into your city to give you offence. By your leave, I shall endeavour to answer those two points in a few words.

‘ As to the first point, I believe I in am the way to truth and salvation, and shall persevere in it, till I am shewed the contrary by good reasons taken from the Old Testament. I worship one only God; I endeavour to follow the law, to the best of my power; I will fear, love, and bless the holy name of God, to the end of my life.

‘ As to the second point, your Lordships must know, that the people of Israel refused to admit me among them; and told me, that I might live every where, and among all nations, in the fear of God, without discovering my opinions. I have endured a thousand hardships in my way to Venice, and in that city, where I have been, for some time, in a very miserable condition; and I came away more afflicted still, and more miserable; nevertheless, I always put my trust in the Lord. I could not resolve to live among the Papists, for I had sworn to do it no more, having a great abhorrence for their idolatry. Besides, I was afraid of being charged with inconstancy. Nay, had I been discovered among them, they would have been more cruel to me, than your Lordships use to be towards those, who are not accused of any crime; but only prosecuted for religion. I have embraced the ministry, because I thought I was sufficiently qualified for it; because I was far in years; because I was willing to keep house, and, perhaps, to marry in time; and I had no mind to discover myself at that time. How many are married, and perhaps have quite another belief than yours, and yet will not leave and forsake their children upon such an account. As for what is said, That I have scandalized you and your city by my strange proceedings, it was through a disordered mind: it is not I; I do not know who it was; God knows it; and therefore, I think, I deserve to be pardoned in that respect, since it was not I, but a terrible, dreadful, and supernatural power; as the whole town may witness, and no body will be offended at it. Rather than come and surrender myself into your hands, of my own motion; I had rather have fled to the remotest part of the world.

‘ Magnificent and most honoured Lords, have a care you do not draw innocent blood upon your heads, and your families, and city, by putting me to death ; for, perhaps, you know not the wonders of God, the mighty God of Israel, and why he has so miraculously transported me into this town. If the beginning of it has been miraculous, perhaps the end will be more miraculous still. I shall never be ashamed, because the Lord is my trust and refuge. Let the holy name of the Lord, the great God of Israel, be for ever blessed and glorified by all men, and in all places.

‘ Magnificent and most honoured Lords ; If you think I deserve to be put to death, and if the Lord God is pleased it should be so, his will be done. If you release me, you will release an innocent soul, which fears the God of heaven. I pray God with all my heart, that he would be pleased to pour his most holy blessings upon you, and to move your hearts, if it be his good will ; being,

‘ Magnificent and most

‘ Geneva, March
‘ 12, 1632.’

‘ Honoured Lords,

‘ Your most humble

‘ Servant and prisoner,

‘ N. ANTHOINE.’

On the eleventh of April, Anthoine was brought to his trial ; and, besides several other things, which I have already mentioned, he declared that he was a Jew ; beseeching God to grant him, that he might die for the Jewish religion ; that he believed there had been such a man as Jesus Christ, but he knew not whether he had been crucified ; that he did not believe him to be God, nor the Son of God, nor the Messias ; since there is but one God, without any distinction of persons, and the time of the Messias was not come yet : that he rejected the New Testament, because he found many contradictions in it, and because it did not agree with the Old ; that he got himself admitted into the ministry, because the Jews told him he might outwardly profess any religion without endangering his salvation, and because he wanted a livelihood ; that, when he took the usual oaths, it was with a mental reservation to what was true and reasonable ; that, being so far engaged, he could not avoid reciting the Apostles’ creed, and administering the communion ; that he never pronounced distinctly the articles of the creed, which concern our Saviour ; that he took his texts out of the Psalms, and the prophet Isaiah ; that the next day, after he had preached upon the second Psalm, without applying it to Jesus Christ, he fell into a fit of madness, as he was singing the seventy-fourth Psalm ; that he was mad when he came to Geneva, and called Jesus Christ an idol, &c. ; that it was true, he had affirmed, that the passages of the Old Testament, quoted in the New, were strained, far-fetched, and wretchedly applied ; that he had renounced his baptism, and continued to do so.

Afterwards they shewed him a paper written with his own hand, but not subscribed by him, which contained these words : ‘ I acknowledge and confess, that Jesus Christ crucified is the true God, Saviour, and Redeemer of the whole world ; and that he is the same with the Father and the Holy Ghost, as to his essence, but distinct, as to his person.’ His answer was : “ That he had been forced to write that confession ; and he disowned the doctrine contained in it.” Then the famous passage of Josephus, concerning Christ was alleged against him ; to which he made no answer. Being asked, “ Whether he persisted to renounce his baptism ?” he said, he did. Being exhorted to confess, whether he had frequented the bawdy-houses at Venice, he answered, “ That he could make no such confession, and prayed God to discover his innocence ; (adding) that the most beautiful woman in the world would not have tempted him :” and then, bending his head, he intreated God to take pity on him, &c. The first syndic alleged to him several passages of the Old Testament concerning Christ, and then the prisoner was recommitted.

On the sixteenth of April, he was brought again to the bar. His chief answers were : That he had never dogmatized at Geneva ; that when he gave the communion in his church at Divonne, he used these words : “ Remember the death of your Saviour :”

that he administered baptism, as other ministers did; that he was in the way to salvation, and fully resolved, with God's assistance, to die for the truth of his doctrine.

Whereupon, the council condemned him, on the twentieth of April, to be strangled and burnt; and their sentence was executed on the same day. It imports, that 'Nicholas Anthoine, laying aside all fear of God, was guilty of apostacy, and high-treason towards God, having opposed the Holy Trinity, denied our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, blasphemed against his holy Name, renounced his baptism to embrace Judaism and circumcision, and perjured himself. Which are great and horrid crimes, &c.' The above-mentioned letter of M. Ferry had such an effect upon the ministers of Geneva, that they went in a body to the council, and intreated the magistrates to put off his execution for some time; but it was to no purpose.

A Second and most exact Relation of those sad and lamentable Accidents, which happened in and about the Parish Church of Wydecombe, near the Dartmoors, in Devonshire, on Sunday the 21st of October last, 1638. 'Come, behold the Works of the Lord, what Desolations he hath made in the Earth.' Psal. xlv. 8. Imprimatur Thomas Wyke, R. P. Episc. Lond. Cap. Domest.

Printed at London, by G. M. for R. Harford, and are to be sold at his Shop in Queen's-head-alley, in Pater-noster-row, at the Gilt Bible, 1638.

[Quarto, containing Thirty-seven Pages.]

Though this is called properly the second relation of this wonderful accident; yet it includes the former *verbatim*, and adds and explains some passages, either omitted, or left obscure, by way of appendix.

As for the veracity of this relation, I am in no doubt; being so well attested, and licensed to be printed by the Bishop of London's domestick chaplain: But I could wish that these terrors of the Lord would persuade men to be more afraid of his judgments, and to seek for his mercy and protection, in the time of need, by a just discharge of their respective duties.

To the Reader.

I Here present thee with a second relation of that wonderful accident, which the printing of the former book hath given occasion of. Having now received a full and perfect relation, as is possible to be hoped for or procured, assuring thee it is not grounded on information taken up at second hand; but those persons being now come to London, who were eye-witnesses herein, and the chiefest discoverers of the effects of these terrible accidents. Although thou hadst the truth in part before, yet not the tithe thereof; the

full relation whereof thou shalt find here annexed, following after the former relation; supplied in all those particulars, wherein there was any defect before, supposing it better to annex it, than to dissolve and blend it with the former. What thou hadst not before, shall only be supplied now, and no more; and what thou findest not here, take to be true, as they are expressed there; and although it be larger than our former, yet we desired, in penning thereof, not to trouble thee with many words, but only the substance of this sad matter, as concisely as we could. And, though the price be more, yet suspend thy censure till thou hast perused it; and then, it may be, thou wilt give him thanks, who hath been at the pains to add this to the former; which he would not have done, unless he could tender it upon very good authority, and testimony of witnesses, more than needful. We know fame and report vary exceedingly, not knowing wherein to pitch our belief, for it much increaseth or diminisheth by flying, according to the apprehension and memory, both of the givers out, and takers up; but take this on his word, who only wisheth and intendeth thy good. Farewell.

A true Relation of those most strange and lamentable Accidents, happening in the Parish Church of Wydecombe, in Devonshire, on Sunday the 21st of October, 1638.

GOD'S visible judgments, and terrible remonstrances, which every morning are brought to light, coming unto our knowledge, should be our observation and admonition, 'that thereby the inhabitants of the earth may learn righteousness¹;' for to let them pass by us, as water runs by our doors, unobserved, argues too much regardlessness of God, in the way of his judgments²; not to suffer them to sink into our affections, and to prove as so many terrible warning-pieces, which are shot off from a watch-tower, to give notice of an enemy's approach, to awaken and affright us, are but a means to harden our hearts against the Lord, and to awaken his justice to punish us yet more. But to hear and fear³, and to do wickedly no more; to search our hearts, and amend our ways; is the best use that can be made of any of God's remarkable terrors manifested among us. When God is angry with us, it ought to be our wisdom to meet him, and make peace with him: and, where we see legible characters of his power and wrath, to learn to spell out his meaning, touching ourselves; to leave off all busy, malicious, causeless, and unchristianly censuring of others, and to turn in upon ourselves, remembering, *Vel pœnitendum, vel pereundum*; 'Except we repent, we shall likewise perish⁴.' Certain it is, that we do, in vain, expect immunity from God's judgments, by slighting or contemning them, or increasing in our sinnings against him. If Pharaoh, by the terror of thundering and lightning, was so affrighted, that he saith to Moses, 'Intreat the Lord, for it is enough, that there be no more mighty thunderings and hail⁵;' and if Caligula, out of the fear of thunder, would run under his bed to hide himself: how much more should we Christians learn to fear and tremble before the most mighty God, whose voice only can shake the mountains, and rend 'the rocks, and divide the flames of fire⁶;' rends churches, amazeth, and strikes dead at his pleasure, the sons of men? As the prophet David saith, 'He doeth whatsoever he pleaseth in heaven and earth; he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth, and maketh lightnings for the rain; and bringeth the wind out of the treasures of the earth: so unsearchable is his wisdom, and his ways past finding out.' Therefore, this should awe and humble our hearts before the Lord, rising up unto more perfection in godliness, doing unto our God more and better service than ever hitherto we have done, reverencing and sanctifying his dreadful Name in our hearts; especially when his judgments break in upon men, even in his own house, 'mingling their blood with their sacrifices;' and that, in a most terrible manner, smiting, and wounding, and killing, as,

¹ Eph. iii. 5.

⁴ Luke xiii. 5.

² Isa. xxvi. 9. 11.

⁵ Exod. ix. 28.

³ *Pœna paucorum terror omnium.*

⁶ Psalm xxix.

in this ensuing relation, may appear; which, for the suddenness and strangeness thereof, and in a manner miraculous, considering the many circumstances, I believe few ages can parallel, or produce the like. The Lord teach thee to profit thereby, that it may be as a sermon preached to thee from heaven by the Lord himself!

Upon Sunday the twenty-first of October last, in the parish-church of Wydecombe, near the Dartmoors in Devonshire, there fell, in time of divine service, a strange darkness, increasing more and more; so that the people, there assembled, could not see to read in any book; and suddenly, in a fearful and lamentable manner, a mighty thundering was heard, the rattling whereof did answer much like unto the sound and report of many great cannons, and terrible strange lightning therewith, greatly amazing those that heard and saw it, the darkness increasing yet more, till they could not see one another. The extraordinary lightning came into the church so flaming, that the whole church was presently filled with fire and smoke, the smell whereof was very loathsome, much like unto the scent of brimstone; some said, they saw, at first, a great fiery ball come in at the window, and pass through the church, which so affrighted the whole congregation, that the most part of them fell down into their seats, and some upon their knees, some on their faces, and some one upon another, with a great cry of burning and scalding; they all giving up themselves for dead, supposing the last judgment-day was come, and that they had been in the very flames of hell.

The minister of the parish, master George Lyde, being in the pulpit, or seat where prayers are read, however he might be much astonished hereat; yet, through God's mercy, had no other harm at all in his body; but, to his much grief and amazement, beheld, afterward, the lamentable accidents: and, although himself was not touched, yet the lightning seized upon his poor wife, fired her ruff, and linen next to her body, and her clothes, to the burning of many parts of her body, in a very pitiful manner. And one mistress Ditford, sitting in the pew with the minister's wife, was also much scalded; but the maid and child, sitting at the pew-door, had no harm. Besides, another woman, adventuring to run out of the church, had her clothes set on fire, and was not only strangely burnt and scorched, but had her flesh torn about her back almost to the very bones. Another woman had her flesh so torn, and her body so grievously burnt, that she died the same night.

Also one master Hill, a gentleman of good account in the parish, sitting in his seat by the chancel, had his head suddenly smitten against the wall; through the violence whereof he died that night, no other hurt being found about his body: but his son sitting in the same seat, had no harm. There was also one man more, at the same instant, of whom it is particularly related, (who was warrener unto Sir Richard Reynolds,) his head was cloven, his skull rent into three pieces, and his brains thrown upon the ground whole; and the hair of his head, through the violence of the blow at first given him, did stick fast unto the pillar or wall of the church, and in the place a deep bruise into the wall, as if it were shot against with a cannon-bullet.

Some other persons were then blasted and burnt, and so grievously scalded and wounded, that since that time they have died thereof; and many others not like to recover, notwithstanding all the means that can be procured to help them: Some had their clothes burnt, and their bodies had no hurt; and some, on the contrary, had their bodies burnt, and their clothes not touched; and some their stockings and legs burnt and scalded, and their outward buskins not one thread singed. But, it pleased God, yet, in the midst of judgment, to remember mercy; sparing some, and not destroying all; yet very many were sorely scalded in divers parts of their bodies: and as all this hurt was done upon the bodies of men and women, so the hurt also that was then done unto the church was remarkable.

There were some seats, in the body of the church, turned upside down, and yet they which sat in them had little or no hurt; also a boy, sitting on his seat, had his hat on, and near the one half thereof was cut off, and he had no hurt. And one man, going out

at the chancel-door; a dog running out before him, was whirled about towards the door, and fell down stark dead; at the sight whereof he stepped back within the door, and God preserved him alive! Also the church itself was much torn and defaced by the thunder and lightning; and thereby, also, a beam was burst in the midst, and fell down between the minister and clerk, and hurt neither; and a weighty great stone, near the foundation of the church, is torn out and removed, and the steeple itself is much rent; and there, where the church was most rent, there was least hurt done to the people, and not any one was hurt either with the wood or stone, but a maid of Manaton, which came thither, that afternoon, to see some friends, whom master Frynd, the coroner, (by circumstances,) supposed she was killed with a stone. There were also stones thrown from the tower, and carried about, a great distance from the church, as thick as if a hundred men had been there throwing, and a number of them, of such weight and bigness, that the strongest man cannot lift them. Also, one pinnacle of the tower was torn down, and broke through into the church.

Moreover, the pillar against which the pulpit standeth, being but newly whited, is now, by this means, turned black and sulphury. Furthermore, one man that stood in the chancel, with his face towards the bellfry, observed, as it were, the rising of dust or lime, in the lower end of the church, which suddenly, as with a puff of wind, was whirled up, and cast into his eyes, so that he could not see in twelve hours after; but now his sight is restored, and he hath no other hurt. The terrible lightning being past, all the people being in wonderful amaze, so that they spake not one word; by-and-by, one master Ralph Rouse, vintner in the town, stood up, saying these words: "Neighbours, in the name of God, shall we venture out of the church?" To which, Mr. Lyde answering, said: "It is best to make an end of prayers; for it were better to die here, than in another place." But they, looking about them and seeing the church so terribly rent and torn, durst not proceed in their public devotions, but went forth of the church.

And as all this was done within the church, and unto the church; so there were other accidents without the church, of which I will give you a touch. There was a bowling-alley near unto the church-yard, which was turned up into pits and heaps, in manner almost as if it had been plowed. At the same time also, at Brickstone near Plymouth, there fell such store of hail, and such hail-stones; that, for quantity, they were judged to be as big as ordinary turkey-eggs; some of them were of five, some of six, and others of seven ounces weight.

We are also certainly informed, that at the same time, as near as it can be guessed, there fell out the like accident unto the church at Norton, in Somersetshire; but as yet we hear of no persons hurt therein. Also it is related by a gentleman who travelled in those parts at that time, (he being since come to London,) that where he was, the lightning was so terrible, fiery, and flaming, that they thought their houses, at every flash, were set on fire; insomuch, that their horses in the stable were so affrighted, that they could not rule them.

The Addition to the former Relation.

THIS church of Wydecombe, being a large and fair church newly trimmed, there belonging to it a very fair steeple or tower, with great and small pinnacles thereon, it being one of the famousest towers in all those western parts; and there being gathered a great congregation, to the number, as is verily believed, of at least three-hundred persons: Master Lyde, with many others in the church, did see, presently after the darkness, as it were, a great ball of fire, and most terrible lightning, come in at the window; and therewithal, the roof of the church, in the lower part against the tower, to rend and gape wide open; whereat he was so much amazed, that he fell down into his seat; and unspeakable are the mighty secret wonders the Lord wrought immediately: of which, because thou hast the general relation before, I will give thee this, (as near as can be discovered, in the order and course thereof,) which first began in the tower, and thence into the

church; the power of that vehement and terrible blast struck in at the north side of the tower, tearing through a most strong stone wall into the stairs, which goes up round with stone steps to the top of the leads; and, being gotten in, struck against the other side of the wall, and, finding not way forth there, it rebounded back again, with greater force, to that side next the church; and, piercing through, right against the higher window of the church, took the greatest part thereof with it, and likewise some of the stones, and frame of the window, and so struck into the church, coming with a mighty power: it struck against the north-side wall of the church, as if it were with a great cannon-bullet, or somewhat like thereto, and not going through, but exceedingly shaking and battering the wall, it took its course directly up that aisle, straight to the pulpit or seat where master Lyde sat; and in the way, thence going up, it took all the lime and sand of the wall, and much grated the stones thereof, and tore off the side-desk of the pulpit; and, upon the pulpit, on the side thereof, it was left as black and moist as if it had been newly wiped with ink.

Then it goes straight up in the same aisle, and struck off all the hinder part of the warrener's head, (the brains fell backward, entire and whole, into the next seat behind him, and two pieces of his skull,) and dashed his blood against the wall; the other piece of his skull fell into the seat where he sat; and some of the skin of his head, flesh, and hair, was carried into the chancel, and some of his hair, to the quantity of a handful, stuck fast (as with lime and sand newly tempered) upon one of the bars of the timber-work partition, between the church and chancel. And one man, who sat next to the warrener in the same seat, was scalded, and all burnt on that side next the warrener, from the very head to the foot, and no hurt at all on the other side. And, in the second seat behind him, was another struck, in a most fearful manner: for he was so burnt and scalded all over his body, from his forehead downward below his knees, insomuch that he was all over like raw flesh round about; and, which is most wonderful, his clothes not once hurt, neither his head nor hair, who, notwithstanding, died not then, but lived in great misery above a week after.

But to go on in our relation. It is supposed, it having been since by divers judiciously viewed, that here the power or force divided itself two ways; one part whereof struck out of the window over their heads, which tore out, and carried away, some great stones out of the wall with the window, and further they could not trace it; but, with the force of the stroke, at going forth, it struck the lime and sand on the wall with many small stones or grit, so forcibly, that the lime, sand, and grit, returned back, like hail-shot, to the other side of the wall where the men did sit, and struck into their faces, (much disfiguring them,) and smote into the wall, and into the timber of the partition; some of which stones could not be picked out till the next day following.

But the other part of the force descended to the bottom of the wall, just before the warrener's seat, and there pierced in; heaving up all the wall in that place, rending and tearing it from the very ground, as high almost as the height of a man; there it broke through into the chancel, and about the number of eight boys, sitting about the rails of the communion-table, it took them up from the seats, and threw them all on heaps within the rails, and not one of them hurt; and one of them having his hat lying upon the rail, it was cut and burnt half way.

Then it went directly over to the other side of the chancel, and struck master Hill mortally in his head, so that he died that night; but his son, sitting as close by him as one man can sit by another, (for the seat would hold but two,) had no harm at all; not so much as once singed. But it struck against the wall so forcibly, that it beat in the wall behind him, as if it had been shot against with a cannon-bullet, as it is expressed in the former relation; but there, not going through, it recoiled back again, (coming about the chancel, as it is conceived,) and tore out violently one of the great side-stones of the chancel-door, against which it smote; cleaving it all to pieces, and there it is supposed it went forth: but some reasons there are to think it did not, for none of the pieces of the side-stone were carried out with it, but fell down within the chancel; besides, the considera-

tion of the mighty strange and secret works thereof in the body of the church ; for there it had rent and tore, and flung about marvellously.

The seats, where men and women sat, were rent up, turned upside down, and they that sat in them had no harm ; also, many of those pews and seats rent quite from the bottom, as if there had been no seats there, and those that sat in them, when they came to themselves, found that they were thrown out of their own into other seats, three or four seats higher, and yet had no harm. And, moreover, all the wood, timber, and stones were torn all to pieces, and violently thrown, every way, to the very walls of the church round about.

One man sitting upon the church-bier, at the lower end, the bier was struck and torn, and he that sat thereon was thrown into one of the pews by the wall-side, a good distance off.

Many also, both men and women, being very much burnt and scalded in divers places of their bodies, and after divers manners, to the number of fifty or sixty ; among whom, Mrs. Lyde, the minister's wife, was one, who suffered herein, as it is related in the former. And also Mrs. Ditford, her gown, two waistcoats, and linen next her body, burnt clean off, and her back also very grievously down to her waist burnt and scalded ; and so exceedingly afflicted thereby, she could neither stand nor go without help, being led out of the church. And one ancient woman was so terribly burnt, and her flesh torn, especially her hand, the flesh was so rotten and perished, that her hand is cut off that it might not endanger her arm ; and many of those, that were then burnt and scalded, have since died thereof.

And, furthermore, all the roof of the church is terribly torn, and a great part thereof broken into the church by some great stones, that were torn off the tower ; and all the other part hangs fearfully, all ragged and torn in divers places, ready to drop down ; it tore likewise all the windows, shook and rent the church-walls in divers places, but the chancel-roof had little or no hurt. Moreover, a beam was burst in sunder, which fell down between the minister and clerk, yet hurt neither. Nor was there, in all this time, any one hurt either with stick or stone, but only one man that had a little bruise on his back ; and, as there was least hurt done where the timber and stone fell most, so, on the contrary, where no timber nor stone fell, there was most hurt done. And, all this while, after the first terrible noise and lightning, not one in the church can remember they either heard or saw any thing, being all deadly astonished.

And, when the lightning was past, the people being still in a maze, not one could speak a word to another ; but by-and-by master Rouse came a little to himself, standing up, and spake as in the former relation ; and, speaking to master Lyde, he also thereupon began to recover himself, and answered as well as he could, trembling, as is expressed before ; not knowing of any hurt that was done, either to his wife or any else : but they, looking about them, saw a very thick mist, with smother, smoke, and smell, insomuch, that they, nor any there saw, the danger over their heads. But they two, going forth together at the chancel-door, they saw a dog whirled up some height from the ground, taken up and let down again three times together, and at last fell down stone-dead, all the lightning being past, neither could they see any thing at all near the dog.

Then presently the rest of the people scrambled forth the church as well as they could ; the mist and smother went away by degrees, but was not quite gone in half an hour after. And, being come forth, they saw their danger, which before they knew not ; for the tower and church were grievously cracked and shattered, and some of the stones on the church and tower torn off, and thrown every way round about, and huge weighty stones split all to pieces, some thrown distant from the church at least an hundred yards. And one great stone, like a massy rock, was carried off the pinnacle all over the east-end of the church, and over the church-yard, and into another close, over the hedge ; there it grazed, breaking up the ground deeply ; and, as it is imagined, it was done by that massy stone, which was carried, at least, ten yards beyond, and there bruised the ground very deep, where it lay immoveable.

And, on the other side of the church, there is a bowling-green, torn up and spoiled with stones as before; among many others, there fell therein one great broad stone, like a table, and in the fall was broken all to pieces; they being struck edge-ways into the ground, also many great stones were sunk so deep on all sides the church, that some were struck in even with the ground, and some lower. Some stones were thrown over master Rouse's house an hundred yards from the church, and sunk into the earth not to be seen, but only the hole, where the stone went down; and master Rouse's house, on that side next the church, was torn up, the covering carried off, and one of the rafters broke into the house.

Then a while after, before night, they adventured into the church to fetch out the dead bodies, some whereof being brought forth, and laid in the church-yard; there was then present a woman, being till that time much astonished, coming better to herself, upon sight of the dead bodies remembered, that she brought her child to church with her; they then, going in to seek for it, found her child going hand in hand with another little child, being met coming down one of the ailes, and had no hurt, nor seemed not to be any thing frightened by their countenances; neither were there any children in the church hurt at all; but the other child's mother was gone home, never remembering she had a child, till it was brought to her.

But as strange a thing as any of these was that concerning Robert Mead the warrener; he being not missed all this while, immediately, master Rouse, his dear acquaintance, remembered him, and seeing him not, nor none knowing what was become of him, master Rouse, stepping to the window, looked into the church where the warrener used to sit, and there saw him sitting in his seat, leaning upon his elbow, his elbow resting upon the desk before him; he supposed him to be a-sleep, or astonished, not yet come to himself; he, calling to awake him, wondered he made no answer; then his love to him caused him to venture into the church, to jog him awake, or to remember him, and then to his much grief he perceived his friend to be a dead man; for all the hinder part of his head was clean cut off, and gone round about his neck, and the fore-part not disfigured, as they supposed when they drew near him.

The lord of the manor of Wydecombe, hearing of this sad accident, sent his man, David Barry, that night thither, to hear what news, and to see what hurt was done; but, it being dark, he could see nothing that night, but only hear their relations. But on Monday, the day following, they came to take notice and view the ruins of the church, and what accidents had fallen out; then all this relation was made apparent to him, and (I may safely say) to thousands more of witnesses, that are ready to give testimony to all this relation.

But having seen and observed as much as they could about the church, the tower being locked up, what hurt was done there, was as yet unknown. There being then a motion made to open the door to see what hurt, no man was found willing to adventure, much less ascend up therein, all the people being as yet in a terrible fear; the remembrance of their great hurts and dangers being so fresh in their minds; for some being to be buried in the church that afternoon, as namely, master Hill and Robert Mead, their graves being close by one another, the minister read the burial to both at once, and when he came to those words, 'Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust,' the fall thereof, making a sudden noise upon the coffins, made them all in a great fear run out of the church, tumbling over one another, supposing that the church was falling on their heads.

But the said David resolved to venture himself to discover what he could, and, calling for the key to open the door, it was brought by the sexton; yet they all persuaded him not to venture, for the tower was so crazy, torn, and shattered, that they were all of opinion, it might fall, as they might well judge by the outside; but, he putting in the key to open the door, it would not unlock it, but run quite through; then the sexton, he trying also, could find no lock, and yet the door still fast; then, an iron-bar being used to force it off the hinges, it could not be done thereby, till at last he, espying the bolt of the lock shot into the staple, desired them to hold the door up with the bar, that he might put in his arm to put back the lock, and found there all the wood and wards of the lock gone; then,

the door being with much ado forced open, the said David was to go up first, and the sexton to follow him, where he found so much rubbish and stone tumbled down, that he could hardly creep up; he having his sword by his side, it troubled him, he put it off, wishing the clerk to hold it, while he made way; but, as they ascended, there came down the stairs a most loathsome smell beyond expression, as it were of brimstone, pitch, and sulphur; he notwithstanding adventured higher, but the sexton's stomach and courage being overcome, partly by his fear, and also by the smell, he returned back in a great fright, complaining he was poisoned.

A multitude of people being there to observe the discovery, come from divers places thereabouts, to see and hear of this spreading ill news, as daily multitudes do resort thither for that purpose, they all stood at a distance, waiting what could be found; but they not knowing what was become of him, because the sexton was so frightened, none daring to come near to look after him. But he getting (with great difficulty, and danger of his life at every step) up to the first story, there he viewed it, and found no hurt done; but, getting with greater difficulty up to the bell-room, he tolled all the bells, to see if they were sound or no; then the people much rejoiced, supposing he was well.

Then looking over-head he saw all the joices and timber under the leads carried away, all rent and torn fearfully, except one beam under the middle, which was bowed down, and a great number of stones lying on the leads, in a very strange and dangerous manner; but his heart encouraging him to venture yet higher, he attempted the leads, and getting up to the door, he saw a great danger, over his head, at the sight whereof his heart began to fail him; for the stones were carried clean away, under the inside next the church, and, on the outside so shaken, that very little upheld them; then espying yet more danger than before, he saw a great stone over his head, as he supposed, ready to drop down upon him, that he knew not whether to stay or go down, for fear of the falling thereof; then, attempting to throw it down, cried as loud as he possibly could, being at the top, to stand clear for fear of danger; he catching hold on somewhat over his head, hung by his hands, and with his feet touched the weighty stone, which tumbled down the stairs, never resting till it came to the bottom: then all the people, at the fall thereof, thought he was killed; but he, presently coming down into the bell-room, tolled the bells again, and thereby removed their fear.

Then coming down lower, in one place in the stairs, close by the place where the tower was most rent and shaken, there he espied a thing very strange to him, as if it had been a cannon discharged full of powder, and as if a bullet withal struck and shook it, and, finding no way out, recoiled back to another side, and there rent out a great part of the tower, with mighty stones; and, but a little above it, there was a round patch as broad as a bushel, which looked thick, slimy, and black, and black round about it, to which he put his hand, and felt it soft, and, bringing some thereof in his hand from the wall, came down the stairs to the people, and shewed them that strange compound: all much wondered thereat, and were affrighted, none knowing what it might be; it was like slimy powder tempered with water; he smelling thereto, it was so odious even beyond expression, and in a far higher degree of loathsomeness, than the scent which was in the church or tower when they first smelt it, it being of the same kind; they supposing that strong smell came from that which did overcome the sexton's and this searcher's stomach almost.

Yet all this while he found himself reasonable well, though much offended with smells; and, going home with master Lyde to supper, he lodged at master Rouse's, and went well to bed, and, an hour after, he felt something come upon him (as he thought) on the outside of his waist and belly, as if it were a cord twisted about him, two men pulling it with great strength, which griped him in that unspeakable manner three or four times, that he thought himself cut in sunder therewith, not having any breath, nor none knowing what to do to him; he could take nothing down, at present to ease him, but by-and-by, ridding his stomach by vomiting, being in a great and terrible sweat all this while, insomuch that the sheets, wherein he lay, might have been wringed; at last came up such

a loathsome vomit, that smelt of the same nature that that did which he brought out of the steeple; and after this, taking some rest, he was very well, in the morning.

All which most sad and lamentable spectacles were done, as it were, in a moment of time.

This is the sum of those dismal accidents and terrible examples happening in the place aforesaid. And the main drift, in the publication of this great judgment, is for thy humiliation and edification; not only to acquaint thee with the great and mighty works of God's power and justice, (who in a moment can do mighty things to us, and arm the creatures against us at his own pleasure,) but also to move pity and compassion in us towards our brethren who were patients therein, not judging them greater sinners than ourselves; but believing, 'That except we also repent, and sin no more; we shall likewise perish, or worse things befall us.' Which relation you can difficultly read without sighs, nor understand without tears. I know it is the fashion of too many to question and talk, and make things of this nature but 'a nine-days-wonder.' But let us not deceive ourselves any longer, but consider we have been lookers-on a great while, and others have been made our examples, and felt the smart at home and abroad, whilst we have gone free; but we know not how soon our turns and changes may come: these accidents might as well have happened to us as them; the Lord therefore, in much mercy, fit us both for the worst of times, and the best of ends! I end all with that prayer in our Litany, commending thee, and this, to the blessing of the Almighty.

' From lightning and tempest, from plague, pestilence, and famine, from battle and
' murder, and from sudden death,

' Good Lord, deliver us.'

Vox Borealis; Or, The Northerne Discoverie: By Way of Dialogue, between Jamie and Willie. Amongst the Babylo-nians, printed by Margery Mar-Prelat, in Thwackcoat-Lane, at the Signe of the Crab-tree Cudgell, without any Privilege of the Cater-Caps; the Yeare coming on, 1641.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-eight Pages.]

This is one of the earliest, and, I think, the most humourous and odd, of all the pamphlets written against King Charles the First, and his party; and, though it is a severe invective against Prelacy, carries with it so much merry conceit, that it cannot be read without affording a pretty deal of mirth and entertainment; especially in the poetical will of a dying soldier, which may be accounted one of the best pieces of its kind, that ever was published.

THE EPISTLE.

MOST kind and courteous Countrey-men: Being at Berwicke, it was my chance to meet with two of my countrey-men there, the one of them being lately come from London, and the other had been in the camp; where, after salutations past amongst us,

they desired me to write down their severall collections of passages, which, I confesse, are not such as they would have been, if mischances had not happened. For, it seems, the one was forced to burn his noates at London, and the others were spoyled with water at Berwicke; and, therefore, they are but fragments, not whole relations: yet, such as they are, accept of them, in regard of the good will of the giver, who may one day make amends for what is here omitted: which (as he is truely bound) so he will duely indeavour to performe; and will not cease to informe you of any thing which may tend to the advancement of the cause, and good of the countrey, whose peace and prosperity is dayly wished of

Your truely affected Friend.

The Printer to the Reader.

MA RTIN Mar-Prelat was a bonny lad,
His brave adventures made the prelats mad;
Though he be dead, yet he hath left behind
A generation of the Martin kind.
Yea, there's a certaine aged bonny lasse,
As well as he, that brings exploits to passe;
Tell not the bishops, and you s' know her name,
Margery Mar-Prelat, of renowned fame.
But now, alas! what will the prelats doe?
Her tippit's loose, and Boreas 'gins to blow;
Shee'l scould in print, whole volumes till they roare,
And laugh to see them strangled in their goare;
While Boreas blows, shee'll put his wind in print,
And venture life to strike their fatall dint:
Shee'll doe as much for south, for east, or west,
If they'll but venture to blow at the beast:
For 'tis high time the winds should joyne as one,
To bluster vengeance on that cursed throne;
Margery will joy, to see that happy day,
The winds conjoyn'd to blow the beast away:
How e're the North sends forth a lusty gale:
A board ye prelats, and goe hoyst up sayle:
This wind will drive you to the Romish coast,
Fear not to goe, the Pope will be your host;
To speed your voyage, if you want some wind,
Margery will helpe you, though she break behind.
If this verse (reader) doe offend thy nose,
Vox Borealis brings perfumed prose,
Which is so pleasant, that you cannot chuse
But laugh to read this merry Northerne News.

Willie. "**B**ROTHER Jamie, welcome to Berwicke. What hath drove you hither so soon?"

Jamie. "O Billie Willie, thee does little kenn the cause, but Ile tell ye: When our brother Scouter came to Scotland, he left me to supply his place; but I have had a hard task of it; for the search at London was hotter then the presse at Paris, and the new invented oathes exceeded the Spanish Inquisition. For all Scots men should have been sworn to fight against the cause of God, his conscience, and his countrey: and I will tell thee truly, they were three such enemies, as I durst not venture against them; and therefore took my heels and ranne away."

Willie. "Now well away fall them was the cause of that ; on't ! there's London news, indeed ; have you no better ?"

Jamie. "I had once good store of news in my pocket-book, but wae betyde them made me burn it."

Willie. "Burn it, brother, how came that to passe."

Jamie. "Marie, I was forced to doe it, or els the hangman had done it for me ; and, perhaps, burnt me with it : for all Scots men are counted heretiques by the Pope's publication ; and there's some of Bishop Bonner's¹ brood alive at London, that faine would make Marie-benefiers of us."

Willie. "Oh ! this moves me much, and the more, because my noates had almost as bad luck as yours ; for one day, being riding to water my horse, he stumbled, and I fell over head and luggs in the river, where I was like to be drowned ; and all my papers (being in my pocket) were quite spoyled, insomuch as I cannot read them. But now, seeing our brother is here, let us rubbe up our memories, and recollect our collections, and he shall put it down in the best order we can deliver it ; and you shall begin first ;" quoth *Willie.*

"Content," quoth *Jamie* ; and thereupon he began as followeth :

‘ My Fellow Scouters,

‘ I mean not to trouble you with any forraigne news, as of the conveening of the conclave of cardinals at Rome, and of their consultations about the Scots businesse ; nor how they have had a solemne procession, with prayers, for the good successe of the Catholique cause ; nor how they have agreed to give a cardinals cappe to² such as shall have the fortune to bring home the lost sheep againe to the Romish pitfold.

‘ Nor will I trouble you with the mighty Spanish fleet now preparing, (that in Eighty-eight being but like a few fisher-boats unto it) which for a while, meanes onely to hover up and down the seas ; or, perhaps, to dance the Canaries³ a turn or two, and, when they see who is like to carry away the most knocks, then they mean to shuffle in for a share.

‘ Nor how Baneir is gone to Bohemia, plundered Pragge ; and, if Generall Leslye were once come to him with 10,000 Scots, he then would give the Emperour a visit at Vienna.

‘ Nor how the French Embassadour hath importuned the hyring of some Venetian galleies for Marcellus, which is conceived had been imployed for the recoverie of the ilands of Gernsey and Gersey, to which his master layes a little, and is out of hope ever to have them, unlesse now, when the King was busie in this expedition for Scotland.

‘ Nor of the King of Denmark's dealing at the Sound, and els where ; in detayning all Scots commanders and provision from them that came there.

‘ Neither will I insist how little the Hollanders observe either confederacie or conspiracie in these troubles ; they selling powder and shot to the one, to kill the other ; and armour to the English, for defence against the Scots : shewing themselves right juglers, that can play with both the hands, so they may have profit. But I leave all these things to the news-mongers at London, and onely tell you what I heard concerning our own troubles.

‘ They say at London, that the cause of this combustion proceedeth from a quarrell for superiority, between Black-capps and Blew-capps, the one affirming, that Cater-capps keep square dealing ; and the other tells them that Cater-capps are like cater-pillars, which devoure all where they may be suffered ; and the Round-cappe tells the other, that their cappe is never out of order, turn it which way you will ; and they stand stiffly to it, that Blew-capps are true capps, and better then Black ones.’

“ That they are, (quoth *Willie* ;) and, if it comes once to the hurling of capps, we shall have ten to their one, let all the Cater-capps in Christendome take their parts.”

¹ Who, with Queen Mary's commission, burnt, and otherwise persecuted, all that opposed popery.

² Archbishop Laud.

³ [A sprightly dance repeatedly mentioned by Shakspeare, the air of which is described by Sir J. Hawkins.]

“ Others tell us, (quoth *Jamie*,) that there arose such a heat of hierarchie at Lambeth, as melted all the monopoly-money⁴ in the Exchequer: and it is thought, if the river had not been between, it would have quite consumed the power of the parliaments. But, however, it hath cast such a myst among the courtiers, as they cannot discern what the quarrell is, but are led on hoodwincked, like so many blind buzzards; they not knowing whether, nor for what, nor to what end.

“ When a warre was concluded upon, then they began to differ about the Generall, some alledging that it required one that had been in service; and others conceived, greatnesse of persons might asmuch availe as goodnesse of commanders. But the papists, fearing that their patron should be jusled out by another, hung their lippe, and vowed they would not contribute, unlesse a papist were preferred; which was yielded unto, for fear the expedition should have miscarried.

“ We heard from Scotland, how the Covenantters hoped that the King would get none but Papists and Atheists to fight against them, unlesse the King of Moroco sent him some of his Barbarians: and that they have chosen, for their chief ensigne, the silver bible, and flaming sword, which they will never put up, untill they have whipt the whore of Babylon out of their kingdome; and then, if they fight for any thing after, it will be to cast all their casheered mytres in a crown.

“ But the English tell us another tale; how the King's army cares neither for their ensigne, nor them; but will teach them such canonicall doctrine, ere they have done with them, as they never heard in Scotland before.

“ That the citizens of London refused to lend money, untill all monopolies were put down; whereupon, to please the people, thirty-three patents were called in at a clappe: but, indeed, they were onely such as the proctors could make no benefit by. But such as yeelded any profit (though with the greatest grievance) were never medled withall: so as the proctors are grown now worse then before, whose cankered conditions can never be cured, untill a parliament cause their necks to be noynted with the oyle of a hempseed halter.

“ That the papists and prelates, and all deanes and doctors, gave very liberally towards those warres; and, to say the truth, good reasons had they to bear the greatest burthen, who were the chiefeest causers of it, and are the greatest burthen to the land, and will reape the greatest benefit by it, if their designe did not deceive them.

“ That the prelates had a project to make all the lawyers likewise to contribute to it, which caused great contention between them. Whereupon, the bishops would have turned the common-law in cannon-law, and courts of equity, into simplicity: but a great lawyer opposed it, and told them plainly, that albeit it was spoken abroad, that the judges had overthrown the common-law, and the bishops the gospell; so as we may be said to be of no religion, that live neither under law nor gospell; yet he hoped to see a parliament, and then it would appear who were parliament prooffe, and who not.”

“ Now God's blessing be upon his heart, (quoth *Willie*,) and, if a parliament come, I hope to see some of those bigg-bellied bishops, like so many false fellows, for all their knacks and knaveries, to shake their shanks upon a gallowes. For, if Gregory once get them under his hands, all their tricks and trumperies will not serve their turne, but he will make them and their corner-capps look awry on their businesse.”

“ Oh, (quoth *Jamie*,) they are too much maintained into it to come to that, for they suffer no other doctrine to be taught, either in court or countrey, but for the maintaining of ecclesiasticall authority; and they have so prevailed, as every man stands in doubt which side to turn to. Let us fight for episcopacie, says one: Let's stand for the truth, says another: But then comes the King's proclamation, and that stoppes the mouth of all questions. In the mean time, the clergy cannot but laugh heartily at the people's simplicity, who are so forward to fight for them that are their enemies.

“ This businesse hath been carried with such power and potencie, as there are many

⁴ Money raised by patents granted for the establishment of monopolies.

men which find armes to this expedition, that would be loath their sword should be drawn in the quarrell ; and many ministers' purses appeared to this contribution, whose prayers went the clean contrary way : yet, to please the prelates, and for feare of suspension, they were content to allow to this collection.

" That all the doctors, about London, have long laboured for eight groats in the pound, of house-rent, for parson's duties ; which, in some parishes, amounts to eight-thousand pound *per annum*, and in some to five-thousand pound, in others to three-thousand pound, and the least about five-hundred pound *per annum* ; which was like to have been effected the sooner, because they would have given the first two yeares increase towards the Scots expedition."

" Oh, (quoth *Willie*,) there had been brave places for our Scots bishops."

" Give them a rope and butter, (quoth *Jamie*.) But now you would laugh to see how lown-like our lord-bishops walk up and down London, with halfe a score of casheered Scots ministers after them, like so many mourning pilgrims ; all of them, as in a procession, waiting upon the old archbishop ; but ye ken there is an old saying, ' There can be no ' holy procession where the divel carryes the crosse.' Such alterations and innovations have been in the English churches, as he that had been but three yeare absent out of the kingdome, could not have told at his return how to have behaved himselfe in the church ; when to have sit, nor when to have stood ; when to have prayed, nor when to have read : but, as a dumb Diego, must crouch and kneel as the rest did, yet knew not for what.

" But God be thanked, since the Scots businesse begun, the church hath had a pretty quiet nappe of rest, and ceremonies stand at a stay.

" That, in the heat of altering altars, much contention was amongst themselves. Some would have candlesticks placed, and all other implements ; and others would have an altar made ready first, to receive the sacrifice when it should be sent them ; insomuch, as the great doctor of all church-ceremonies protested, ' He was more troubled with the too ' much conformableness of some, nor with the non-conformableness of the others.' And the reason was, because the one runnes too fast on before, for the other to follow after. This is no small grace for Conformers. Why, herein they were like Mr. Michael Scot,⁵ who found the devil, his master, more worke then he was able to doe.

" That Paul Tune-man, of the Temple, having spent a yeares preaching, to prepare his audiorie to admit of an altar, at the last prevailed ; whereupon, that it might be the more perspicuous, he would not suffer any thing to stand neare it. But he brake his backe with the removing of the pulpit, which stood before it. And when he heard that the King and the Scots were agreed, and that the altars were like to down againe ; away he went into the countrey, where, for very grief, he gave up the ghost, and shut out his feet and dyed. At whose buriall, a good old doctor brought this for his text at his funerrall sermon, ' He which was killed betwixt the temple and the altar ;' and his application proved true. He consumed his estate in suits with the Templers⁶, and spent his spirits in labouring to maintain the lawfullnesse of the altar : so he was killed between the one and the other.

" That a madde cappe, and (I believe it was a Blew one) coming in one day to a new altered church, and looking upon their implements, told his friend that was with him ; ' That their altar betokened alteration of religion ; their plate, pride ; their clasped ' booke, obscurity from the communality ; the cushion, lazinesse in their calling ; and ' their two darke tapers, blindness and ignorance : for, if their light shine no better than ' their blind tapers, it will never be able to light any man to heaven.'

" There hath been such a number of ballad-makers and pamphlet-writers employed this yeare, as it is a wonder every thing being printed, that hath any thing in it against the Scots, as the Loyalties speech, that there was any roome for that (which was made in Queen Elizabeth's time, upon the Northerne rebel lion) and now reprinted ; but the author

⁵ [See notices of the wondrous Michael Scott, in notes to the Lay of the Last Minstrel.]

⁶ Viz. The lawyers at the Temple.

was ashamed of his name. After that dropt the Irish bishops booke, which cryed downe all the Covenanters, and called up some Jesuite to maintaine this Northerne combustion, worse then the Gunpowder treason : and, if none come, it is thought he will act the Jesuite's part himselfe, in something hereafter.

" The first fruits of his grand service, was that hot prize which he played in the Starre-chamber of Dublin, at the conventing of Mr. Henry Stewart, his wife and two daughters, with one James Gray, for not taking the oath. His virulent revilements against the cause, and the maintainers thereof, made his face pale as ashes, and his joynts to quiver, which argued an ill cause, and a worse conscience : but the saying proves true, *Corruptio boni pessima*, ' The better man, the worse bishop.'

" After this, one blurts out a book, wherein (as if he had been a messenger from warres) he undertakes the ungirding of the Scots armour ; but God be thanked, his arme was too short to reach them : and I hope Gregory Brandon will one day gird him up in a hempen halter, or St. Johnnestone ribband."

" Pox upon those priests, (quoth *Willie*;) let us heare somewhat els, for ther's no goodnesse in them."

" Then, (quoth *Jamie*,) I will tell you something of poets and players, and ye ken they are merry fellows.

" There was a poore man (and ye ken povertie is the badge of poetrie) who, to get a little money, made a song of all the capps in the kingdome, and at every verse end, concludes thus,

Of all the capps that ever I see,
Either great or small, Blew-cappe for me.

But his mirth was quickly turned to mourning, for he was clapt up in the Clink⁷, for his boldnesse, to meddle with any such matters. One Parker⁸, the prelats' poet, who made many base ballads against the Scots, sped but little better ; for he and his Antipodes were like to have tasted of Justice Long's liberalitie : and hardly he escaped his powdering-tubb, which the vulgar people calls a prison.

" But now he sweares he will never put pen to paper for the prelats againe, but betake himselfe to his pitcht kanne, and tobacco-pipe ; and learne to sell his frothie pots againe, and give over poetrie.

" But Ile tell thee, I met with a good fellow of that quality, that gave me a few fine verses ; and, when I have done, I will sing them.

" In the meane time, let me tell ye a lamentable tragedie, acted by the prelatie, against the poore players of the Fortune play-house, which made them sing,

' Fortune my foe, why dost thou frown on me ?' &c.

or they having gotten a new old play, called, ' The Cardinalls Conspiracie,' whom they brought upon the stage in as great state as they could, with altars, images, crosses, crucifixes, and the like, to set forth his pomp and pride. But woefull was the sight, to see how, in the midst of all their mirth, the pursevants came and seized upon the poore cardinall, and all his consorts, and carryed them away. And when they were questioned for it, in

⁷ The Bishop of Winchester's prison in Southwark.

⁸ [The friend who gave an account of this tract in *Censura Literaria*, vi. 157, and to whom I have before been obliged, has favoured me with the following allusion to Martin Parker and his ballad-making vocation :

" Some to the Tower, to Pancrace others run :
Noise fills the roomes within, and in the street
The rabble is convented ; where a jury
Of wide mouth'd oyster-wives, to whom the foreman
A one-legg'd ballad-singer opens tunably
The merry case, not onely to acquit you,
But prayse the act ; and sweare a ballad of it
Would out sell all the libells ever yet
M. P. subscrib'd to."

Act 2. Sc. 4. of *The Bride*, by Thomas Nabbes, 1640.]

the high commission court, they pleaded ignorance, and told the archbishop, 'that they tooke those examples of their altars, images, and the like, from heathen authors.' This did somewhat assuage his anger, that they did not bring him on the stage: but yet they were fined for it, and, after a little imprisonment, gat their libertie. And, having left them but a few old swords and bucklers, they fell to act 'The Valiant Scot,' which they played five dayes with great applause, which vext the bishops worse then the other, inso-much as they were forbidden playing it any more; and some of them prohibited ever playing againe."

"Well, (quoth *Willie*,) let the bishops be as angry as they will, we have acted 'The Valiant Scot' bravely at Berwicke; and, if ever I live to come to London, Ile make one my selfe to make up the number; that it may be acted there to, and that with a new addition: for I can tell thee, here's matter enough, and ye ken that I can fence bravely, and flish flash with the best of them."

"Nay, (quoth *Jamie*,) I believe you may save that labour, for every ladde at London learns to exercise his armes. There hes been brave branding amongst the boyes there upon this businesse, and they have divided themselves into three companies, the Prince's, the Queen's, and the Duke of York's: the first were called the English, the second the French, and the Duke of York were called the Scots company, who, like brave blades, were like to beat both the other two. And I can tell thee, that there hes been such hot service amongst them, that some of their youngest souldiers have been faine to be carryed heame out of the field: wherupon it was blabbed abroad, 'that boyes had done more' then men durst doe here at Berwicke.'

"But all this sport was little to the court-ladyes, who begun to be very melancholy for lacke of company, till at last some young gentlemen revised an old game, called,

'Have at thy coat, old woman.'

But let the old woman alone, she will be too hard for the best of them.

"With these, and the like passages, the time was spent, untill news came of the peace; which did not please the prelats, yet they could not tell how to helpe it. Faine would they have pickt a quarrell, but knew not how, untill ill lucke at last did helpe him. For it seems that the Scots commissioners had made some noates of remembrance of such speeches as had been past betweene the King and them upon the pacification, which they gave unto the English nobilitie; who being (after the King's return) to give in accompt of their proceedings to the rest of the councell, they were questioned for having the said noates: and every one made some excuse, and, like simple honest men, confest their sillynesse; and were content to have it proclaymed, that they never heard such words spoken. Now, forsooth, because they could not hang a few papers, therfore they commanded they should be burnt by the common hangman, who, at the time appointed, came in as great state, as if he had been to bishop, or brand, Bastwick and Burton againe, to the Pallace-yard (*alias*, the prelats' purgatory) with a halter in each hand, with two trumpets touting before him, and two men with a few loose papers following him; where, after reading of the proclamation, Gregory, very ceremoniously, put fire to the faggots, and so the poore innocent papers payd for it. When he had done, he cryed, 'God save the King;' and flourished his roapes; 'If any man conceale any such papers, he shall be hanged in these halters.' With which words, I was so affraid, that I ranne home and burnt all my papers; and so saved him a labour."

"Now I wish the wagge in a widdie, (quoth *Willie*,) that so abuses king and counsell, as we may not keep a few papers for them; what a mischiefe meane they; are they ashamed of their doings, that the people must not know how things goe?"

"So it seems, (quoth *Jamie*;) but, if any thing were worth the hearing, it should be proclaimed with sound of trumpet; as ye kenne, the last Lent, the troupers used to ryde up and down streets from city to court, and from court to countrey, with their trumpets before them; which made the people run out to see them, as fast as if it had been the bagge-pipes playing along before the beares. But, at their returne, all that was layd aside; and, as if they had been ashamed of themselves, they stole into the town alwayes

in the duske of the evening, where somtimes two, somtimes three, would come home together, driving their horses before, and a poke mantle lying on the saddle, with their boots and sword tyed on the toppe of it. These lodged in Smithfield, and fed as long on their horses, as their hoast durst let them.

“ Others came home on foot, with their saddles on their backs, (for they had sold their horse skinnes and shooes,) where they fell lame by the way, and these men landed at Pye Corner; where, after they had sold their saddles, like rusty rascalls, they eat out their swords.

“ Now I have told you all I can remember; for I came away assoone as the papers were burnt. But, if I had not been apparellled like a poore parson, all in blacke, with a canonicall coat, I had been robbed many times by the way; for the souldiers returned home by hundreds, and all was fish that came in the net, where they could catch any thing. But upon Newmarket heath, I mist my way, and met with a shepheard, who told me, ‘ It was no wonder to see me so, for most of the ministerie had been out of the way for a long time together, and had misled the King to an unthrifitie journey, wherein he had spent more money than all the clergie of the kingdome were worth.’ ‘ Well, (quoth I to the shepheard,) every one to their calling, thou to thy hooke, and I to my booke:’ and so away I went, and never met with any thing worth noating by the way. So as I will onely sing my song⁹, and conclude.

SIR JOHN got on a bonny browne beast
To Scotland for to ride a,
A brave buffe coat upon his back,
A short sword by his side a.
Alas, young man, we Sucklings can
Pull down the Scottish pride a.

His men and he, in their jollitie
Did drinke, quarrell, and quaffe a,
’Till away he went, like a Jack of Lent:
But it would have made you to laugh a,
How away they did creep, like so many sheep,
And he like an Essex calfe a.

He danc’d and pranc’d, and prankt about,
’Till people him espide a;
With pye-ball’d apparrell, he did so quarrell,
As none durst come him nye a.
But soft, Sir John¹⁰, ere you come home,
You will not look so high a.

When he came to the campe, he was in a damp,
To see the Scots in sight a,
And all his brave troops, like so many droops,
To fight they had no heart a.
And, when the allarme cal’d all to arme,
Sir John he went to sh--e a.

Both wife, and maid, and widow, pray’d
To the Scots he would be kind a;
He storm’d the more, and deeply swore
They should no favour find a.
But, if you had been at Berwicke and seen,
He was in another ruffe a.

They pray’d him to mount, and ryde in the
To try his courage good a. [front
He told them the Scots had dangerous plots,
As he well understood a:
Which they denyed, but he replyed—
It’s sinne for to shed blood a.

He did repent the money he spent
Got by unlawfull game a;
His curled locks could endure no knocks.
Then let none goe againe a:
Such a carpet knight as durst not fight,
For feare he should be slaine a:

“ Well (quoth *Willie*), as I remember, there was some song here also at the camp of him. And I will sing so much of it as I can, because I will begin as you have ended:

⁹ [See a description of the origin of this ballad, and also a differing copy of it, in Percy’s Reliques, vol. ii. A burlesque letter, in verse, pretended to be sent by Sir John Suckling from France in 1641, and deploring his sad estate, &c. may be perused in Cens. Lit. vol. x.]

¹⁰ Suckling, governor of Berwick.

but mine is a more sinister verse then yours, for it hath two foot more, and it is to be sung, to the tune of 'John Dorie,' as followeth;

Sir John got on an ambling nagge,
To Scotland for to goe,
With a hundred horse, without remorse,
To keep ye from the foe.
No carpet-knight ever went to fight
With halfe so much braveado;
Had you seen but his look, you would swear on a book
Hee'd conquered a whole armado.

"But the valour of the knight, and the veyn of the poetrie, are both of so course a thred, that I had rather tell you the rest of it in plain prose."

Willie (being to make his relation) after a little pause said, 'It's not my meaning, Sirs, to mention any thing which happened in our way towards Berwicke; neither what spoyles and pillagings the souldiers exercised; nor how the troupers robbed and rifled every one they met with, and forceable took away whatsoever they could lay hands on, without respect of conscience.' And it seems the countrey had as little spirit, as they had conscience; for could ever a free state, especially in time of peace, indure such insolencies against persons, states, and families, and that from the scum of men, voyd both of fortitude and righteousness; but such as had lost all tincture of their progenitors' spirit, and subjected themselves to perfect slavery. An uncle of mine, well verst in military discipline, told me, 'That if Gretians, Romans, yea, or Turks, were here to see a sort of whitelivered raggamuffins, under the name of souldierly overrunning, a warlike famous people from their very originall, witness the Romans' testimony of them, they would say it, either they were not the same people, or by way of transmigration, they had sent their soules to the Hollander.' But the Duke of Buckingham, *aliàs*, of our destruction, by the plot of his pragmatick bandeleader, Sir Dudley Larbetom, first bridled them, and saddled them, for the Rutters to mount on; which though they mist, yet they never cast the bridle and saddle; so that who will may ride them. But Ile leave such things to those that, if they durst, would faine complaine, and have cause to sing, 'The Lamentation of their Losses.'

"But I cannot omit to tell you of the great threatnings which were thundered out against the Covenanters, all the way as they went along, and every molehill was made a mountaine, to aggravate their rebellion; and every man vowed to be revenged, though he neither knew of whom, nor for what. But, by that time that we had been there encamped three nights, we found (besides the Scots armie) two strong enemies more than we expected (hunger and cold) which so sharply assayed us; that, if our foes had not proved our friends, in relieving us, we had suffered much misery.

"That, within a week after our first coming, sundry of our souldiers surfetted with eating of fresh salmon, insomuch, as they were ready to mutinie for want of meat; whereupon, by advise of councell, it was fit they should have libertie to take what they could get beyond Tweed. But the honest souldiers knowing, 'that sweet meat must have sowre sauce,' would not venture for it."

"Then it seems, (quoth *Jamie*,) that they are but fresh water souldiers, not yet seasoned with the souldier's life; how would they be able to hold out a winter leager, if they cannot shift out a summer with good fresh salmon?"

"A winter league (quoth *Willie*) would burne all their bones in the North; for the best of them is no body, without a feather-bed at his back; and either a dish of beef and brewesse, or bacon and bagge-pudding in his belly; but, if he have that and his double beere, and his drabbe, he will stand to it stiffly.

"Marie, now I remember, (quoth *Jamie*,) that they call a bagge-pudding 'London's joy;' and I beleieve it's that which makes many of them so bigge-bellied; but, if they

cannot byte of a bannock, and bibbe of the brooke, they are not fit comerages for me; for I can fare hard, lye hard, and fight hard: and, if my tobacco-box afford me but two pipes a day, I shift out well enough for any thing else."

"It must be better tobacco, (quoth *Willie*,) then that which the common souldiers had in the camp, which the sutlers made of cabbedge-leaves, and dock-leaves steeped in p—e, and dried, with the blossomes of green broom. This they sold for four pipes a penny; but it did so smoke and stinke, as if they had burnt their huts.

"At our first coming, there was a great quarrell between the musqueteers and the archers in the armie, about precedencie. The one saith, 'Hee's the onely man now in use;' and the other blurts out his bolt, and tells them, 'That bows and arrowes won Bolloyne.' But a tall strippling, standing by, told them, 'That a minced pye was more acceptable then either;' and offered, 'If any man durst gainsay it, and would meet him at Berwicke bounds, with a minced pye, and two pewter spoons; if he did not beat him at his own weapons, he would be content to fast two dayes after.'

"That it was feared, so soon as the army went home, there would have been civill warres between the men and the women, in the Northern countreys, for superiority; partly because the men had done no feats of arms worthy of so brave an appointed army, and the ancient fame of their countrey; telling them, 'If they had been in their place, they would either, by valour, have won the breeches, or left their mothers daughters.' Others of some quality stormed, that their husbands were not knighted and they ladyfied; and told them, in some heat, 'That if they could not be knighted under the banner, they would go nye to knight them under the curtin.' But a witty blade, (somewhat better experienced in the laws of Venus than the rest, and having learned in the Low-countreys to shelter himselfe behind a cannon-basket,) derided the matter very daintily, and gave the women good satisfaction: 'It's true, (quoth he,) that that old propheticall adage proves now too true:

'Waters shall waxe, and woods shall waine,

'And unman shall be man, and man shall be naine.'

Where can this rather be verified, than in women's imperious thoughts, irrationall commands, usurped government, and metamorphorised apparell? Wherin women, against the laws of God, nature, nations, they act man, and play the very viragons. Man, by the contrary, being too vigorous, looseth God, his image, in his priviledge; in sitting in the saddle, and giving her the reines, he unmans himselfe; and, being woman in all, save wherein his wife would not have him: so he sitteth down in effect with Sardanapalus to the distaffe. But, to meddle no more with this hornet nest, and come to the particulars: You are to know, ladies, the huglesh spirit is not all lost; but our great plenty, much ease, and long peace, all ill used, have shortened our spirit, and made us to seek, except it be to roare, pipe, and pot, in tavernes and ale-houses, to make children gaze at buffe calfe and feather; with damnable oaths and villanous deeds to terrifie and torment the people; and as many of them, in practise, know not the right hand from the left, so many of their commanders are ignoramusses in the very vocables of art. But, as the constable said to the captain, 'We must be dissembled in a trance; our commanders must learn to command, and we to doe; we must learne to creep before we goe; to stand before we dance; and how to handle armes, and to endure some hardship, before we fight.'

"Againe, noble Amazons, take notice, that we had no commission to fight with the Scots; which if we had had, we would have gone nigh to have frighted them as ill, as the coves of Barwick frighted us; but we were onely by flourishes to scare them: witnesse our going to Kelso market, to see how meat rated.

"But, in the third place, a greater block then both these lay in the way, and that which hindered a shop-broken taylor, turned Steward in a ship, to fight, namely, want of a good cause. It is enough, thinke I, to venture bodies, though we venture no soules; and what shall a man have, but a vanishing vapour of report, when he hath sacrificed himselfe?

“ Lastly, If we had killed the Scots, the Papists would have cut our throats for our paines; and, as for knighting, I assure you, gentlewomen, a great many more have it, then can tell how to use it. And so the women were well pacified.

“ That there came divers carpet-knights to the camp, onely for fashion, not for fighting; whose chiefest attendants are either poets or players; at whose returne you shall either have the second part of *Hobia Moko*, or els *Polydamna*, acted, with a new addition. But, if it had once come to knocks, then you must have expected a tragedie instead of a commedie; as, ‘ *The Losse of a Loyall Subject, The Prodigal’s Repentance, The Suckling’s Succour, The Lost Lover,*’ or some such pretty peece.

“ That all the time the camp lay here, we had most lamentable wet wether, as if the heavens had mourned with continuall rayne, which our camp scarce called ‘ *Scottish Teares*,’ but I am sure it made good the old saying, ‘ *A Scottish mist will wet an Englishman to the skinne.*’ And well it might be, for there was neither care taken for huts, nor tents; but, assoone as it was faire againe, in the sun-shine, they went all in hunting the lousie lare, where they made good that riddle, which put *Homer* to a stand: ‘ *What they found, they left behind them; and what they could not find, they tooke with them.*’ But, having done execution upon those grudge-pikes, at their returnes, they would bragge how many Covenanted enemies they had killed, since they went out.”

“ Why (quoth *Jamie*) were any Covenanters killed? We heare no such news at London.”

“ It is but onely a beare (quoth *Willie*) to call their lyce and backbyters their Covenanted enemies.”

“ Let them jeare on, (quoth *Jamie*), if they dare kill nothing els but lyce, then I am content they should never have other imployment; for, indeed, it was told at London, ‘ That there was nothing among the souldiers in the King’s camp, but lyce, and long nayles;’ which, it seems, was all the imployment they had, or blood which was shed there.”

“ No, (quoth *Willie*), they durst not doe so much as goe into Scotland to kill either man or beast there; and this they gave out for their excuse, ‘ That all the ground was undermined betwixt *Berwicke* and the Scottish camp;’ so as they durst not march on, for feare of blowing up. But they needed never feare that; for, unlesse the English Matchevilians undermined the Scots Covenanters, and, by a long-tayl’d traine from London to *Edenburgh*, blew up the parliament there (least they blew up the bishops) there is nothing els to be blown up.

“ That here, in the North, the King’s coyne, which had been for so many yeares rackt out of the cuntry into the King’s coffers, hath been now most prodigally spent; and the Monopoly-money, which hath lyen so many yeares mould in the exchequer, is now so well sunshined, and so often turned over from hand to hand, as it will not come there to be rusty againe, this seaven yeares.

“ It is thought this climate hath an extraordinary operation in altering of men’s constitutions and conditions; for our gallants have both changed their voices, and their words, since they came from London; for there they used to speake as bigge as bulbeggars, that fight in barnes, and at every word, ‘ *Sirra, rogue, rascall,*’ and the like. But it is otherwayes now; for their words are as if they whispered, for feare the Scots should heare them, and their words are turned to, ‘ *Honest Jacke, Courage souldiers,*’ and the like; so as, if we had stayed but a little while longer, we should have been ‘ *all fellows at football.*’

“ That a great many old souldiers lived by their shifts; some counterfeited fortune-tellers, some juglers, and some morice-dancers; and, indeed, they sped best of all: for, whilst the wives without conveighs (which lay lurking about the house) would either get a duck or a henne; or others, perhaps, a lamb or a pigge; and home they came to the camp, oftentimes with halfe a dozen of women at their heels, crying, ‘ *Stoppe thiefe, stoppe!*’ but never an honest man was in the way, and it is not the fashion for one thiefe to stay another. But when they came to their huts, then there was all the sport to see them quarrell for dividing of it, untill the marshall or provost came, who, to stint the strife, kept it to himselfe: So, oftentimes, he that fet it never eat it.”

“ Oh, (quoth *Jamie*,) what belly-gods are these, that will robbe the poore people? If they had played such pranks in Scotland, they had been well banged, both backe and side.”

“ I warrant (quoth *Willie*) that the Northerne people dreamed of these broyles, many yeares agoe; for they have been so provident to prevent them, as they never planted any orchards. For, if there had been either fruit above ground, or roots in the ground, nothing had been left them; for they marcht by pares up and down, looking for a prey; but, as I tell, the countrey cozened them for that.

“ That one day, in a misty morning, about a dozen of camp royane ruffins had a desire to plunder a countrey village in Scotland. I will ranke them in order as they went out, least their disorderly returne home prevent me: First, there rode two carrubins, who in their rusty armor, and starved stalliones, lookt like a couple of brewer's servants in leather jerkings, made of old boots, ryding for old caske. After them followed two light horse-men, with great saddles and petreonels, like a couple of fiddlers with their muscicall instruments in cases. Next to these marcht foure footmen, with sow-skinne knapsaks, and halfe-pikes; like foure Banbury tinkers, with their budgets at their backs. And after them some musketeers with their rests in their hands, and their bandealers about their necks; like so many sow-gelders. When they came to the village, the men were gone to the market, and the women were at milking. The horse-men stood behind the barn-yard, to receive what the others should bring them. The musketeers marcht into the milke-house, and the pikemen to the henroost, where the fowles began to flutter, the geese to kekcle, and the dogs to barke; and all the village was presently in an uproare. Out came a wench crying, ‘ Come out, come out, for here are theeves come to robbe us.’ With that an allarum was beat on the bottome of an old kettle; and out came all the wives very well weaponed, some with rockes, some with forks, and some with flailles, crying, ‘ Where are these false swearing theeves?’ But, assoone as they found them, they so belaboured the poore pikemen, as happy was he could get first free from them; yet at last they gat loose, and followed their horsemen, who fled away assoone as ever they heard the fray begin. In the meane time, the musketeers had so panged their panches with butter-milke and whay, that they could scarce get out of the wives' gripes, to come to their horse-men. But what with feare, and their struggling with the women for the victorie, most of them made bold with their breeches. But at last, when they see that the wives stood so stiffly to it, they ranne as fast away as they could: but there was such a wild goose chase, between the wives and them, as hes beene seldome seen; insomuch, as the poore pikemen having overheat themselves, the butter-milke and whay had such an opperation, as they had got such a squirt, that the women could trace them wheresoever they fled; and still, as they overtooke them, they did so beswaddle them, that they cryed for quarter. ‘ What is this, (quoth a woman,) that the lown calls quarter? If thy quarters have not enough, they shall have enough.’ ‘ Alas, Cummer, (quoth another,) he cryes for mercie.’ ‘ Then, (quoth she,) false thiefe, cry God this mercie, and Ile let thee alone.’ The poore man learned the language, and so that fray ended: but, withall, they promised never to come into that kingdome any more. When they had their libertie, it was bootlesse to bid them runne; for away they went with asmuch speed as their legges could carrie them. But a man might have found them by the sent all the way. All the spoyle that this fray afforded, was onely their bandaleers for the boyes, to play withall; and their rests for rockes, for the wives to spinne withall.”

“ Now God's blessing and mine (quoth *Jamie*) light upon the goodwives, for they have played their parts bravely. And I hope the English army never troubled them for it.”

“ No, (quoth *Willie*,) but they lay upon the lurch a good while after for a revenge; and one day, early in the morning, stole into Scotland, thinking to have taken them tarde. But when they came there, albeit they had shuffled all the coat cards in their own hands, and so thought it had been a won game; yet, when they saw clubbes turne up trump, they gave it over as a lost game, and never after offered them any injurie: but some of the

souldiers were so trampled and trod upon, in their suddain retreat, that divers of them dyed presently after their returne; amongst whom, one, more godly then the rest, desired to have his will written; but there was none to doe it but a poet, and he made it in verse, which was as followeth:

BEING sore sicke, and ready for to dye,
 Yet thanks be to God, in perfect memorie,
 My will I make. And, first, I do bequeath
 My soule to Christ, my body to the grave:
 My braines unto my countrey; that they may
 Not brainsick runne in such bad deeds as they:
 My eares unto the King, that he may heare
 His subjects' suits in peace, and not in wearre:
 My eyes unto the State, that they may see
 All false seducers of his Majestie:
 My tongue to such as dare not the truth tell;
 My mind to those that thinke all is not well:
 My nose to those that have not perfect sent
 To smell out those as hinder Parliament:
 My hand to him that meanes to shed no blood,
 My heart to those that for the Gospell stood:
 My broad backe to the Protestants, that they
 With patience suffer, and in love obey:
 My legges I leave to lame men, to assist them;
 If Scots come on, there's many that will misse them:
 My feet to Franck who hath no heart to stay,
 That better he may scape, and runne away.

I know no fit executor for this will:
 But, if that any please it to fulfill,
 I leave them power; and doe begge with teares,
 England and Scotland to be overseers;
 That each may have their own due legacie.
 Soe farewell, friends: death calls away for me.

"Within two or three dayes after this retreat, there was an agreement made between the two armies, and both of them were to dissolve their forces. Whereupon order was given in the King's camp, 'that every man should have a monethes pay, to carrie him home to his countrey.' But the captaines and commanders did so shuffle and shirke the poore souldiers, that some of them had nothing, and the most had but foure or five shillings a-piece, to travell three-hundred miles. Yet (to give the devill his due) they did them a court-courtesie, in giving them a passe home to their countrey, with a licence to begge by the way; and a tiquet to all majors, justices, constables, and the like, not to trouble the stocks, nor whipping-posts, with any such souldiers as came from the King's camp."

"Now good Gibbie get them, (quoth *Jamie*;) and ye kenn, that if he once shake hands with any, they had need say their prayers, for they are not long-lived after it. But what silly souldiers were those that would be put off so? Marie, it is no mervell then they begged and robbed all the way home. And so deeply swore, 'they would rather be hanged at home, then ever goe abroad in the King's camp againe.'"

"They could not helpe it, (quoth *Willie*;) for they might tell their tale one to another, for no-body els would heare them. And besides, they were so glad to be gone, as they never stayed for any conduct or company; for they were not so farre in love with the bu-sinesse, as to play 'Loath to depart.' But every man shifted for himselfe, as soon as he

could, for feare he should have been called backe againe, and put upon some new employment there."

" We could never (quoth *Jamie*) understand the truth of the agreement at the camp; some told one thing, some told another."

" The effect of the agreement (quoth *Willie*) was thus, in brief, ' That both the armies should be dissolved: that the King's castles should be surrendered: that the King's shippes should depart the Firth: that a set assembly should be called, and have libertie to settle the government of the church: that a parliament should immediately follow, which should ratifie the assembly, and redresse the grievances of the kingdome.'

" Their demands, as I was informed, were these: that, besides the holding and confirmation of the assembly, to be holden by the succeeding parliament, they desired these particulars, namely, ' That the Scottish delinquents should be sent home for their tryall; restoration of the state's dammages; and, lastly, security from further danger from the fireworks ingeneers of this combustion.' And, whether these were granted or not, not to meddle with hand or seale, I referre my selfe to the martyred papers, and the consciences of some of the English lords.

" Good agreements, brother, but badly performed. For, assoone as the armies were dissolved, and the King possessed of the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, &c. new cavells were raysed against the Covenanters. And it was reported, ' That, under the colour of a parle with the lords at Berwicke, they should all have been detayned, and sent prisoners to London.' But, as good happe was, they went not, but excused themselves to the King; because the appointed assemblies was then to begin, which hath since quite abolished bishops.

" The King seemed displeased, and thereupon placed Generall Rothwen governor of the castle of Edinburgh. And now he, having gotten that by a tricke, which they never could have gotten by strength, keeps a couple of false knaves to laugh at the lords, a foole and a fidler; and, when he and they are almost drunke, then they goe to singing of Scots jiggies, in a jeering manner, at the Covenanters, for surrendering up their castles.

The fidler he flings out his heels, and dances and sings:

Put up thy dagger, *Jamie*,
And all things shall be mended;
Bishops shall fall, no not at all,
When the parliament is ended,

Then the fool, he flirts out his folly; and whilst the fidler plays, he sings:

Which never was intended,
But onely for to flam thee:
We have gotten the game,
Wee'll keep the same,
Put by thy dagger, *Jamie*.

" The devill a dagger (quoth *Jamie*) shalbe put up by me; nor, I beleeeve, by any man in the kingdome, untill the parliament be ended, and have confirmed the putting down of bishops: wee'll be no longer flim-flamb'd by any of them. And, for this trick, we will have that false papisticall traytor Rothwen, and all his knaveries, out of the castle; or else we will make it too hot for him to hold it. I am in such a rage at these rascalls, as, if I had them here, I would beat them both black and blew, and teach them to sing another song, called, ' The Lown's Lamentation;' yea, and make them dance after my pipe, ere I had done with them."

" Peace, (quoth *Willie*), patience will bring all to perfection, and time will discover the truth. But if this pacification was onely pretended, that they might get the castles into their custodie; and the parliament but onely promised, and never intended to confirm the abolishing of bishops; then we have just cause to doe that which was never dreamed on."

"Dreamed on, (quoth *Jamie*;) if dreames prove true, I shalbe master of a mytre ere it be long; for every night I am so troubled with finding of mytres, crucifixes, rich copes, and the like; that I thinke, to my comfort, it wilbe my fortune to fall upon the rifling of some of those belly-god bishops' houses, before this warre be ended: and then let me alone to expone my dreame. And I hope, if I take pains, to pull down popery in such a manner, as it will not trouble my conscience hereafter."

"I would it were come to that, (quoth *Willie*;) if it must needs come to it; but it were better the businesse ended in a peaceable way."

"That will never be, (quoth *Jamie*;) for there is a time when Babylon must down, and the bishops, who are but whelps of that whore's litter, must down before her; and why may not the time be now? For the Pope had never such a blow as Scotland now hath given him; and, if England give him but such another, it will make him stagger."

"Ha, *Jamie*, there thou hitst the marke; for all the pollicie that I have, can never possesse me of any possibility of bringing peace and safety, except the bloody and undermining locusts be sent to the bottomlesse pit, from whence they came; and the whole litter of the whore's whelps, as thou callest them, the bishops, with all their appendices, be rooted out: yea, except some carpenters arise, and saw off these strong hornes of the beast, which, by stickling, make so many leakes in the English church, she and all in her are like to perish; and then those hellish pirats, worse than Tunnees¹¹ and Algeir, will have a bout with the bordering of the Scots. But I hope they shall all be hanged first. The Scots have set the English a faire copy, and if they cannot write for these also, the Scots will lend their hand, if they be willing to learne. Yet not to write a letter, much lesse a line of rebellllion: for, as they may compare with any nation in the world for their loyalty, so to terme the saving of the Church, King, and State, rebellion, 'is of the devill, the father of lyes.'

"I am confident, that the English will not be so forgetfull of their honour and profession, as to make such use of the Scots, as the monkey made of the spannell; in pulling the chestnut out of the fire with the spannell's foot. But, as mutuall necessity craves mutuall ayd, so I hope the Scots and English will (in a brotherly conjunction, like Joab and Abijhai,) help one another against the Syrians and Ammonites; that is, forraigne and domesticke enemies. 'If the Syrians be too strong for me, (saith Joab,) then thou shalt helpe me; but, if Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will come and helpe thee:' 2 Sam. x. 11. The application is easie. But whither am I gone? certainly beyond both Packe and Packe-pin; yea, and the Warehouse too."

"O Billie Willie! that some good engine had the hammering of this, and it might prove a bonny piece. Bnt I meane well. Now to close up all: as I wish, with the Spirit, "all happinesse to attend those that dash Babel's brats against the walls;" so let both nations take heed of that curse denounced against those 'that doe the worke of the Lord negligently:' Psalm cxxxvii. 11; Jer. xlviii. 10."

By this time we were called to supper, and thereupon gave over discourse. And, the next day after, departed all three for Edenburgh; where we agreed over againe to own the hazard of a new journey to London, to see how things were carryed there. But the manner of the carriage, and how we shall dispose of our selves there, cannot be resolved till we see the successe of this parliament. Till when, and ever, we remaine ready to do our utmost indeavours in any thing that may tend to the good of this kirk and kingdome.

POSTSCRIPT.

THROUGH fire and water we have past
To bring you Northerne news;
And, since as scouts we travelled last,
We now that name refuse:

But if, henceforth, new broyles appeare,
And warre begin to rise,
Castilian like, wee'll cloth ourselves,
And live like Spanish spies.

¹¹ [Tunis and Algiers.]

The Atheistical Politician: or a brief Discourse concerning Nicholas Machiavell.

Published about the year 1641.

[Quarto, containing Seven Pages.]

The intention of this Discourse appears to be levelled against the government and ministry of King Charles the First, and by way of apology for Machiavell, (which, I think, is very artfully composed,) endeavours to depreciate Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, by alleging them to be more dishonest than Nicholas Machiavell.

NICHOLAS MACHIAVELL is cried down for a villain, neither do I think he deserves a better title; yet, when I consider he was not only an Italian, but a courtier, I cannot choose but commiserate his fortune, that he, in particular, should bear the marks which belong to the wisest statesmen in general.

He that intends to express a dishonest man, calls him a Machiavillian; when he might as justly say, a Straffordian¹, or a Cantibirian². We embrace the first apparition of virtue or vice, and let the substance pass by untouched.

For, if we examine the life of Lewis the Eleventh of France, we shall find he acted more ill, than Machiavell writ; or, for aught we know, ever thought: yet he hath wisdom inscribed on his tomb; and had he not kissed his crucifix ever after the doing a dishonest thing, pronouncing a sentence or two, that discovered the complexion of his heart; he might have past for as honest a man as all wise ancestors, (or any prince living in his time,) who now lie quiet in their graves: a favour this man is denied by ignorant and ungrateful posterity.

He was secretary to the state of Florence, of which he hath written an excellent and impartial history: he had lived in the days of Pope Alexander the Sixth, been familiar with his son Cæsar; and what these princes were, is sufficiently known.

No time was fuller of action, nor more shewed the instability of worldly honours, than the occurrences that happened in Italy at this time. Now, from a man wholly employed in court affairs, where it was thought madness to look beyond second causes, worse things might have been with better reason expected, than these so bitterly condemned; which are, indeed, but the history of wise impieties, long before imprinted in the hearts of ambitious pretenders, and by him made legible to the meanest understanding; yet he is more blamed for this fair expression, than they are that daily commit far greater impiety, than his, or any pen else, is able to express.

It was his profession to imitate the behaviour of princes, were it never so unseemly. Nay, religion cannot condemn the speculation of ill in ministers of state, without laying herself and professors open to all injury.

For, upon how great disadvantage should a good prince treat with a bad neighbour, if he were not only familiar with the paths of wickedness, but knew other ways to shun them, and how to countermine their treacherous practices?

¹ Alluding to the Earl of Strafford, beheaded in King Charles the First's reign.

² Alluding to Archbishop Laud.—N. B. These two were looked upon by the author, and many others, his contemporaries, to be evil counsellors to King Charles the First, and, as such, were Machiavells in England.

Do any blame Albertus for writing obscenely? Nay, do not they rather call him 'the Great;' because he hath so plainly set open the closet of nature? Indeed, if any men can pretend a just quarrel to Machiavell, they are Kings; for as it is the ordinary course of light women to find fault with the broad discourse of that they maintain their power by, so statesmen may best blame the publication of these maxims, that they may put them in practice with more profit and security.

The unjust steward is commended for his worldly wisdom, and what doth he say more of Cæsar Borgia, than that he was a politic tyrant? And if, without leave of the text, he propose him for an example, yet it is of ill: and who is more fit to be a pattern to a villain, than one of the same coat?

Most of the estates in Italy did then voluntarily, or were compelled to change their masters; neither could that school teach him any thing more perfectly than the way to greatness, nor he write a more acceptable treatise than aphorisms of state.

He saw the kingdom of Naples torn out of the house of Angieu³ by Ferdinand, and the people kept in tyranny both by the father and son; he saw the no less mad than disloyal ambition of Lodowick Duke of Milan, who took the government upon him out of the hands of young Galeas, with as much treachery and cunning as Francis Sforça, father to Galeas, had done from the Dukes of Orleans; he beheld Charles the Eighth, King of France, brought into Italy by the said Duke of Milan, to keep the people at gaze, whilst he poisoned his nephew, who was to expect the dukedom when he came of age: he saw the descent of Charles winked at by Pope Alexander the Sixth, in hope to raise a house for his son Cæsar out of the ruins of some of the princes, in which he was deceived; for the French King made himself master of all Italy, entered Rome twice, put the Holy Father to take sanctuary in the castle St. Angelo, and there to subscribe to such conditions as the victorious King was pleased to prescribe him; upon which his Holiness came out: and though Charles, in shew of reverence, did kiss his foot, yet he took his son Cæsar for hostage, to secure the performance of his promise, though he covered it with the name of ambassage, ever to reside with the King, in token of amity; and after Cæsar had made an escape, the Holy Father, contrary to his oath, made a league against the French King.

He was an eye-witness of an amity contracted between the Vicar of Christ and his known enemy the Turk; with whom he⁴ agreed for money to poison his⁵ brother, who was fled into Christendom, for fear of Bajazet, then reigning, and was under the Pope's protection at Rome; and might have been of excellent use to any prince that would have invaded the Turk, had not his Holiness observed his promise to this monster, which he seldom kept with the best of men.

After all this, he saw the French King lose all Italy, with the same dexterity he had gained it; and Pope Alexander and his son, both overthrown by one draught of poison, prepared by themselves for others; of which the father died presently, but the son, by reason of youth and antidote, had leisure to see, what he had formerly gotten, torn out of his hands, and he forced to flee to his father-in-law, the King of Navarre, in whose service he was murdered.

To these ambitious practices of princes, may be added the domestical impiety of the Pope, who was a corrival with his two sons in the love of his own daughter, the lady Lucretia, whom they all three enjoyed; which bred such a hatred between the brothers, that Cæsar, being jealous that the other had a greater share in her affection, killed him one night, and threw him into the Tiber. Nay, it could not be discerned when the head of the church spake truth or falsehood, but by the extraordinary execrations he used, when he meant to deceive.

Neither are these only the commodities of Italy, but the usual traffick of all the courts in the world; for the mark that God hath set upon Jeroboam, (who, according to our dialect, may be styled the Machiavell of the Jews,) cannot scare most princes out of his path. For how many kings have failed to set up altars, both at Bethel and Dan, when

³ Anjou.

The Pope.

⁵ The Grand Seigneur.

they think their power may be weakened by the people going to Jerusalem? Saul, being a private man, went to the prophet to ask after his father's asses; but, being a king, went to the devil to know the success of a battle.

Christ himself saith, 'Not many great, not many mighty are called.' Men in soft raiment may be found at court, but their consciences are commonly seared and hard.

This makes me think, the Wise-men, that came from far to see our Saviour, thought him an earthly prince, and not the King of heaven; else, they would never have sought him in the court of Herod, from whence nothing could come but cruelty and oppression.

The Church of Rome (that did anciently deserve honour of all the world), after it came to be a court, grew fruitful only in impiety; and, though we do acknowledge her still to be a church, because she hath all the lineaments of religion in her, yet they are so blended in superstition, pomp, and cruelty, that it is no easy task to find the truth amongst them. For, as a good fruit-tree leaves not to be the same as it was before, though covered and embraced with ivy and ill weeds, the natural daughters of time, which neither spare things sacred nor profane; so Rome may be called a church still, though covered with trash and idle ceremonies; in which the Pope and the Cardinals shroud themselves, so as, if knowledge, occasioned by the illumination of God, had not houted them out of some corners of the world, they had not only made good, by an unquestioned prescription, those errors in being, but brought in more; and being themselves masters of all temporal estates, were there nothing else against them, but greatness and impiety, it were enough to convince them of falsehood and novelty. Pride is acknowledged by all to be the root of ill: now where doth it prosper so well, or grow so strong as in princes, and such as do attend on their affairs? The effects of which sin can be contained in no narrower compass, than the whole mass of impiety that is apt to commit; for it made Phocas to kill his master, Cæsar to overthrow the liberty of the bravest common-wealth that ever the world did, or is likely to behold; it prompts the hands of children to pull unseasonably the pillows from under the heads of their dying fathers; it is this that fills heaven and hell with souls, the earth with blood; this pride made Charles the Fifth to arm himself against his own pope, that very year in which God had done him the honour to take one of the greatest monarchs in Christendom prisoner; it caused his son Philip to mingle the blood of his own child with the infinite quantity he spilt upon the face of Europe; yet his thirst could not be quenched, though he set a new world a-broach in America, which he let run till it was as void of people, as he was of pity.

Is a Prince named in any chronicle, but in red letters? Nay, what are chronicles? Registers of blood, and projects to procure it; yet none blames them that write them. I do not intend to make an apology for him, being so well acquainted with the miseries of those, that are so unhappy as to fall under the government of such principles: all I aim at is, to prove that if he were justly arraigned, he could not be condemned by men in like place, who ever were his peers, if not worse; because advice without execution hurts only the giver.

Yet Machiavell saith, 'What prince had not rather be Titus than Nero?' But, if he will needs be a tyrant, he shews him the way that is least hurtful to his temporal estate; as if he should say, Thou hast made thyself already an enemy to God and thy people, and hast nothing to hope for, beyond the honour of this world; therefore, to keep thee from the fury of men, be sure thou art perfectly wicked; a task not hitherto performed, it being yet beyond example, that any tyrant should perform all the mischief that was requisite for his safety, no more than the best kings did ever all the good; and of this he makes Cæsar Borgia, Alexander the Sixth's son, a pattern, who removed all the impediments that stood between him and his desires, and provided against all cross accidents but his own; being sick at the time of his father's death, which hindered him so, as he had no leisure to attend his business, which was to make one succeed in his father's place, that might, at least, have favoured his projects. But I verily believe, (as I see by daily experience,) that those which go on in the same track, though they have brought their purposes to as happy a conclusion, yet they shall not want impediments, or discontents, that shall out-talk the plea-

sure of their ambition; but, since it is oftentimes the will of God to give success to ill means wisely contrived, who can advise better than this Florentine? A member of the Roman church; and is, in that regard, to be less blamed, because he had as much religion as the pope then in being; with whom all impieties were as familiar as the air he breathed in.

Neither are these rules, he speaks of, omitted in the best kings, if they be wise: for which of them doth not dispatch his ungrateful actions by deputies; and those that are popular with his own hands? Do any observe their promise so exactly, as not to fail when they see the profit greater than can be expected at another time? And all this he saith only to a prince. For, had he given those documents to a son, or any other that had filled any narrower room than a kingdom, he might, with juster reason, have undergone all censure; but, being to make a grammar for the understanding of tyrannical government, is he to be blamed for setting down the general rules of such princes? Now, if falsehood and deceit be not their true dialect, let any judge that reads their stories. Nay, cozenage is reduced into so necessary an art amongst them, that he that knows not how to deceive, knows not how to live. That breach of faith, in private men, is damnable, and dishonourable, he cannot deny; but kings seem to have larger charters, by reason of their universal commerce; and, as ambassadors may be excused, if they lye abroad for the good of their country, because they represent their master's persons; with far greater reason may they do it, than they that employ them; provided they turn not the edge of these qualities towards their own people, to whom they are tied in a more natural and honest obligation.

For a common-wealth is like a natural body, and when it is all together, shews a comely structure; but search into the intrails, from whence the true nourishment proceeds, and you shall find nothing but blood, filth, and stench. The truth is, this man hath raked too far in this, which makes him smell as he doth in the nostrils of ignorant people; whereas the better experienced know, it is the wholesome savour of the court, especially where the prince is of the first head.

Die Lunæ, 22 Jan. 1643. An Ordinance¹ for Regulating the University of Cambridge, and for Removing of scandalous Ministers in the seven associated Counties.

WHEREAS many complaints are made by the well-affected inhabitants of the associated counties of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hartford, Cambridge, Huntington, and Lincolne² that the service of the parliament is retarded, the enemy strengthened, the people's soules starved, and their minds diverted from any care of God's cause, by their idle, ill-affected, and scandalous clergy, of the university of Cambridge, and the associated counties; and that many that would give evidence, against such scandalous ministers, are not able to travell to London, nor beare the charges of such a journey: It is ordained by the lords and commons assembled in parliament, that the Earle of Manchester shall appoynt one or more committees in every countie, consisting of such as have beene nominated deputy lieutenants, or committees by any former ordinance of parliament, in any of the said associated counties; every committee to consist of ten, whereof any five or more of them, to sit in any place or places within any of the said associated counties where the said Earle shall appoynt; with power to put in execution these instructions following, and, in pursuance thereof, to give assistance to the said committees.

¹ By the parliament.

² Including the Isle of Ely and the city of Norwich.

First, they shall have power to call before them all provosts, masters, and fellows of colleges, all students, and members of the university, and all ministers in any countie of the association, and all schoole-masters that are scandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the parliament, or fomentors of this unnaturall war, or that shall wilfully refuse obedience to the ordinances of parliament, or that have deserted their ordinary places of residence, not being employed in the service of the King and Parliament. And they shall have power to send for any witnesses, and examine any complaint or testimony against them, upon oathes of such persons as shall and may be produced to give evidence against them, and shall certifie their names, with the charge and proofes against them, to the said Earle of Manchester; and he shall have power to eject such as he shall judge unfit for their places, and to sequester their estates, meanes, and revenues, and to dispose of them as he shall thinke fitting, and to place other fitting persons in their roome, such as shall be approved of by the assembly of divines sitting at Westminster.

The Earle of Manchester, or the said committee or committees, shall have power to administer the late covenant taken, and to be taken of all the three kingdoms, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to all persons in any of the said associated counties, and the Isle of Ely; upon such penalties as are, or shall be assigned by the parliament in this behalfe.

And be it ordained, that the said Earle of Manchester shall have power to dispose of a fifth part of all such estates as they shall sequester; for the benefit of the wives and children of any of the aforesaid persons.

The said committee or committees shall imploy a clerke for the registering of all warrants, orders, summons, and ejectments made by them: and that they choose some convenient place for the preserving of the writings of this committee.

That the said Earle of Manchester shall have power to examine and inhibit all such as doe obstruct the reformation, now endeavoured, by the parliament and assembly of divines.

And be it further declared, that all such as shall doe any thing in execution of this ordinance, shall be kept indemnified by the authoritie and power of both houses of parliament.

And further be it ordained, that the Earle of Manchester shall have power to appoynt a convenient number, consisting of one or more out of every countie, one out of the citie of Norwich, and one out of the countie and citie of Lincolne: provided that three of these be deputie-lieutenants to sit at Cambridge, for the better ordering of all businesses of the association, according to ordinances and orders of parliament, and according to his commission granted by his Excellencie the Earle of Essex; and that the present committee for the association sitting at Cambridge shall cease, when the Earle of Manchester shall have appoynted another under his hand and seale.

JOHN BROWNE, Cler. Parliament.

The following Commission granted by the Earle of Manchester, according to the Power given him by the foregoing Ordinance of Parliament, is here printed from an original MS. signed by the said Earl, and directed to Sir Edmund Bacon, Sir William Spring, Sir William Soham, Mr. Barrow, Mr. Gurdon sen. Mr. Tyrrell, Mr. Gurdon jun. Mr. Harvie, Mr. Moody, Mr. Chaplyn.

Gentlemen,

I SEND you, by this bearer, a commission, with instructions for the executinge of the ordinance of parliament, against scandalous ministers within your county. I neither doubt of your abilities nor affections to further the service; yet, according to the great trust ymposed uppon me herein by the parliament, I must be earnest with you to be dili-

gent herein. You know how much the people of this kingdome have formerly suffered, in their persons, soules, and estates, under an idle and ill-affected, scandalouse and insolent clergy, upheld by bishops : and you cannot but foresee, that their pressures and burthens will still continue, although the forme of government be altered, unlesse greate care be taken to displace such ministers, and to place arthodox and wholly men in every parish : for, lett the government be what it will, for the forme thereof; yet it will never be good, unlesse the parties employed therein be good themselves. By the Providence of God, it now lyes in our parte to reforme the former abuses, and to remove the offenders; your power is greate, and soe is the trust reposed in you; and your fault will bee no lesse, if you doe not well discharge this greate trust. Yf a generall reformation follow not within your county, assuredly the blame will be layed uppon you; and you must expect to be called to an accompt for it, both here and hereafter: for my parte, I am resolved to ymploy the utmost of that power, given unto me by that ordinance, for the procuring a generall reformation in all the associated countyes; and, expectinge your forwardness and harty joyninge with mee herein, I rest

Your Freind to serve you.

BY vertue of an ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament assembled, to mee directed, and entituled, ‘ An Ordinance for regulatinge the University of Cambridge, and for removinge the scandalous Ministers in the seven associated Countyes;’ I doe authorize, constitute and appoynt you Sir John Wentworth, Knt. Francis Bacon, Nathaniel Bacon of Ipswich, Nathaniel Bacon of Freston, Francis Brewster, William Blayes, Robert Brewster, Esqrs. Robert Duncon, Peter Fisher, and John Base, Gents. or any five of you, to call before you all ministers and schoolemasters within the county of Bucks, that are scandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the parliament; or fomentors of this unnaturall warre; or that shall willfully refuse obedience to the ordinances of parliament; or that have deserted their ordinary places of residence, not beeinge ymployed in the service of the Kinge and Parliament, with full power and libertie to send for any wittnesses, and to examine any complaint or testimony against any such ministers, uppon such persons’ oathes as shall and may be produced to give evidence against them; and you to certifie the names of such ministers, with the charge and proofs against them, to mee. And I do hereby further authorize and appoynt you, to administer the late covenant, taken, or to be taken, of all the three kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to all persons within the said county, and to performe and execute all other things directed by the said ordinance, within the said county: And whatsoever you, or any five of you, shall doe in the premisses, this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand, &c.

MANCHESTER.

Instructions to the Commissioners, for Removinge Scandalous Ministers within the County of Suffolk.

YOU are with all diligence to apply yourselves to the speedy and effectuall executinge of this ordinance; and, for that end, you are to divide yourselves into several committees, (five of you beeing a committee,) and to appoynt certeyne dayes for your settinge, at several places within the county; that soe all parties, by the easinesse, may be encouraged to addresse themselves to you in their complaynts.

When any complaynts are made unto you, and articles preferred against any minister; you are to send out your warrant to the wittnesses, as allso to the minister, to appeare before you at the time and place appoynted.

I thinke it not fitt that the parties accused should be at the takinge of the depositions, because of discountenancinge the wittnesses, and disturbinge the service: but, when the depositions are taken, upon oath; you are then to lett the party accused have a copy of

them, (yf they will pay for itt,) and to give him a day to retorne his answeere in writinge, and to make his defence, at any other meetinge; to be appoynted within fourteene days, or thereabouts.

You are to retorne both the accusation and the defence, under your hands, sealed, to Mr. Good, or Mr. Ashe, whom I have appoynted to receive the same; who thereupon shall receive such further directions as shall be thought fitt.

Yf the party accused will not appeare, nor make his defence, you are to certifie the cause of his absence and neglect herein: for if he bee non-resident, or in armes against the parliament, or the like, I shall proceede against him notwithstandinge.

And because it is found, by sad experiance, the parishoners are not forward to complayn of their ministers, although they be very scandalous; but havinge the price and power in their hands, yet want harts to make use thereof, too many beeinge enemyes to that blessed reformation so much desired by the parliament; and loath to come under a powerfull ministry: and some sparinge their ministers, because such ministers, to gayne the good opinion of their people, for the present, doe spare them in their tythes, and thereupon are esteemed quiet men, or the like; you are therefore required to call unto you some well-affected men within every hundred, who, havinge no private engagements, but intendinge to further the publique reformation, may be required and incouraged by you, to enquire after the doctrines, lives, and conversations, of all ministers and schoolemasters, and to give you informations, both what can be deposed, and who can depose the same.

And, for better incouragement, both to the commissioners and prosecutors, in this service, every commissioner shall be allowed five shillings *per diem*, that he settis in executinge this ordinance, to be payd by John Base of Saxmondham, sequestrator of the county; who is hereby required to pay it upon demand, and who shall be allowed it upon his accompt; out of which money it is desired, that the clarke may receive some pay: that soe the clarke may not discourage the prosecutors or informers, by demanding fees, either for warrants or coppyes of the proceedings; unlesse the writinge be very large, and the parties will voluntarily give him somethinge.

You are to proceede against all ministers and schoolemasters that are scandalous in their doctrine or lives, non-resident, ignorant, or unable for the service, idle or lazy; and all that are any wayes ill-affected to the parliament, or the proceedings thereof, expressed either by their speeches or actions.

You are to require the parishoners, to make choyse of a fitt and able minister to succeed, who must bringe unto mee a very good testimoniall, from the best-affected gentry and ministry of the county, of his sufficiency, as allsoe of his life and conversation; and you are to take speciall care, that no Anabaptist or Antinomian be nominated, but such as are very arthodox in their opinions, and such as the assembly of divines, now assembled at Westminster, will allow of.

You are diligently to inquire out the true value of every livinge, that shall be questioned before you, and to certifie the same; as allsoe the estate, livelihood, and charge of cheildren of the party questioned; that soe I may know what allowance to make to the party, uppon the sequestration, for to maintayne his wife and cheildren, accordinge to the ordinance of parliament.

Lastly, You are required to use all other wayes and meanes, according to your discretions, for speeding this service.

MANCHESTER.

The Corruption and Deficiency of the Laws of England, soberly discovered : Or, Liberty working up to its just Height. Wherein is set down,

I. The Standard, or Measure of all just Laws ; which is three-fold.

1. Their Original and Rise, *viz.* The free Choice, or Election of the People. 2. Their Rule and Square, *viz.* Principle ; of Justice, Righteousness, and Truth. 3. Their Use and End, *viz.* The Liberty and Safety of the People.

II. The Laws of England weighed in this three-fold Balance, and found too light.

1. In their Original, Force, Power, Conquest, or Constraint. 2. In their Rule, corrupt Will, or Principles of Unrighteousness and Wrong. 3. In their End, the Grievance, Trouble, and Bondage of the People.

III. The Necessity of the Reformation of the Laws of England ; together with the Excellency (and yet Difficulty) of this Work.

IV. The corrupt Interest of Lawyers in this Commonwealth.
By John Warr.

Leges Angliæ plenæ sunt tricarum, ambiguitatum, sibi que contrariæ ; fuerunt siquidem excogitatæ, atque sancitæ à Normannis, quibus nulla gens magis litigiosa, atque in controversiis machinandis ac proferendis fallacior reperiri potest.

PHILIP HONOR.

Englised thus : ‘ The Laws of England are full of tricks, doubts, and contrary to themselves ; for they were invented and established by the Normans, which were of all nations the most quarrelsome, and most fallacious in contriving of controversies and suits.’

London, printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black Spread Eagle at the West End of St. Paul’s. 1649.

[Quarto, containing Eighteen Pages.]

CHAP. I.

Containing the just Measure of all good Laws, in their Original, Rule, and End : Together with a Reflexion (by Way of Antithesis) upon unjust Laws.

THOSE laws, which do carry any thing of freedom in their bowels, do owe their original to the people’s choice ; and have been wrested from the rulers and princes of the world, by importunity of intreaty, or by force of arms. For the great men of the

world, being invested with the power thereof, cannot be imagined to eclipse themselves or their own pomp, unless by the violent interposition of the people's spirits; who are most sensible of their own burthens, and most forward in seeking relief. So that exorbitancy and injustice, on the part of rulers, was the rise of laws in behalf of the people; which consideration will afford us this general maxim, That the pure and genuine intent of laws was to bridle princes, not the people; and to keep rulers within the bounds, of just and righteous government: from whence, as from a fountain, the rivulet of subjection and obedience, on the people's part, did reciprocally flow forth; partly to gratify, and partly to encourage good and virtuous governors. So that laws have but a secondary reflexion on the people, glancing only at them, but looking with a full eye upon princes. Agreeable to this is that of Cicero, *lib. ii. de Offic.* whose words are to this effect: *Cum premeretur olim multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habebant, statim confugiebat ad unum aliquem virtute præstantem, &c. Jus enim semper quæsitum est æquabile, neque; enim aliter esset jus; id si ab uno bono et justo viro consequerentur, eo erant contenti; cum id minùs contingeret, leges sunt inventæ, &c. (i.e.)* 'When the people did obtain redress of their wrongs from some just and good man, they were satisfied therewith; but, when they failed thereof, they found out laws,' &c.

From which assertion we may deduce a two-fold corollary.

1. That at the foundation of governments justice was in men, before it came to be in laws; for the only rule of government, to good princes, was their own wills; and people were content to pay them their subjection upon the security of their bare words. So here in England, in the days of King Alfred, the administration of justice was immediately in the crown, and required the personal attendance of the King.

2. But this course did soon bankrupt the world, and drive men to a necessity of taking bond from their princes, and setting limits to their power; hence it came to pass, that justice was transmitted from men to laws, that both prince and people might read their duties, offences, and punishments, before them.

And yet such hath been the interest of princes in the world, that the sting of the law hath been plucked out as to them, and the weight of it fallen upon the people; which hath been more grievous, because out of its place; the element of the law being beneficial, not cumbersome within its own sphere. Hence it is, that laws (like swords) come to be used against those which made them; and, being put upon the rack of self and worldly interest, are forced to speak what they never meant, and to accuse their best friends, the people. Thus the law becomes any thing or nothing, at the courtesy of great men, and is bended by them like a twig. Yea, how easy is it for such men to break those customs which will not bow, and to erect traditions of a more complying temper, to the wills of those, whose end they serve. So that law comes to be lost in will and lust; yea, lust by the adoption of greatness is enacted law. Hence it comes to pass, that laws upon laws do bridle the people; and run counter to their end: yea, the farther we go, the more out of the way. This is the original of unjust laws.

No marvel that freedom hath no voice here, for an usurper reigns; and freedom is proscribed like an exile, living only in the understandings of some few men, and not daring to appear upon the theatre of the world.

But yet the minds of men are the great wheels of things; thence come changes and alterations in the world; teeming freedom exerts and puts forth itself; the unjust world would suppress its appearance; many fall in this conflict, but freedom will at last prevail, and give law to all things.

So that here is the proper fountain of good and righteous laws, a spirit of understanding big with freedom, and having a single respect to people's rights; judgment goes before to create a capacity, and freedom follows after to fill it up. And thus law comes to be the bank of freedom, which is not said to straiten, but to conduct the stream. A people, thus watered, are in a thriving posture; and the rather, because the foundation is

well laid, and the law reduced to its original state, which is the protection of the poor against the mighty.

If it were possible for a people to choose such laws as were prejudicial to themselves, this were to forsake their own interest. Here (you will say) is free choice; but bring such laws to the rule, and there is a failure there: the rule of righteous laws are clear and righteous principles, according to the several appearances of truth within us; for reason is the measure of all just laws, though the size differ according to the various apprehensions of people, or tempers of commonwealths; so that choice abstracted or considered in itself, is no undeniable badge of a just law, but as it is mixed with other ingredients; as, on the contrary, force and power are not therefore condemned, because they have hands to strike, but because they have no eyes to see: i. e. they are not usually balanced with understanding and right reason, in making or executing of laws; the sword having commonly more of the beast in it, than the man.

Otherwise, to be imposed upon by the art of truth, is to be caught by a warrantable guile; and to be kept by force from injuring one's self or others, hath more of courtesy than severeness therein; and, in this case, reason will cast the scales, and ascribe more to a seeing force, than a blind choice: the righteousness or unrighteousness of things depends not upon the circumstances of our embracing or rejecting them, but upon the true nature of the things themselves. Let righteousness and truth be given out to the nation, we shall not much quarrel at the manner of conveyance, whether this way, or that way; by the beast, or by the man; by the vine, or by the bramble.

There is a two-fold rule of corrupt laws.

1. Principles of self and worldly greatness in the rulers of the world, who, standing upon the mountain of force and power, see nothing but their own land round about them; and make it their design to subdue laws as well as persons, and enforce both to do homage to their wills.

2. Obsequiousness, flattery, or compliancy of spirit, to the foresaid principles, is the womb of all degenerate laws in inferior ministers. It is hard, indeed, not to swim with the stream, and some men had rather give up their right than contend, especially upon apparent disadvantage: it is true, these things are temptations to men, and it is one thing to be deflowered, but to give up one's self to uncleanness is another. It is better to be ravished of our freedoms, corrupt times have a force upon us, than to give them up as a free-will offering to the lust of great men; especially if we ourselves have a share with them in the same design.

Easiness of spirit is a wanton frame, and so far from resisting, that it courts an assault; yea, such persons are prodigal of other men's stock, and give that away for the bare asking, which will cost much labour to regain. Obsequious and servile spirits are the worst guardians of the people's rights.

Upon the advantage of such spirits, the interest of rulers hath been heightened in the world, and strictly guarded by severest laws; and truly, when the door of an interest flies open at a knock, no marvel that princes enter in.

And, being once admitted into the bosom of the law, their first work is to secure themselves; and here what servility and flattery are not able to effect, that force and power shall. And, in order hereto, a guard of laws is impressed to serve and defend prerogative power, and to secure it against the assaults of freedom; so that, in this case, freedom is not able to stir without a load of prejudice in the minds of men, and (as a ground thereof) a visible guilt, as to the letter of the law.

But how can such laws be good which swerve from their end? The end of just laws is the safety and freedom of a people.

As for safety, just laws are hucklers of defence; when the mouth of violence is muzzled by a law, the innocent feed and sleep securely; when the wolfish nature is destroyed, there shall then be no need of law; as long as that is in being, the curb of the law keeps it in restraint, that the great may not oppress or injure the small.

As for safety, laws are the manacles of princes, and the guards of private men. So far as laws advance the people's freedoms, so far are they just; for as the power of the prince is the measure of unrighteous laws, so just laws are weighed in the balance of freedom: where the first of these take place, the people are wholly slaves; where the second, they are wholly free: but most commonwealths are in a middle posture, as having their laws grounded partly upon the interest of the prince, and partly upon the account of the people; yet so as that prerogative hath the greatest influence, and is the chiefest ingredient in the mixture of law; as in the laws of England will by-and-by appear.

CHAP. II.

The Failures of our English Laws, in their Original, Rule, and End.

THE influence of force and power, in the sanction of our English laws, appears by this, That several alterations have been made of our laws, either in whole, or in part, upon every conquest. And if at any time the conqueror hath continued any of the ancient laws, it hath been only to please and ingratiate himself into the people; for so generous thieves give back some part of their money to travellers, to abate their zeal in pursuit.

Upon this ground I conceive it is, why Fortescue and some others do affirm¹, that notwithstanding the several conquests of this realm, yet the same laws have still continued: his words are these: *Regnum Angliæ primò per Britones inhabitatum est, deindè per Romanos regulatum, iterùmque per Britones, ac deindè per Saxones possessum, qui nomen ejus ex Britannia in Angliam mutaverunt: extunc per Danos idem regnum parumper dominatum est, et iterùm per Saxones, sed finalitèr per Normannos, quorum propago regnum illud obtinet in præsentì, et in omnibus nationum harum et regum earum temporibus, regnum illud, iisdem quibus jam regitur consuetudinibus, continuè regulatum est.* That is, 'The kingdom of England was first inhabited by the Britons, afterwards it was governed by the Romans: and again by the Britons, and after that by the Saxons; who changed its name from Britain to England. In process of time, the Danes ruled here, and again the Saxons, and last of all the Normans, whose posterity governeth the kingdom at this day; and, in all the times of these several nations, and of their kings, this realm was still ruled by the same customs, that it is now governed withal:' Thus far Fortescue in the reign of Henry the Sixth. Which opinion of his can be no otherwise explained, (besides what we have already said,) than that succeeding conquerors did still retain those parts of former laws, which made for their own interest; otherwise, it is altogether inconsistent with reason, that the Saxons, who banished the inhabitants, and changed the name, should yet retain the laws of this island. Conquerors seldom submit to the law of the conquered (where conquests are complete, as the Saxons' was), but on the contrary; especially when they bare such a mortal feud to their persons. Which argument (if it were alone) were sufficient to demonstrate, that the Britons and their laws were banished together; and to discover the weakness of the contrary opinion, unless you take the comment, together with the text, and make that explanation of it which we have done.

And yet this is no honour at all to the laws of England, that they are such pure servants to corrupt interests, that they can keep their places under contrary masters: just and equal laws will rather endure perpetual imprisonment, or undergo the severest death than take up arms on the other side; yea, princes cannot trust such laws. 'An hoary head (in a law) is no crown, unless it be found in the way of righteousness;' Prov. xvi. 31.

By this it appears, that the notion of fundamental law is no such idol as men make it. For, what, I pray you, is fundamental law, but such customs as are of the eldest date, and longest continuance? Now, freedom being the proper rule of custom, it is more fit that unjust customs should be reduced, that they may continue no longer; than that they

¹ Fortesc. cap. 17.

should keep up their arms, because they have continued so long. The more fundamental a law is, the more difficult, not the less necessary, to be reformed. But to return.

Upon every conquest, our very laws have been found transgressors; and, without any judicial process, have undergone the penalty of abrogation: not but that our laws needed to be reformed, but the only reason in the conqueror was his own will, without respect to the people's rights; and in this case, the riders are changed, but the burthens continued: for mere force is a most partial thing, and ought never to pass in a jury upon the freedoms of the people; and yet thus it hath been in our English nation, as, by examining the original of it, may appear: and, in bringing down its pedigree to this present time, we shall easily perceive, that the British laws were altered by the Romans, the Roman law by the Saxons, the Saxon law by the Danes, the Danish law by King Edward the Confessor, King Edward's laws by William the Conqueror; which (being somewhat moderated and altered by succeeding kings) is the present common law in force amongst us; as will by-and-by appear.

The history of this nation is transmitted down to us upon reasonable credit for seventeen-hundred years last past; but whence the Britons drew their original, (who inhabited this island before the Roman conquest,) is as uncertainly related by historians, as what their laws and constitutions were; and truly, after so long a series of times, it is better to be silent, than to bear false witness.

But certain it is, that the Britons were under some kind of government, both martial and civil, when the Romans entered this island; as having perhaps borrowed some laws from the Greeks, the refiners of human spirits, and the ancientest inventers of laws. And this may seem more than conjectural, if the opinion of some may take place, that the Phœnicians, or Greeks, first sailed into Britain, and mingled customs and languages together. For it cannot be denied, that the etymon of many British words seems to be Greekish, as (if it were material to this purpose) might be clearly shewn.

But it is sufficient for us to know, that whatever the laws of the Britons were, upon the conquest of Cæsar; they were reviewed and altered, and the Roman law substituted in its room, by Vespasian, Papinian, and others, who were in person here: yea, diverse of the British nobles were educated at Rome, on purpose to inure them to their laws.

The civil law remaining in Scotland, is said to have been planted there by the Romans, who conquered a part thereof. And this nation was likewise subject to the same law, till the subversion of this state by the Saxons; who made so barbarous a conquest of the nation, and so razed out the foundation of former laws, that there are less footsteps of the civil law in this, than in France, Spain, or any other province under the Roman power.

So that, whilst the Saxons ruled here, they were governed by their own laws, which differed much from the British law: some of these Saxon laws were afterwards digested into form, and are yet extant in their original tongue, and translated into Latin.

The next alteration of our English laws was by the Danes, who repealed and nulled the Saxon law, and established their own in its stead. Hence it is, that the laws of England do bear great affinity with the customs of Denmark, in descents of inheritance, trials of right, and several other ways. It is probable, that originally inheritances were divided in this kingdom among all the sons by gavel-kind; which custom seems to have been instituted by Cæsar, both amongst us and the Germans, (and as yet remains in Kent, not wrested from them by the conqueror;) but the Danes, being ambitious to conform us to the pattern of their own country, did doubtless alter this custom, and allot the inheritance to the eldest son; for that was the course in Denmark, as Walsingham reports in his *Upodigma Neustriæ: Pater cunctos filios adultos à se pellebat, præter unum quem hæredem sui juris relinquebat: i. e. 'Fathers did expose and put forth all their sons, besides one whom they made heir of their estates.'*

So likewise, in trials of right by twelve men, our customs agree with the Danish; and in many other particulars, which were introduced by the Danes, disused at their expulsion, and revived again by William the Conqueror.

For, after the massacre of the Danes in this island, King Edward the Confessor did again

alter their laws; and, though he extracted many particulars out of the Danish laws, yet he grafted them upon a new stock, and compiled a body of laws, since known by his name, under the protection of which the people then lived; so that here was another alteration of our English laws.

And as the Danish law was altered by King Edward, so were King Edward's laws disused by the Conqueror, and some of the Danish customs again revived. And, to clear this, we must consider, that the Danes and Normans were both of a stock, and situated in Denmark; but called Normans from their northern situation, from whence they sailed into France, and settled their customs in that part of it, which they called Normandy by their own name, and from thence into Britain. And here comes in the great alteration of our English laws by William the Conqueror; who selecting some passages out of the Saxon, and some out of the Danish law, and, in both, having greatest respect to his own interest, made by the rule of his government: but his own will was an exception to this rule, as often as he pleased.

For the alterations, which the Conqueror brought in, were very great; as the clothing his laws with the Norman tongue, the appointment of Terms at Westminster: whereas, before, the people had justice in their own countries, there being several courts in every county; and the supreme court in the county was called *Generale Placitum*, for the determining of those controversies which the parish, or the hundred court, could not decide; the ordaining of sheriffs and other court-officers in every county, to keep people in subjection to the crown; and, upon any attempt for redress of injustice, life and land was forfeited to the king². Thus were the possessions of the inhabitants distributed amongst his followers, yet still upon their good behaviour; for they must hold it of the crown, and in case of disobedience, the propriety did revert: and, in order hereunto, certain rents yearly were to be paid to the king. Thus, as the lords and rulers held of the king, so did inferior persons hold of the lords: hence came landlord, tenant, holds, tenures, &c. which are slavish ties and badges upon men, grounded originally on conquest and power.

Yea, the laws of the Conqueror were so burthensome to the people, that succeeding kings were forced to abate their price, and to give back some freedom to the people. Hence it came to pass, that Henry the First did mitigate the laws of his father the Conqueror, and restored those of King Edward; hence, likewise, came the confirmation of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta Forestæ*; by which latter, the power of the king was abridged, in enlarging of forests; whereas the Conqueror is said to have demolished a vast number of buildings, to erect and enlarge new forests by Salisbury, which must needs be a grievance to the people. These freedoms were granted to the people, not out of any love to them, but extorted from princes by fury of war, or incessantness of address: and, in this case, princes (making a virtue of necessity) have given away that, which was none of their own, and they could not well keep, in hope to regain it at other times; so that what of freedom we have, by the law, is the price of much hazard and blood. Grant, that the people seem to have had a shadow of freedom in choosing of laws, as consenting to them by their representatives, or proxies, both before and since the Conquest, (for even the Saxon kings held their conventions or parliaments,) yet whosoever shall consider how arbitrary such meetings were, and how much at the devotion of the prince, both to summon and dissolve; and withal how the spirit of freedom was observed and kept under, and likewise how most of the members of such assemblies were lords, dukes, earls, pensioners to the prince, and the royal interest; will easily conclude, that there hath been a failure in our English laws, as to matter of election or free choice; there having been always a rod held over the choosers, and a negative voice, with a power of dissolution, having always nipped freedom in the bud.

The rule of our English laws is as faulty as the rise. The rule of our laws may be referred to a two-fold interest.

1. The interest of the king, which was the great bias and rule of the law; and other in-

² Holinshed.

terests, but tributary to this. Hence it is, all our laws run in the name of the king, and are carried on in an orb above the sphere of the people; hence is that saying of Philip Honor. *Cum à Gulielmo Conquestore, quoddam perinde est ac tyrannus, institutæ sint leges Angliæ, admirandum non est quoddam solam principis utilitatem respiciant, subditorum verò bonum desertum esse videatur*: i. e. 'Since the laws of England were instituted by William the Conqueror, or tyrant, it is no wonder that they respect only the prerogative of the king, and neglect the freedom of the people.'

2. The interest of the people, which, like a worm, when trod upon, did turn again, and in smaller iotas and diminutive parcels, wound in itself into the texture of the law; yet so as that the royal interest was above it, and did frequently suppress it at its pleasure. The freedom, which we have by the law, owns its original to this interest of the people, which, as it was formerly little known to the world, so was it misrepresented by princes, and loaden with reproaches, to make it odious; yea, liberty (the result thereof) was obtained but by parcels, so that we have rather a taste than a draught of freedom.

If then the rise and rule of our law be so much out of tune; no marvel that we have no good musick in the end, but bondage, instead of freedom; and instead of safety, danger. For the law of England is so full of uncertainty, nicety, ambiguity, and delay; that the poor people are ensnared, not remedied thereby. The formality of our English laws is that to an oppressed man, which school-divinity is to a wounded spirit; when the conscience of a sinner is pierced with remorse, it is not the nicety of the casuist, which is able to heal it, but the solid experience of the grounded Christian.

It is so with the law; when the poor and oppressed want right, they meet with law, which (as it is managed) is their greatest wrong: so that law itself becomes a sin, and an experimented grievance in this nation. Who knows not that the web of the law entangles the small flies, and dismisseth the great; so that a mite of equity is worth a whole bundle of law. Yea, many times the very law is the badge of our oppression, its proper intent being to enslave the people; so that the inhabitants of this nation are lost in the law: such and so many are the references, orders, and appeals, that it were better for us to sit down by the loss, than to seek for relief; for law is a chargeable physician, and he, which hath a great family to maintain, may well take large fees.

For the officers, or menial servants of the law, are so numerous, that the price of right is too high for a poor man; yea, many of them, procuring their places by sinister ways, must make themselves savers by the vails of their office; yea, it were well if they rested here, and did not raise the market of their fees, for they, that buy at a great rate, must needs sell dear.

But the poor and oppressed pay for all: hence it is, that such men grow rich upon the ruins of others; and, whilst law and lawyer are advanced, equity and truth are under hatches; and the people subject to a legal tyranny, which of all bondages is one of the greatest.

Mere force is its own argument, and hath nothing to plead for it, but itself; but, when oppression comes under the notion of law, it is most ensnaring; for sober-minded men will part with some right to keep the rest, and are willing to bear to the utmost; but perpetual burthens will break their backs (as the strongest jade tires at last), especially when there is no hope of relief.

CHAP. III.

Of the Necessity of the Reformation of the Laws of England, together with the Excellency (and yet Difficulty) of the Work.

THE more general a good is, the more divine and god-like. Grant, that prerogative laws are good for princes, and advantageous to their interest, yet the shrubs are more in number than the cedars in the forest of the world; and laws of freedom, in behalf of the

people, are more useful, because directed to a more general good. Communities are rather to be respected, than the private interests of men.

Good patriots study the people, as favourites do the prince; and it is altogether impossible, that the people should be free, without a reformation of the law; the source and root of freedom. An equal and speedy distribution of right ought to be the abstract and epitome of all laws; and if so,

Why are there so many delays, turnings, and windings in the laws of England?

Why is our law a meander of intricacies, where a man must have contrary winds before he can arrive at his desired port?

Why are so many men destroyed for want of a formality and punctilio in law? And who would not blush, to behold seemingly grave and learned sages to prefer a letter, syllable, or word, before the weight and merit of a cause?

Why do the issue of most law-suits depend upon precedents, rather than the rule, especially the rule of reason?

Why are men's lives forfeited by the law upon light and trivial grounds?

Why do some laws exceed the offence? And, on the contrary, other offences are of greater demerit than the penalty of the law?

Why is the law still kept in an unknown tongue³, and the nicety of it rather countenanced than corrected?

Why are not courts rejourned into every county, that the people may have right at their own doors, and such tedious journeyings⁴ may be prevented.

Why, under pretence of equity, and a court of conscience, are our wrongs doubled and trebled upon us, the court of chancery being as extortionous⁵, or more than any other court? Yea, it is a considerable *quare*, whether the court of chancery were not first erected merely to elude the letter of the law, (which, though defective, yet had some certainty;) and, under a pretence of conscience, to devolve all causes upon mere will, swayed by corrupt interest? If former ages have taken advantage to mix some wheat with the tares, and to insert some mites of freedom into our laws; why should we neglect, upon greater advantages, to double our files, and to produce the perfect image of freedom; which is therefore neglected, because not known?

How, otherwise, can we answer the call of God, or the cries of the people, who search for freedom as for an hid treasure? Yea, how can we be registered, even in the catalogue of Heathens, who made less shew, but had more substance, and were excellent justiciaries, as to the people's rights: so Solon, Lycurgus, &c. Such moral appearances in the minds of men are of sufficient energy for the ordering of commonwealths; and it were to be wished, that those states, which are called Christian, were but as just as Heathens in their laws, and such strict promoters of common right.

* Pure religion is to visit the fatherless, and the most glorious fast to abstain from strife, and smiting with the fist of wickedness; in a word, to relieve the oppressed, will be a just guerdon and reward for our pains and travel in the reformation of the law.

And yet this work is very hard, there being so many concerned therein, and most being busier to advance and secure themselves, than to benefit the publick; yea, our physicians being themselves parties, and engaged in those interests, which freedom condemns, will hardly be brought to deny themselves, unless upon much conviction and assistance from above; and yet this we must hope for, that the reformation of the times may begin in the breasts of our reformers; for such men are likely to be the hopeful fire of freedom, who have the image of it engrafted in their own minds.

³ This has been reformed in this our gracious King's reign.

⁴ To Westminster from all parts of England.

⁵ In those days; but it has undergone many and good reforms since this author's time.

CHAP. IV.

Of the corrupt Interest of Lawyers in the Commonwealth of England.

OF interests, some are grounded upon weakness, and some upon corruption; the most lawful interests are sown in weakness, and have their rise and growth there. Apostle, prophet, evangelist, were only for the perfecting of the saints; physicians are of the like interest to the body: marriage is but an help and comfort in a dead state, for in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

Interest grounded upon weakness may be used, as long as our weakness doth continue, and no longer: for the whole need not a physician, &c. such interests are good, profitable, useful; and in their own nature self-denying, i. e. contented to sit down, and give way to that strength and glory to which they serve.

But the interest of lawyers, in this common-wealth, seems to be grounded rather upon corruption, than weakness; as, by surveying its original, may appear. The rise and potency of lawyers, in this kingdom, may be ascribed to a two-fold ground.

1. The unknownness of the law, being in a strange tongue; whereas, when the law was in a known language, (as before the Conquest,) a man might be his own advocate. But the hiddenness of the law, together with the fallacies and doubts thereof, render us in a posture unable to extricate ourselves; but we must have recourse to the shrine of the lawyer, whose oracle is in such request, because it pretends to resolve doubts.

2. The quarterly terms at Westminster; whereas, when justice was administered in every county, this interest could not possibly grow to an height; but every man could mind and attend to his own cause, without such journeying to and fro, and such chargeable attendance, as at Westminster-Hall. For, first, in the country, the law was plain, and controversies decided by neighbours of the hundred, who could be soon informed in the state of the matter, and were very ready to administer justice, as making it their own case. But, as for common lawyers, they carry only the idea of right and wrong in their heads; and are so far from being touched with the sense of those wrongs, against which they seem to argue, that they go on merely in a formality of words. I speak not this out of emulation, or envy, against any man's person, but singly in behalf of the people, against the corruption of the interest itself.

After the Conquest, when courts and terms were established at Westminster (for how could the darling of prerogative thrive, unless always under the King's eye?) men were not at leisure to take so much pains for their own; but sometimes they themselves, sometimes their friends, in their behalf, came up in Term-time to London, to plead their causes, and to procure justice. As yet, the interest of lawyers was a puny thing, for one friend would undertake to plead his cause for another; and he which was more versed in the tricks of the law, than his neighbour, would undertake a journey to London, at the request of those who had business to do; perhaps his charges borne on the way, and some small reward for his pains: there were then no stately mansions for lawyers, but such agents (whether parents, friends, or neighbours to the parties) lodged like other travellers, in inns, as country-attorneys still do. Hence it came to pass, that when the interest of lawyers came to be advanced in Edward the Third's time, their mansions or colleges were still called 'Inns,' but with an addition of honour, 'Inns of Court.'

The proceed of lawyers' interest is as followeth. When such agents, as we have spoken of, who were employed by their neighbours at London, and by this means coming to be versed in the niceties of the law, found it sweeter than the plough, and controversies beginning to increase; they took up their quarters here, till such time as they were formed into an orderly body, and distinct interest, as now they are.

There is ground enough to conclude, even from the letter of the statute law, that men's

parents, friends, or neighbours, did plead for them, without the help of any other lawyer.⁶

After the lawyers were formed into a society, and had hired the Temple of the Knights Templers, for the place of their abode; their interest was not presently advanced, but by the contentions of the people, after a long series of time: so that the interest of lawyers (in the height which now it is) comes from the same root, as pride and idleness, i. e. from fulness of bread, or prosperity, the mother of strife. Not but that just and equal administrators of laws are very necessary in a common-wealth; but when once that, which was at first but a title, comes to be framed into an interest, then it sets up itself, and grows great upon the ruins of others, and through the corruption of the people.

I take this to be a main difference between lawful and corrupt interests: just interests are the servants of all, and are of an humble spirit, as being content to have their light put out by the brightness of that glory which they are supplemental to; but corrupt interests fear a change, and use all wiles to establish themselves, that so their fall may be great, and their ruin as chargeable to the world as it can; for such interests care for none but themselves.

The readiest way to inform such men is, to do it within us, for most men have the common barretor within them, i. e. principles of contention and wrong; and thus the law becomes the engine of strife, the instrument of lust, the mother of debates, and lawyers are as make-bates, between a man and his neighbour.

When Sir Walter Raleigh was upon his trial, the lawyers, that were of council for the King, were very violent against him; whereupon Sir Walter, turning to the jury, used these words: "Gentlemen, I pray you consider, that these men (meaning the lawyers) do usually defend very bad causes every day in the courts, against men of their own profession, as able as themselves; what then will they not do against me?" &c. Which speech of his may be truly affirmed of many lawyers, who are any thing or nothing for gain; and, measuring causes by their own interest, care not how long right be deferred, and suits prolonged. There was a suit in Gloucestershire, between two families, which lasted since the reign of Edward the Fourth, till of late composed⁷; which certainly must be ascribed either to the ambiguity of the law, or the subtlety of the lawyers, neither of which are any great honour to the English nation.

How much better were it to spend the acuteness of the mind in the real and substantial ways of good, and benefit to ourselves and others? And not to unbowel ourselves into a mere web, a frothy and contentious way of law, which the oppressed man stands in no more need of, than the tender-hearted Christian of Thomas Aquinas, to resolve him in his doubts.

If there be such a thing as right in the world, let us have it, *sine fuco*. Why is it delayed, or denied, or varnished over, with guilty words? Why comes it not forth in its own dress? Why doth it not put off law, and put on reason, the mother of all just laws? Why is it not ashamed of its long and mercenary train? Why can we not ask it, and receive it ourselves, but must have it handed to us by others? In a word, why may not a man plead his own case? Or his friends and acquaintances, as formerly, plead for him?

Memorable is that passage in King James's speech in the Star-chamber: 'In countries, (says he) 'where the formality of law hath no place, as in Denmark, all their state is governed only by a written law; there is no advocate or proctor admitted to plead, only 'the parties themselves plead their own cause, and then a man stands up, and pleads the 'law, and there is an end; for the very law-book itself is their only judge. Happy were 'all kingdoms, if they could be so; but here curious wits, various conceits, different actions, 'and variety of examples, breed questions in law.' Thus far he. And if this kingdom

⁶ Anno 28 Edwardi Primi, 1300, cap. 11. But it may not be understood hereby, that any persons shall be prohibited to have counsel of pleaders, or of learned men in the law, for his fee; or of his parents and next friends.

⁷ Camden. Brit. in Gloucest.

doth resemble Denmark, in so many other customs, why may it not be assimilated to it in this also? especially considering, that the world travels with freedom, and some real compensation is desired by the people, for all their sufferings, losses, and blood.

To clear the channel of the law, is an honourable work for a senate, who should be preservers of the people's rights.

A Sparke of Friendship and warm Good-Will, that shews the Effect of true Affection, and unfolds the Fineness of this World. Whereunto is joined, the Commodity of sundry Sciences, and the Benefit that Paper bringeth, with many rare Matters rehearsed in the same. With a Description and Commendation of a Paper-Mill, now of late set up (near the Town of Dartford) by an High German, called M. Spilman, Jeweller to the Queen's most excellent Majesty. Written by Thomas Churchyard, Gent.¹

Nulla potest esse jucunditas, sublatâ amicitia. Cic. pro Flacc.

(Printed at London, 1588.)

To my Honourable Friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Seneschal and Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall and Exon, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and her Majesty's Lieutenant of the County of Cornwall, &c.

ENFORCED by affection (that leads the minds of men to a multitude of causes) I stood studying how to requite a good turn received, and, confessing that no one thing is more monstrous in nature than an unthankful mind, I saw myself in debt, and bound either one way or other to pay that I owe; but not in such degree as I received, but in such sort as my ability serveth, and (as a man might say) to make a cunning exchange, instead of due payment; to offer glass for gold, and bare words for friendly deeds. In good truth, my honourable friend, if my creditors will so stand contented, I am readier to depart from words, and discharge debt therewith, than to promise treasure, and offer that I have not. For if free-hearted people, fortunate in the world, through bounty of mind, toward my suits or preferment, bestow many speeches to do me good, where grace is to be gotten; I can but yield one ordinary thank, for a thousand benefits, except they ransack my storehouse of vain inventions, and find some pleasant papers, bepainted with verses, or polished pamphlets, beblotted with barren matter, where both verse and prose shall make but a bad restitution for the goodness I have stolen by fortune, or borrowed by friendship. Yet, weighing how little fortune hath done for me, and how few creditors I have, that

¹ [Some account of this court-poet of Queen Elizabeth may be seen in Wood's *Athenæ*, Philips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, Berkenhout's *Biographia Literaria*, &c.]

have either lent me any portion of preferment, or procured me but a piece of any certain living; I think myself somewhat able, with the talent God hath given me, to repay all the debts that ever I could bring to perfect remembrance, saving one, a most honourable personage², that I dedicated my book of 'Choice' unto, who got me twog reat seals, besides common courtesies many, to shift withal a season. And furthermore, yourself, six years past, bestowed good speeches to the Queen's Majesty in my behalf, by the which I got some comfortable recreation, to quicken my spirits, and keep me in breath. And yet, To! a matter to be mused at: I have sixteen several books printed presently to be bought, albeit they are but trifles, dedicated, in sundry seasons, to several men of good and great credit; but (to be plain) not one among them all, from the first day of my labour and studies, to this present year and hour, hath any way preferred my suits, amended my state, or given me any countenance. I hope I am not much indebted to those, nor fallen so far in their dangers, but may easily get out, though I yield them no more, but a customable good will. So, finding my Muses frank and free from their servitude, I address this work of unfeigned friendship to your good consideration, which work shews the value and worth of friends, whose love is necessary about all estates, the flattery and fineness of foes, and the daily dissimulation of a cunning world. And if the world marvel why I treat of that which is so commonly known, and often put in practice; I answer not those wondering wits, but shoot what bolts I think convenient, at the bad behaviour of transformed people, that bear but the shapes of tamed men, and shew the manners of wild monsters; and if the world say (as I know it is talkative) I shew a kind of adulation to fawn for favour on those that are happy; I answer, that is a point of wisdom, which my betters have taught me, and I have read it in a great book of Latin, printed four-hundred years ago, that one of your own ancestors, called Sir Walter Raleigh, had more fawners and followers than you have; for he was lord chief-justice of England, and so far in credit with his prince, his learning was such, that he made laws and edicts, the which the prince confirmed and allowed. I take an example from the fish that follow the stream, the fowls that come to the covert from the winds, and the brute beasts that avoid a sturdy storm, under the safeguard of a strong and flourishing tree. Their crafty forecast, though they want reason, may succour the simpleness of any reasonable creature; and the defence and provision they make to escape open danger, may fetch to school a great company of ignorant scholars. But I leave to speak of their examples, because they are brute, and follow the gravest sort of sage and wise personages, that will not blush nor think scorn to learn a lesson of their forefathers, that got all their good fortune by following the flood, where we fish for preferment. Thus, honourable friend, as my affection, and other good causes move, bade me go forward with this my device and present unto you; so, beginning the same in health, and falling suddenly sick, I feared God would have me cut short from my purposed enterprise: but his goodness called me up from the bed of sorrow, where despair had almost dispatched the life, and set me a-foot to go, and end my first determination, and brought me in hope you will accept my good-will; which may encourage me to a further labour and study, that may purchase more and greater favour and thanks. So, resting yours in all that my small power may stretch unto, I take leave, and wish what goodness you can imagine or desire.

London, at my lodging,
the 8th of March.

Most willing at commandment,

T. CHURCHYARD.

A Sparke of Friendship and warme Good-will.

WHERE friendship finds good ground to grow upon,
It takes sound root, and spreads his branches out;
Brings forth fair fruit, though spring be past and gone,
And bloometh, where no other grain will sprout:

² [Sir Christopher Hattón, then Lord Chancellor.]

His flow'rs are still in season all the year,
 His leaves are fresh, and green as is the grass;
 His sugar'd seeds good, cheap, and nothing dear,
 His goodly bark shines bright, like gold or brass:
 And yet, this tree in breast must needs be shrin'd,
 And lives no where, but in a noble mind.

BEING rocked too long in the careless cradle of idleness, (where slothful limbs are soon lulled asleep,) the hinderer of health, good hap, and virtue; a multitude of worldly causes (my honourable friend) awakened my wits, and bid the sensible spirits arise from the forgetful couch of drowsy rest, and offer the body to some profitable exercises; that thereby the head, hand, and pen, might either purchase commendation, or publish to good people a matter that should merit some memory. But finding myself unfurnished of learning, and barely seen in the arts liberal, and far unfit to touch or treat of divinity, I stood amazed, and knew not what thankful thing I should first go about, and take in hand to a good end and purpose. And so a while bethinking me, (minding to draw no stronger bow than I could well shoot in,) and, looking into my own strength, I saw me most able and apt to be at commandment of prince, country, and friends. In the honouring and service of whom, I should study to bring forth some acceptable work; not striving to shew any rare invention (that passeth a mean man's capacity), but to utter and revive matter of some moment, known and talked of long ago, yet over long hath been buried, and, as it seemeth, laid dead (for any great fruit it hath shewed) in the memory of man. The thing that I mean, that hath laid so long in the grave of forgetfulness, is faithful friendship; which Tully hath touched, and a number of good authors have written of; but few, in these days, have observed, honoured, and followed.

And now to proceed forward with this friendship, and shew the degrees thereof orderly, methinks that the first branch thereof is the affectionate love that all men in general ought to bear to their country. For the which, Mutius, Scævola, Horatius Cocles, Marcus Curtius, Marcus Regulus, and many more, have left us most noble examples. Yea, you shall read that some, although they were banished from their country, yet they bore in their bowels and breasts, to the hour of their death, the love of their country, parents, friends, and family. In which everlasting love of theirs remained such manly and honourable motions of the mind, that many noble services of voluntary good-will, were brought forth by them, to the benefit of their country, and recovery of their first credit, estate, and dignity. Thus, by a natural disposition planted in the soul, and sensible storehouse of staid judgment, great exploits were brought to pass, and sundry wonders of this world have easily been taken in hand. And, surely, all these former examples, with the hazard of our forefathers' lives, bravely put in proof and executed, serve to no other end, as their meaning was, but to teach those that came after, with the like greatness of mind, to follow the forerunner of all worthy renown, and worldly reputation. So, by this, may thousands see man is not made for himself, created to be king of earthly delights, and placed amidst the pleasures of the world, to do what he pleaseth; but chiefly to look, and with good advisement to search how, and in what sort, he may be dutiful and beneficial to his country. Now peradventure, in this perilous age, where many are puffed up with presumption, and seditious season of proud practices, and headstrong people; some serpentine sect, that carries venom in their minds, and mortal stings in their tongues, will hold a bad opinion and say: That the earth is made for the children of men, (as the sea is for the fish;) and that it is man's natural country, where he findeth food, living, and credit in. But this cankered kind of rebellious conceit is such a gnawing worm in the conscience of man, and so far differs from all human laws, that he that but thinks one thought of this nature, is not only unnatural to his country, but likewise unblest and unhappy in all the soils and countries he happeneth to dwell in. For he that honoureth not in heart the soil and seat of his nativity³, and despiseth the place where he took life, suste-

³ [This sentiment has been glowingly depicted by Mr. Walter Scott, in his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto 6.]

nance, nurture, and education, besides good fortune and preferments, (the only blessedness here to rejoice of,) degenerates; and, what birth and blood soever he be of, we may call him a base-born groom, or a kindly bastard begotten out of time, living out of order, and of worse belief than an infidel. The birds of the air, the fish in the flood, and the beasts on the earth, love to haunt and behold the place of their procreation: and the greatest conquerors, that ever were, (call them kings, or what you please,) though they went never so far to obtain victories, yet they brought all the glory home to their country, and triumphed only there where they were first fostered, found favour and fortune, and had, from the beginning, been trained and brought up; yea, and after their life, both kings, prophets, and other great men, desired to have their bones buried in their country. And some of excellent judgment, held opinion, that the love of their country did far surpass the love of their parents; in defence of which they offered lives, lands, and goods, and cared not what danger they should thrust themselves into, so that thereby they might do their country any honour or service.

O then, what a blemish and blot is this in the faces and brows of them that, in a proud presumption, (persuaded by pestilent wits,) abandon their country, and would hazard, on a peevish opinion, if it were in their power, to sell prince, people, and patrimony, for a cold and bare welcome, full of hollowness of heart, in a strange kingdom, where cracked credit is loathsome and long mistrusted, and seldom or never comes to a good and honourable end! I can but wish their payment no worse nor better, but such as Tarpeia found of the Latins and Sabines, for selling unto them the capitol of Rome: a most notorious example, read it who pleaseth. So, if in those days, a great while ago, millions of men held the love and friendship of their country so dear and precious, as indeed it ought to be esteemed: now, in our ripened years, when wits are mellowed and seasoned with the sweet savour of long experience, the folly and foul facts, that by over-great boldness make many run mad, should be a general warning, and teach all kind of people, to keep the right and plain path of natural affection towards their country and friends.

Now all these things, rehearsed before, are written in way of friendship to the wild wanderers of this world, who undoubtedly want but grace and good counsel. And the rest that follows hereafter, in this little piece of prose, is written to yourself, (my most honourable friend,) whose friendship I have felt, and sundry more have tasted. Let the deed shew itself; not writing this to teach you, with presuming words, any other course than your former judgment and present consideration think best to hold; but only to keep the blaze of good-will continually burning, by feeding the flame with plying and putting in more oil to the lamp. For I acknowledge that you know, that as the sinews are needful for the body, the marrow for the bones, and the blood for the life; so friendship is most fit to knit the joints and minds of men together, and bind them about with such brazen bands, that no bars of iron may break, no policy of people may put asunder.

He that hath travelled, as I have done, through the forest of affliction, where many wild beasts are wandering in the woods, some roaring and running after their prey; shall see how narrowly he hath escaped from the gaping and devouring monsters, and find that, if friendship and good fortune had not holpen him, he had been utterly destroyed. From the highest to the lowest, (reckon what degrees can be named,) in good sooth they are all left alone barefooted and desolate, where friendship hath forsaken them. But where, or into what labyrinth, O Lord, have I now brought myself! For now I am forced to go forward, and may not step backward, but seek an open way to walk in, orderly to sit down, and chew the substance of friendship, the flattery of the world, and the fineness of our age: the circumstance whereof craves another manner of discourse and volume than this little treatise can utter. What then? As by small sparks, or kindled coals, great fire is made; and of a trifling tale true matter may be gathered; so, out of weak words, strong arguments may be sifted, and, through a number of spiced speeches, a simple sentence may shew some savour, and yield such taste to the quickness of understanding, that the hearer's wits and judgment shall willingly stand contented with all that shall be spoken. And friendship is so much desired, spoken of, and necessary for all kinds of

people; that only the bare and naked name thereof is sweet, and most acceptable, though the writer thereon be but meanly learned, and of small sufficiency to set out, at the full the fulness of so flourishing a virtue.

Then forward to the purpose: I say and prove, that the same is true friendship that proceeds from virtue, and hath so noble a nature by a divine motion of goodness, that neither vice can corrupt, nor any kind of vanity vanquish; for where it taketh root, it buds so beautifully, that it bringeth forth an everlasting fruit, whose taste is more sweet and precious than can be easily imagined.

And now in a season, when fineness and flattery so abound, and strive, by cunning practices, to supply the place of friendship, and over-grow every branch that springs from loyal amity; this true friendship is sweetest of savour, and highest of reputation, and burns with a quenchless flame, like a blazing beacon, or sparkling torch, that can abide all winds, which is set upon the top of a high mountain. For fine or gross flattery is but a bare foil to set forth a bad jewel; and the crafty curious cunning of these artificial fellows, that feed all men's humours, make, through their manifold trumperies, a free passage to perfect faithfulness, and friendly good-will. There are covertly crept, and finely conveyed, into the common society of men, a hundred sundry sorts and shews of amity, which indeed are but juggling casts, or ledger-de-maine, to purchase favour, and deceive the lookers-on. If all that speak fair, bow down knee, make trim courtesy, kiss fingers and hands, yea, offer service and friendship, were hearty and loving friends; the world would be so full of friendship, that there were no place left for adulation and double dealing. And, surely, if a man durst decipher the deepness of dissimulation, we should find our ordinary manner of friendship so faint-hearted and lame, that it neither could go out of the door with any man, nor yet dwell safely with many in the house. It seemeth, and may be well avouched, that friendship of itself is so secret a mystery, shrined in an honest heart, that few can describe it, and tell from whence comes the privy and inward affection, that suddenly breeds in the breast, and is conveyed to the heart, with such a content and gladness, that the whole powers of man leap in the bowels of the body for joy at that instant. For example, some that never give cause, with probable matter, to be embraced, and made account of as friends; are, by a natural inclination, received into favour, placed in delight, and planted perpetually, so long as life lasteth, in the warm bosom of our friendly affections, and favourable conceits.

Then, further, note, a wonder of nature! For we see a marvellous motion among men: for some, and that a great number, having neither harmed us, nor ministered, any way, occasion of dislike, yet are no sooner in our company, but we find their persons offensive, their presence unpleasant, their words sharp (spoken well, and to the best meaning) yea, their works, and whatsoever they will do, are taken amiss, and construed to the worst. But, chiefly to be noted, we little desire the acquaintance, peradventure, of a friendly companion. Thus so to hate without cause, and love earnestly without desert, is a matter disputable; and argues plainly, that friendship is (without comparison) the only true-love-knot, that knits in conjunction thousands together. And yet the mystery and manner of the working is so great, that the ripest wits may wax rotten, before they yield reason, and shew how the mixture is made; that two several bodies shall meet in one mind, and be, as it were, married and joined in one manner of disposition; with so small a shew of virtue, and so little cause, that may constrain both parties to be bound and fast locked in a league of love. Then what may be thought of those that curry favour, follow for good turns, turn about like a weather-cock, fawn where fortune favours, and favour no where, but for commodity, countenance, and credit; and so compass that they seek? If friends be chosen by election and privy liking, these open palterers may go whistle; for they neither know the bounds of a good mind, nor the blessedness that belongs to friendship. What, then, should we say of men's behaviours in general? For, without reverence uttered by courtesy, suing and following for benefit, fawning and speaking fair, (for entertaining of time,) creeping and crouching to keep that we have, and win that we wish; all civil order would be forgotten, rudeness would make revel, and men should suddenly

miss the mark, they shoot at. But, granting now these ceremonious fashions and manners, yet the users thereof are no more like friends, than a masque and mummery, with vizards on their faces, are like a company of grave senators, that govern a mighty monarchy. And more than monstrous it is, that such painted shadows are commonly preferred to be as pillars of friendship, when friendship, without props, stands against all weathers and winds, and is of a more clear complexion, than to be patched up with compounds, or matched with corrupted manners, envy to virtue, and friend to nothing but vice. For friendship is a certain felicity of the mind, a sweet essence, that burns before God; a preserver of man's renown and life, a willing bondage, that brings freedom for ever; a stedfast staff, that all good people do stay on; the mother and nurse of mutual love, the conqueror of hate, the pacifier of quarrels, the glory of kings, and the surety of subjects. And friendship is so princely and noble of condition, it may not be joined with any, but such as are as honourable as itself. You shall see among friends of equal calling, that are like of affection, such a sweet and common consent of fraternal love and liking, that every thing is wrested to the best construction, and no one matter may be ministered amiss; the minds and manners of men run so merrily together, as it were a sort of pretty chickens hopping hastily after the cheerful clucking of a brooding hen. And where such amity is interlarded with honest pastime, there all hollowness of heart is banished, all plainness is embraced, and all good things do prosper. As a man might say, Friendship is a ring-leader to all happiness, and the guide, that shews men the high-way to all worldly exercises.

But now, some may ask me, "How men should make choice of their friends, and know, by outward appearance, the inward disposition of people; so many look smoothly, so many flatter, and so many have clapped on such audacious countenances, that the wisest may be beguiled, where he least looks for deceit?" It may be answered, "That choice ought to be made of proof, and not of fair semblance, but of constant perfection; for such, as cast colours or cunning devices, and always, to cloke collusion, creep finely in favour, with simpering and smiling, to lead ready wits after their subtle intentions, by their needless babble, fruitless fawning, often change of visage, unmannerly boldness, and daily attendance; where no desert commands them, the feigned friends of this world may be found; and in a state of necessity all true friendship is tried." And, methinks, they take no great pains, that accompany men in their prosperity; and merit no great thanks, that desire to taste, at all times, of other men's good fortunes. So that, by thrusting and pressing after those we hope to pluck somewhat from, debates of itself, it is no certain sign of friendship, that springs from a simple and plain affection.

Now many will hold question, and say, "That fortune may be followed, sought for, waited on, flattered, because she is a deceiver; and finely entertained, for that, with rude and rustical behaviour, both fortune and friends will fling us far behind, that would march before our fellows." But, I pray you, is not the long proof of crafty practices, the extraordinary dissimulation of fine people, a testimony, that they are no true dealers that work with worldly wickedness and policy to be accepted as friends? Then who should presently be called a faithful follower? Thus, some men may demand. Such, I say, as in men's meanest calling and credit have begun to favour them, and, in their better estate, do honestly, in all causes of reason, equity, and justness of judgment, discharge their duties; and leave flattery, that openeth the door of doubleness, and fall flatly to the true order of plain dealing. Such, I say, that neither for fear, favour, or fortune, but dare speak as they think, due reverence observed; and do rather cut off the festered flesh, than feeds and nourishes a corrupted canker. Such, whose love and fidelity look narrowly on all the bounds and limits of friendship, and are so jealous over the friends they honour, that they cannot suffer any thing to sound out of frame, that may impeach, hinder, or appale the good name and credit of them they follow. Such, whose study, diligence, and waking regard, stand as a watch, to give warning and advertise their friends of all inconveniences, dangers, slanders, and eminent perils and hazards. Such are the membes most meet to be about a friend, most worthy welcome, most to be liked, loved, and trusted:

and such are the blessed birds of the bosom, that neither sing, nor say, nor make sign of other thing than they present. And the rest, that loiter about crooked measures, sounding and searching by deceits, like fishers, that closely hide their hooks, to see whom they may catch, take hold of, and feel for their advantage. They are the sly swellers out of fortunate flowers, that grow in happy men's gardens; the prowlers after profit and preferment, purchased by audacious practices; the busy-bodies, that never stand still, but turn like a top to betray the trusty; the tossed white froth of the sea, that makes a fair shew without substance, which vanisheth away at the touch of every man's finger; and they are the swelling bubbles of the troubled water, that are blown with each little blast over many a land, and makes neither sign from whence they are come, nor to what good end and purpose they were. So, Sir, seeing the swarms of feigned friends, the heaps of hollow hearts, the abuse of infected minds; the muzzled⁴ faces, covered with counterfeit good manners, and the effect of good friendship utterly mistaken, in many points and places of this world, I trouble you no farther with the reading of these lines; hoping in your favour and friendship, as your affection shall move, and my merits, without presumption, shall crave and require: making a further present unto you of a few verses (handled as well as I could) that were devised for the setting forth of a paper-mill, which a great well-willer of yours (as good cause he hath so to be) hath built by Dartford, and brought to perfect frame and form, I trust, to the great contentment of the Queen's Majesty, and benefit of her whole country, as knoweth God; who augment, maintain, and blessedly uphold her Highness long among us; and increase your good credit with all virtuous disposition.

N. B. The verses abovementioned, relating to the description and commendation of a paper-mill, then newly erected at Dartford, will be published in a future number⁵.

⁴ [That is, covered or veiled. See Dr. Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary, v. Musall.]

⁵ [As these do not appear to have been published, they will be given in the Supplement.]

Chorographia: Or, a Survey of Newcastle upon Tine. The Estate of this Country, under the Romans. The Building of the famous Wall of the Picts, by the Romans. The ancient Town of Pandon. A brief Description of the Town, Walls, Wards, Churches, Religious Houses, Streets, Markets, Fairs, River, and Commodities; with the Suburbs. The ancient and present Government of the Town. As also a Relation of the County of Northumberland, which was the Bulwark of England against the Inroads of the Scots. Their many Castles and Towers. Their ancient Families and Names. Of the Tenure in Cornage. Of Cheviot-Hills. Of Tinedale and Reedsdale, with the Inhabitants.

Potestas omnium ad Cæsarem pertinet, proprietas ad singulos.

Newcastle, printed by S. B. 1649.

[Quarto, containing Thirty-four Pages, besides the Title and Preface to the Reader.]

To supply some omissions, and some particulars that have been erected since this author's time, you will please to observe that this incorporated town and country is situated at the end of the famous wall built by the Roman emperors, to guard their conquest from the incursions of the Picts; and from thence is called the Picts-wall, on the North bank of the river Tine, from which it takes its name, to distinguish it from the town of Newcastle-under-Line, in Staffordshire; and is built upon the declivity of a steep hill, which makes it very uneven and unpleasant, because the streets are difficult of access, and uneasy; you being obliged, in many places, to go up to the upper part of the town by high and narrow stairs, some fifty or sixty steps in height: besides, in that steep part, the streets are extremely close built.

By some, the village of Gateside, which lieth on the south end of Tine-bridge, has been reckoned as a suburb to this great trading town; but that is a mistake, for the jurisdiction of Newcastle reacheth no farther than the blue stone upon the bridge.

In the time of the Saxons, it was so crowded with monasteries of monks, that they gave it the name of Moncaster, or Monkchester, which was exchanged afterwards by Robert, son of William the Conqueror, as hereafter is recorded.

The consequence of this fortification against the insults of the Scots, was the settlement of a good trade to the coasts of Germany, and since, by the sale of its coal, to other parts; for which, and for other merchandise, it is now become the great emporium of the North parts of England, and extends its credit and commerce to a good part of Scotland.

The antiquity of its charters, and the form of its government, is particularly related in the treatise. But, to what has been said, I must add, that, since this author's time, the revenue of this corporation, which it now holds in its own right, is at least eighty-thousand pounds per annum; and, I may presume to say, it is more than is held by any other town corporate in England.

Its Exchange is a noble and magnificent building, on the south side of the Sand-hill, but is too much confined on the south by the river, and by the bridge, on the west. Between the town-hall and the river is a wharf, so well faced with free-stone, and so spacious, as well for length, as breadth, that it exceeds all others in England, except at Yarmouth. This key is for the use of merchandise only; for the colliers take in their loading at Shields, or in some part of the river below Newcastle; not at a key, but by the help of the keels.

Here is also by the water-side above the bridge, at the farther end almost of the close, a handsome mansion-house, built at the public expence for the mayor. This mansion-house is also furnished, and upheld with proper servants, by the corporation; so that the mayor has no more to do, than to move himself and family; and he is allowed six-hundred pounds a year for his table, with a coach and a barge.

Here is also a fine hall for the surgeons, where they have skeletons, and other rarities in their way, and a very large room for their public meetings. The surgeons are a considerable part of this corporation.

Adjoining to the surgeons' hall, there is a stately foundation, built with brick upon piazzas, for the relief of decayed free-men and their widows; and, a little lower, on the same parcel of ground, has been erected, within these twenty years, another house of charity, containing six rooms, for three merchants' widows and three clergymen's widows, endowed with ten pounds a year each, besides coals, and a servant-maid in common to keep the stairs, &c. clean.

There has been lately erected a library in this town, near St. Nicholas's church: Dr. Robert Thomlinson, rector of Wickham, in the bishoprick of Durham, and lecturer of St. Nicholas's, in gratitude to the corporation, who chose him their lecturer many years ago, gave them about six-thousand valuable books; and Walter Blacket, esq. one of its worthy representatives in parliament, has generously built the library, and settled a rent-charge of twenty-five pounds a year for ever, to maintain a librarian.

This town sends two members to parliament, which are chosen by the freemen; and gives the title of Marquis and Duke to the Holles family, in the person of the most noble prince, Thomas Holles Pelham, Marquis and Duke of Newcastle.

In the parliament wars, this town was taken and plundered by the Scots, and was the place, where these traitors sold their king, viz. Charles the First, for two-thousand-pounds in hand, and security for as much more.

After the title, there follows the arms of Newcastle upon Tine; which is, three castles, Argent, in a field, Gules, with the following inscription and motto:

S. P. D.

Dilectis Burgensibus, & probis Hominibus Novicastro super Tinam, W. G.

Fortiter Defendit Triumphans.

*Portus, Castrum, Carbo, Salmo, Salina, Molaris,
Murus, Pons, Templum, Schola sunt Novi gloria Castri.*

To the candid Reader.

EVERY country hath its chronologer or writer, to pourtrait unto their countrymen their antiquities and noble acts. Greece had its Homer, Rome its Virgil. Our Britons had their Gildas; the Saxons had their Beda. England had of late its learned Camden, and painful Speed, to delineate and pourtrait unto their countrymen the antiquities and situations of all shires in England: yet it is impossible, that any one man, being never so inquisitive and laborious, should attain unto the perfect knowledge of all passages, in all

places. I have adventured to write of the antiquity of this town and country, which, by reading and experience, I have gathered out of the ruin of antiquity; that those monuments, which these late wars have obliterated and ruined, may be left to posterity; for *tempus edax rerum*. I find a great difficulty in my undertaking, because the records of this country are but few, and confused; being so often infested by the Scots and Danes, who consumed and fired all before them, wheresoever they came. Questionless, many brave men have lived in this town and country; many memorable acts have been achieved; but they are all buried in oblivion. I hope, the courteous reader will pardon the faults committed herein; *nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad unguem querenda est*. Many errors, many suppositions upon probabilities may be found in it: *humanum est errare, et decipi*. I have begun the work, I hope some of my fellow burgesses will finish what I have begun, to the everlasting memory of this famous town.

Some criticks have presumed to correct and blame me (with their indigested zeal, and unknown enthusiastic knowledge of chimæras in their giddy pericraniums) for fables and errors; as the priest, that found it written of St. Paul, *demissus est per sportam*, mended his book, and made it, *demissus est per portam*; because *sporta* was a hard word, and out of his reading. But, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*; let no man profess that he knows not. It is true, he that writes, resembleth a man acting his part upon a theatre or stage, where the spectators have their eyes fixing upon him, all observing his gesture and words: if he fail in either, presently he is censured and condemned. Lastly, we live in an age, that mechanicks will presume to step into Moses's chair, and become politicians to contradict and controul whatsoever is acted and done according to the laws divine and human. One thing I desire of these fantasticks: *Carpere vel noli mea, vel ede tua*. Vale.

W. G.

The first Natives of this Island.

THE Britons were Autocthonous, natives of this Island, for more ancient inhabitants we find none. The people of this nation are thought to have been descended from the neighbouring Gauls, in regard of the same religion, language, and manners. Their original from the Trojans by Brute is altogether fabulous; there being no Greek or Latin authors, or any monument in this Island, which makes mention hereof. Their descent from the Gauls is more probable, being the next part of the continent unto Britain, or their way from Asia to the East, from whence all countries were first peopled.

Romans first in Britain.

THE Romans were the first certain and known foreigners in this Island. C. J. Cæsar was the first of the Romans that invaded Britain. He, having subdued the nation of the Gauls, made his journey into Britain, Cassivellanus reigning king. Some victories he achieved, some hostages he took, imposed a tribute upon the nation, and so returned into the continent; he made no conquest of them, but discovered them to posterity.

A long time after, the Roman Emperor, Claudius, sent Aulus Plantius hither, accompanied by two brethren. Sabinus Vespasian, who made war against the Britons, vanquished them in several fights, took Comoladunum, the chief seat of their kings, and their king prisoner; planted a colony at Camalodunum (now Malden in Essex), and reduced the higher or south parts of Britain into the form of a Roman province.

The first Roman Conquest in the North.

IN the year of Vespasian, the great and populous nation of the Brigantes are warred upon, and in part overcome. These Brigantes contain all the country north of Humber to the river of Tine and Picts-wall, called Lower Britain.

Julius Agricola, in the reign of Domitian, set limits here to the Roman greatness, and extended it northward into the seas and friths of Dunbritton and Edinburgh in Scotland.

The Emperor Adrian, not long after, removed the pale more southward, and, the better to keep out the enemy, drew a trench and wall of turfs cross the land, betwixt the two seas.

The Roman Britons being continually molested, by often incursions of the barbarous people called Caledonii or Picts, who brake down the sod-wall, harassing and spoiling this country; which moved the Emperor Severus to build a wall of stone, with great wisdom and industry, to strengthen these northern parts of Britain against the many inroads of the barbarous Picts. At every mile's end of this wall was a tower, and in the wall, a pipe of metal, betwixt the tower or sentinel-houses; that, so soon as a man had set his mouth to this pipe, they might hear, through all the sentinels, where the enemy were, and so, in a short time, give warning from one end of the wall to the other. One of these towers remaineth whole in the town-wall of Newcastle in Pampeden, older than the rest of the towers, and after another fashion, standing out of the wall.

The North brought into a Roman Province.

AT this same time began this country to flourish, being reduced into a Roman province, to be civilized to learn Roman letters, habits, and manners; for, before this time, the inhabitants went naked, had no houses to live in, neither did they till the ground, as one writeth: *De prædâ et venatione frondibusque arborum vivunt; degunt in tentoriis nudi et sine calceis.* Xiphilin.

This country had the presence of the Emperors of Rome; York was a municipium of the Romans, and the seat of their emperors, during the time of their abode in this Island, attending the wars of the Picts and Caledonians; famous for the death and funeral exequies of the Emperor Severus and Constantius, and the happy inauguration of Constantine the Great, son to Constantius, here beginning his reign over the Roman and Christian world.

I find, in the time of the Romans, many places in Northumberland that were their stations about this famous wall, called sometimes Vallum, a rampire; sometimes, Murus Pictiticius, or Murus Severi.

The most remarkable is upon the Tine-West-Hexham, called of old Axelodunum, the station of the first cohort of Spaniards, a bishop's see under the Saxons. Corebridge Curia of Ptolemy, a city of the Otadeni. Prudo castle, the station of the first cohort of the Batavi. Stighill, of old called Segedunum, the station of the fourth cohort, named of the Lergi. Pons Ælii, the station of a cohort of Cornavii, now Portland. Gabrosentum, the station of the second cohort of the Thracians, probably, saith my author¹, Newcastle upon Tine. Pampeden, a part of Newcastle, probably a station of the Romans, having an ancient Roman tower, and another ancient building called the Wall-Knowl, a part of the Picts'-wall. This town of Pampeden is very ancient; probably some building was erected here in this place to their great god Pantheon; this wall being the outmost confines of the Roman empire, called now Pandon. I find of the Kings of Northumberland, that had a house in Pampeden, which we call now Pandon-Hall; an ancient old building and seat of the Kings of Northumberland.

Tunnocellum, the station of the first cohort, named Ælia Classica, now Tinmouth, at the mouth of the Tine. There is a village near Newcastle called Hetton, where there is an old Roman tower, probably named from the Proconsul Ætius, who was sent from Rome into these parts; whom the Britons petitioned for help in these words: *Ætio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum, &c. Repellunt nos barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros, inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum, aut jugulamur, aut mergimur.* Beda. When the Romans had their empire much weakened by their own discords, and by the irruptions of the Goths and Vandals, Proconsul Ætius was forced to retire their legions from the northern parts; so leaving the country naked, the Picts did break in, who most miserably wasted and spoiled the country.

¹ Camden.

The Coming in of the Saxons.

THUS Britain became a prey again to the Picts. When the Britons had despaired of Roman help, they sent into Germany to crave help of a people called Saxons, who entered and inhabited Britain to their aid against the Picts.

The Picts being vanquished and overthrown, through their valour, they possessed themselves of this North kingdom, upon the driving out of the native Britons. The victorious Saxons erected their heptarchy, or seven several kingdoms.

The kingdom of Northumberland was the most spacious, populous, and victorious kingdom against the Picts or Scots, until the Danes invaded these Northern parts, and broke out like a violent thunder-clap on the Northumberlanders, and put the English Saxons to much slavery and bondage many years, until they were expelled by the English.

The kingdom of Northumberland, being in peace, began to build and erect many strong castles for defence, against the Scots and Picts; as Dunstanborough-Castle, Bamborough, Alnewicke, Morpeth, and Tinmouth, which were the seats of the Kings of Northumberland.

In the time of this heptarchy, many famous monasteries were erected, viz. Hexham, made a bishop's see under the Saxons; many erected in this town of Newcastle and Pandon. Some of their Kings were interred in Saint Augustine's Friars, now called the Manors. The upper part and well was called Monk-Chester, before the Conquest; a place wholly dedicated to devotion and religion. Chester signifies a bulwark, or place of defence; which sheweth, that, in ancient time, under the Saxons, it had been a place of fortification for religious men that lived in monasteries.

The first Denominations of Newcastle.

AFTER the Conquest it got the name of Newcastle, by the new castle, which Robert de Cantois, son of William the Conqueror, built there out of the ground against the neighbouring Scots.

This town of Newcastle, and town of Pampeden, made one town, by the grants of the Kings of England; being in old time belonging to the county of Northumberland.

This town of Newcastle is seated upon the Picts' wall, and side of a steep hill, upon the north side of the river Tine. The Picts' wall came through the west gate, Saint Nicholas's church through Pampeden, then to the town east, called Wallsend.

The bounds of the town, upon the west, the lands belonging to the prior of Tinmouth. On the north, the town-moor, as some say, the gift of Adam de Athell of Gesmond; upon the east, the land of Biker; upon the south, the river Tine: Gateside in the county palatine of Durham.

The Walls and Gates of Newcastle, and who built them.

THE town of Newcastle is environed about with a strong thick stone wall, having seven gates or ports, with many round towers and square turrets. These walls began to be built in King John's reign, the north part of the wall at Newgate. The west part of the town, in King Henry the Third's reign. Pandon gate, and the east and south of the town wall, built in Edward the First's reign, and so continued building, until it was finished. The town is two miles in circuit, with trenches in the outside of the wall, ramparted within with earth.

The cause that moved them in those days to build this great wall, was the often invasions of the Scots into this place and country; they were continually infesting and foreigning² this country, and rich monasteries in these Northern parts; the religious houses of this town, and adjacent, being above forty houses, which have been dedicated to pious uses.

² [Qu. foraging?]

There was a rich man (in Edward the First's reign) of Newcastle, that was taken prisoner out of his house, and carried into Scotland, ransomed and brought home; which act moved the townsmen and burgesses, and the religious men therein, to contribute towards the building of these walls.

The question is, Who built these walls? Some are of opinion that King John built them; others Roger de Thornton. King John gave many privileges to this town, and probably the new gate and walls thereabouts were built in his time; that north part of the wall being the oldest, and of another fashion than the other walls.

As for Thornton, who lived in Henry the Sixth's days, all the walls of the town were then finished: it is probable that Thornton built the west gate, which is a strong and fair gate, in memory that he came from the west country, according to the old saying;

In at the west gate came Thornton in,
With a hap and a halfpenny, and a lamb's-skin.

The walls and gates were built by several persons, as by the names of the round towers doth appear. Some of them were built by the friars and monasteries that did dwell in the town, as the White, Black, Grey, and Austin friars. Others, named Durham and Carlisle towers. Others by noblemen and gentry of the country, as Nevil's Tower, adjoining to his house in West-gate.

There are seven ports or gates in Newcastle, besides postern gates, which belonged to the religious houses. In the lower part of the town upon the river are many little gates to that famous long key.

1. West is Close-gate, called so from a street called the Close, which³ goeth up the water, a place of recreation, called the Forth⁴, given to the town for good services performed by the burgesses of the same.

In Edward the Third's reign, three-hundred valiant men issued out of the town, through a postern gate; came suddenly in the night upon a great army of the Scots, which lay in that part west of the town; raised the army of the Scots, put them to flight, and took Earl Murray prisoner in his tent, and others.

2. The next west is West-gate, a stately and fair gate, built by Roger de Thornton, a rich man, that lived in Henry the Sixth's days, the high-way west into Northumberland and Cumberland.

3. Is New-gate, the ancient and strongest of all the ports, having a causey that leadeth to the town-moor, and towards the north parts of Northumberland and Scotland: now a prison for debtors and felons.

4. Pilgrimstreet-gate; so called, because of pilgrims lodging in that street; and went out of that gate to the shrine of the Virgin Mary in Gesmond; to which place, with great confluence and devotion, people came from all parts of this land, in that time of superstition.

5. Pandon-gate, so called from the ancient town of Pampeden, where was the Picts' wall, and a Roman tower, lately decayed; out of which wall is a causey that goeth into a place of recreation and perambulation, called the Shields'-field; and a way to a village called the Wall's-end, by Beda, Villa ad Murum, and so into Tinmouthshire.

6. East of the town is Sand-gate, built upon the river-side. Without this gate⁵ many houses, and populous, all along the water-side; where ship-wrights, seamen, and keelmen most live, that are employed about ships and keels.

The Bridges of Newcastle upon Tine.

7. THE bridge of this tower, over the river Tine, consisteth of arches high and broad, having many houses and shops upon the bridge, and three towers upon it; the first⁶ on the

³ Beginning at the bridge.

⁴ Now a bowling-green.

⁵ An hospital for the reception of poor keelmen.

⁶ This is demolished.

south-side; the second in the middle⁷, and the third in Newcastle side, lately built upon an arch in the bridge; used for a magazine for the town; and an old chapel.

There is a blue stone about the middle of the bridge, which is the bounds of Newcastle southward from Gate-side in the county palatine of Durham.

There was a strange accident upon the bridge, happened to an alderman of Newcastle; looking over the bridge into the river, with his hand over, his gold ring fell off his finger into the water; which was given for lost: it chanced that one of his servants bought a salmon in the market, who, opening the belly of the fish, found his master's ring in the guts.

The other bridge, within the town, is the upper and nether Dean-bridge; under the last bridge came boats up from the river, and the Picts-wall came over that bridge, and so along into Pandon.

The Stock-bridge in Pampeden, where is thought to be the ancient market for fish; where boats came up from the river.

The Churches of Newcastle.

THERE are four churches and parishes in this town. The first is Saint Nicholas⁸, in the midst of the town; a long, fair, and high church, having a stately high stone steeple, with many pinnacles; a stately stone lanthorn, standing upon four stone arches, built by Robert de Rhodes, lord prior of Tinmouth, in Henry the Sixth's days. It lifteth up a head of majesty, as high above the rest, as the cypress-tree above the low shrubs.

Ben Jonson.

My altitude high, my body four-square,
My foot in the grave, my head in the air,
My eyes in my sides, five tongues in my womb,
Thirteen heads upon my body, four images alone;
I can direct you where the wind doth stay,
And I tune God's precepts thrice a day:
I am seen where I am not, I am heard where I is not,
Tell me now what I am, and see that you miss not.

In this church are many porches, especially Saint George's, or the King's porch; built by some of the kings of this land.

In it are many sumptuous windows; that in the east surpasseth all the rest in height, largeness, and beauty, where the twelve apostles, seven deeds of charity, &c. built by Roger de Thornton (a great benefactor of this town) with this inscription; *Orate pro animâ Rogeri de Thornton, et pro animabus filiorum et filiarum.*

In the north part of the same is a shrine of Henry Percy, the fourth Earl of Northumberland, who was killed by the hands of rebels in Yorkshire, gathering up a subsidy; he was buried at Beverley, and this made in memory of him in his own country; he having a house in this town and parish: and other noblemen and gentry had in those days in this town. *Orate pro animâ Henrici Percy iv. Northumbriæ, qui per rebellium manus occubuit, &c.*

In the south part of the middle of this church, under a window, is an ancient tomb of a warlike gentleman, lying with his legs a-cross, his escutcheon of arms and sword; after the fashion in those days were they only interred, who took upon them the cross, and were marked with the badge of the cross, for sacred warfare, to recover the Holy Land from the Turks. In the quire and walks about it are many fair monuments, tombs, and marble-stones of mayors of this town, their names and arms engraven in stone, with their titles of (sometime mayor of Newcastle) honours; not one word of their gooddeeds;

⁷ It is now used as a house of correction, or confinement, for unruly apprentices, disorderly women, &c.

⁸ This church is a vicarage and peculiar of the bishop of Carlisle.

their generations and names are worn out. Only that thrice noble mayor, master Robert Anderson, whose memory will continue until there be no more time; *ære vel marmore perennius*, viz. his gift of twenty pounds *per annum* for ever to the four churches in Newcastle.

Dignum laude virum, musa vetat mori.

There is a tomb, as is reported, belonging to the Fitz-Williams, not placed; who, going ambassador into Scotland, died, and was interred in Saint Nicholas.

2. Is Allhallows, *Omnium animarum*, *Panton thewn*, from the ancient name of that part of the town Pampeden; having a broad and square church, and more populous than all the three other parishes, and able to contain more people than the rest, having three galleries.

There are few monuments or tombs in it. Only one stately tomb of that worthy benefactor, Roger de Thornton, having a large jet-stone, curiously engraven with his arms, and the arms of that noble family of the Lord Lumley, who married a daughter of Thornton's. He died in the reign of Henry the Seventh.

There was one Thomas Smith, shipwright, of this parish, that gave four pounds eighteen shillings and ten pence, yearly, for ever, to the distressed poor of that parish.

3. Church is Saint John's, a pretty little church, commended by an arch-prelate⁹ of this kingdom; because it resembleth much a cross. In this parish the Earl of Westmoreland had his house, as others, good benefactors to this town.

4. Saint Andrew's, the ancientest of all the four, as appeareth by the old building and fashion of the church. In it is to be seen a pardon of a pope for nine thousand years to come.

Likewise there is an ancient large stone of one Adam de Athell of Gesmond, with this inscription; *Hic jacet dominus Adamus de Athell, miles, qui obiit, anno 1387.*

The parson of the town is the bishop of Carlisle, who hath his vicar or substitute, and a fair old house belonging to the vicar.

The Streets and Buildings of the ancient Town of Pampeden.

I COME in the next place to describe every part of this town, what it was in the times of the Heptarchy of this kingdom, and in after succeeding ages.

First of Pampeden, *aliàs* Pantheon: It hath retained its name, without much alteration, since the Romans resided in it. After the departure of the Romans, the Kings of Northumberland kept their residence in it, and had their house, now called Pandon-Hall. It was a safe bulwark; having the Picts-wall on the north side, and the river of Tine on the south. This place of Pandon is of such antiquity, that, if a man would express any ancient thing, it is a common proverb¹⁰, 'As old as Pandon.' In it are many ancient buildings, houses, and streets: some gentlemen of Northumberland had their houses in it. There is an ancient place called the Wall-knowl, called since, Saint Michael upon the Wall-knowl; having a high and strong tower, now called the Carpenter's Tower, adjoining to that place upon the town wall. There is below, towards the river of Tine, an ancient religious house, called Trinity-house (not many houses in England named by that name), now converted to another use, for the masters of Trinity-house, which have many privileges and immunities granted unto them for services done by sea.

In this part of the town of Pandon, below, are many narrow streets or chairs, and ancient buildings; through the midst of it the river of Tine flows and ebbs, and a burne runs, called Pandon-burne. This place, called the Burne-bank, stands very low. It is recorded, that, in Edward the Third's time, an hundred and forty horses were drowned by overflowing of water: since, the houses towards the key-side are heightened with bal-last, and a high stone wall; without which wall, is a long and broad wharf or key, which hindereth the like inundation.

⁹ Laud.

¹⁰ At Newcastle.

In the upper part of this Pandon is an ancient religious house, founded by the kings of Northumberland, now called the Mannors (formerly Saint Augustine Friars), where the kings of Northumberland were interred; since, in succeeding ages, enlarged and beautified with stately buildings, cloisters, and a fair church. The kings of England, since the Conquest, kept house in it, when they came with an army royal against Scotland; and, since the suppression of monasteries, made a magazine and storehouse for the North parts. Now of late that princely fabrick is demolished, and laid level with the ground. The pride, covetousness, luxury, and idolatry of these houses, brought a sudden ruin upon themselves and houses.

In this place of Pandon is a bridge called Stock-bridge, where fishers come up with their fish, and sell them here.

The Grants and Charters to the Town.

THE antiquity of this town is known to be from that time, that the Romans had command in the Northern parts, who built the Picts-wall. After their departure, the Saxons became masters of this country; then the Danes. The Danes being vanquished and expelled this land, the English enjoyed it, until William the Conqueror made all England vassals, and obey his Norman laws, as far as the river Tine. King William overthrew the Northern forces in Gateside Fell, near Newcastle: since which time, great is the privilege that kings and princes have endowed this town with.

Robert, son of William the Conqueror, built the castle ¹¹ called New-castle, against the often inroads of our neighbouring Scots.

King John gave the first grant to Newcastle, and endowed it with many privileges and immunities to the good men of the same.

King Henry the Third made it a corporation, whereas formerly it belonged to the county of Northumberland, as by Henry the Third's charter doth appear; *Noveritis nos concessisse et demisisse, & hanc chartam nostram confirmasse pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, pro his hominibus nostris, de Novo-Castello super Tinam, & hæredibus eorum, villam nostram cum Novo-Castello, cum omnibus pertinentibus suis ad feud. firmum, &c.*

The town of Pampeden was granted to the beloved burgesses, and good men of New-castle, in King Edward the First's reign, as by his charter appears; *Sciatis quod dedimus & concessimus, & hanc chartam nostram confirmavimus pro nobis, & hæredibus nostris, dilectis burgensibus, & probis hominibus nostris villæ Novicastro super Tinam, omnes terras & tenementa cum pertinentibus in Pampeden in Biker, juxta prædictam villam Novicastro, &c. Et quod prædicta villa Novicastro, & terra, & tenementa prædicta in Pampeden, unica villa de cætero sint, & unus burgus, ad uniendum & concludendum dictæ villæ Novicastro in augmentationem, emendationem, & securitatem ejusdem villæ, &c.*

All the kings and queens of England successively granted unto the town some honour and privilege, and enlarged their charters.

Edward the Third gave them the Forth, for the good services of the townsmen.

Edward the Fourth gave them power to choose, yearly, mayor and aldermen, in lieu of bailiffs.

After-kings granted, to the mayor and commonalty, all the royalties of the river of Tine, from Sparrow-hawk unto Heddon-streams; and that no ship load and unload any manner of goods, wares, and merchandises in, or on any place of the river, but only at the key of Newcastle. Also granted commissioners to measure keels.

King Edward the Sixth grants the town of Gateside to be united to the town of New-castle. Repealed by Queen Mary.

Sir Thomas White, Lord-mayor of London, gave one hundred pounds yearly to the chief cities and towns of England for ever; to be lent to four clothiers merchants for ten years without interest. The town of Newcastle enjoyeth her hundred pounds in her turn.

¹¹ Now used as the common prison for felons to be tried at the assizes for the county of Northumberland.

The first hundred pound which came to Newcastle was in 1599: the noblest gift that ever was given in England by any subject. Some think, in time, it will engross the most of the money in this land.

The Highest and North Parts of the Town.

THE ancient parts of the town of Newcastle were, in the upper parts of it, about Newgate, where are many old houses and cottages, which served these religious houses with provisions: this part of the town is called, to this day, the Hucksters-Booths. These people, in those days, had their livelihood from those friars and nuns that lived in that part of the town.

In after-ages, the burgesses and good men of the town began to trade, and venture beyond the seas into foreign places; they built many ships, procured a charter from the kings of England to carry fells beyond seas, and bring in foreign commodities. The staple was then at Antwerp in Brabant, called *commune totius Europæ emporium*. This charter of the merchant-adventurers, was the first charter that was granted by any king to any town. After which grant, this town flourished in trading; built many fair houses in the flesh-market, then called the cloth-market. The merchants had their shops and warehouses there, in the back parts of their houses; the river of Tine flowed and ebbed, where boats came up with commodities; which trade of merchandises continued many years. In that street the mayors, aldermen, and richest men of the town lived. In after-times, the merchants removed lower down towards the river, to the street called the Side, and Sand-hill, where they continue unto this day¹².

The Sand-hill.

Now let us describe unto you the other streets and markets in this town. First of the Sand-hill, a market for fish, and other commodities; very convenient for merchant-adventurers, merchants of coals, and all those that have their living by shipping. There is a navigable river, and a long key or wharf, where ships may lie safe from danger of storms, and may unload their commodities and wares upon the key. In it, are two cranes for heavy commodities, very convenient for carrying of corn, wine, deals, &c. from the key into the water-gates, which are along the key-side, or into any quarter of the town.

In this market-place are many shops and stately houses for merchants, with great conveniences of water, bridge, garners, lofts, cellars, and houses of both sides of them. Westward they have a street called the Close. East, the benefit of the houses of the key-side.

In this Sand-hill standeth the town-court, or guildhall, where are held the guilds every year by the mayor and burgesses, to offer up their grievances, where the mayor keepeth his court every Monday, and the sheriff hath his county-court upon Wednesday and Friday.

In it is kept a court of admiralty, or river-court, every Monday in the afternoon. This is a court of record for inrolling of deeds and evidences.

There is a court of Pie-powder¹³, during the said two fairs, Lammas and St. Luke; all the privileges and power, that a court-leet can have, are granted to this court.

Under the town-court is a common weigh-house for all sorts of commodities. King Henry the Sixth sent to this town, as to other cities and towns, brass weights according to the standard.

Near this is the town-house, where the clerk of the chamber and chamberlains are to receive the revenues of the town for coal, ballast, salt, grind-stones, &c.

Next adjoining is an alms-house, called the Maison de Dieu, built by that noble benefactor Roger de Thornton.

Above which is the stately court of the merchant-adventurers, of the old staple, resident at that flourishing city of Antwerp in Brabant, since removed to the more northern

¹² viz. 1649.

¹³ [A court held in fairs for the summary redress of disorders committed therein.]

provinces under the States. Their charters are ancient, their privileges and immunities great: they have no dependence upon London; having a governor, twelve assistants, two wardens, and a secretary.

There is an old chapel upon the bridge.

Next west is a street called the Close, where are many stately houses of merchants and others. The Earl of Northumberland had his house in this street.

Near the Sand-hill east, is Allhallows-bank, or Butchers-bank, where most butchers dwell, the way to Allhallows church: on the south-side of which are many chairs or lanes that go down to the key-side.

The middle Parts of the Town.

NEXT up street is the street called the Side. In the lower part of it standeth a fair cross, with columns of stones hewn, covered with lead, where are sold milk, eggs, butter, &c.

In the Side are shops for merchants, drapers, and other trades. In the middle of the Side is an ancient stone-house, an appendix to the castle, which in former times belonged to the Lord Lumleys, before the castle was built, or at least coetany ¹⁴ with the castle.

Next up the town north, is Middle-street, where all sorts of artificers have shops and houses.

The west-side of this street is the oatmeal-market.

On the east-side of it is the flesh-market, I think the greatest market ¹⁵ in England for all sorts of flesh and poultry that are sold there every Saturday; the reason is not the populousness of the town that makes it, it is the people in the country, within ten miles of the town, who make their provision there; as likewise all that live by the coal-trade, for working and conveying coals to the water: as also the shipping which comes into this river for coals, there being sometimes three-hundred sail of ships. In this market are kept two fairs in the year, for nine days together; one of them at that remarkable time of the year, the first of August; the other is held, the eighteenth of October, upon St. Luke's day.

Next above north, is the big ¹⁶ and oat market every Tuesday and Saturday in the week.

In which street is an ancient house, with a large gate, called the Scots Inn, where the kings, nobility, and lairds of Scots lodged, in time of truce or league with England.

Pilgrim Street.

EAST again is Pilgrim-street, the longest and fairest street in the town. In it is a market for wheat and rye every Tuesday and Saturday.

Likewise an house called the Pilgrim's Inn, where pilgrims lodged that came to visit the shrine in Gesmond, or Jesu de Munde; which occasioned to call this street Pilgrim-street.

In the upper part of this street is a princely house, built out of the ruins of the Black Friars.

Both east and west of this street are many passages into other parts of the town, as the nether and higher Dean-bridge into the west, the Manour-chair upon the east, having a way to that sumptuous building of the Minorites, of old called St. Augustin Friars; also a street called Silver-street, having a passage down to Pandon.

West-gate Street.

UPON the west of the town is Denton-chair, which goeth into West-gate-street, which is a broad street, and private: for men that live there have employment for town and country. The Earl of Westmoreland had his house in this street, and other gentlemen.

¹⁴ Of the same age.

¹⁵ Except Leaden-hall market, in London.

¹⁶ Barley.

In this street is an hospital, called the Spittle; in the east of that chapel is the place for electing of mayors, aldermen, sheriffs, and other officers in the town next Monday after Michaelmas day. In which place are made, of late, a famous grammar-school, writing-school, and houses within the Spittle for the masters. Protos Archididascalos, or the first head school-master, was that reverend master Robert Fowberry, a learned and painful man to indoctrinate youth in Greek and Latin.

In the north-side of the street, towards West-gate, is an ancient building, called now Bannet Chessy Friars, where now the nine crafts of this town have their meeting-houses¹⁷. It was called, in old time, the Gray-Friars.

In the south-west of the town is the White-Friars, and near that a street called Bailiff-gate; which, in former times, belonged unto the castle and county of Northumberland. There is a postern-gate, where prisoners, taken in time of hostility with Scotland, and felons of the county of Northumberland, were brought in privately into the castle in Newcastle, where the common jail for the county is.

Near this street are two ways, which go down into the Close, the Long-stairs and Tud-hill stairs.

The Government of the Town.

Now let us speak concerning the government of this town. The first grant was, *Burgensibus & probis hominibus Novicastri super Tinam*, i. e. 'To the burgesses and good men of the town of Newcastle.' Out of whom yearly were chosen bailiffs, which are the ancient officers of cities and towns in England.

King Edward the Fourth, out of his abundant grace and favour to the aforesaid town-burgesses, their heirs and successors, grants yearly to choose a mayor and six aldermen; and that the aforesaid mayor and aldermen, for the time being, or any four, three, or two of them, have full power and authority to enquire, hear, and determine all manner of complaints and causes, appertaining to the office of a justice of the peace.

Instead of bailiffs, is chosen a sheriff yearly.

King Richard the Second gave the sword to be carried before the mayor, which represents royal power and authority; delegated, by charters, to them, their heirs and successors, from their Sovereign.

The power of a mayor is great, the highest dignity or honour that can be bestowed upon a city or town; according to that office among the Romans, of proprætors and pro-consuls, who had, in all countries and kingdoms, under their command their viceroys, or representatives.

In after-times, upon a division among the aldermen, there were four aldermen more added; so now it is governed by a mayor, recorder, ten aldermen, and one sheriff. Their officers are two clerks, one for the town-court, the other for the town-chamber.

The officers that attend upon his person are, a sword-bearer with a cap of maintenance, a water-bailiff, and seven serjeants, in their gowns and maces. All these nine officers go before the mayor and aldermen, in their gowns, to church, and at any solemnity.

In former times, the aldermen of the town had their scarlet gowns, but the proud Scot got them by conquest, as they did other ornaments of the town; thinking no English, in authority, worthy to wear scarlet but themselves: and so they continued lording over us for two years, until they were hired out, as they were brought in, being a mercenary nation, for any nation for money.

There are twelve trades or crafts, which are chief in electing of mayors, viz. drapers, mercers, glovers, taylors, boothmen, shoemakers, bakers, tanners, saddlers, butchers, smiths, and dyers.

There are the by-crafts, which are fifteen in number; every one of them hath their meeting-houses in the towers of the wall, and are called, at this day, by the name of By-crafts: their ancient name is after the name of the founder.

¹⁷ Or halls for the meeting of their respective companies.

The twenty-four Wards of the Town.

THERE are four and twenty wards in the town ; every ward hath its tower or gate in the walls, which they were to keep in times of hostility with the Scots, whereof these are some :

White-friars Tower-ward.
Nevil's Tower-ward.
West-spittle Tower.
Stanke Tower.
Pink Tower.
Gunner's Tower.
West-gate Tower.

Durham Tower.
Thicket's Tower.
Carlisle Tower.
Barthram Mumbugget Tower.
Ever's Tower.
Saint Austin's Tower.
Walk-knowl Ward, &c.

Of the River Tine, and the Commodities.

THE port or haven of this river is able to receive ships of four-hundred tons, having rocks on the north-side of the haven, and sands upon the south, dangerous in a north-east wind :

Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult evitare Charybdim.

Upon the north-side of the haven, is an ancient strong castle, the seat of the prior of Tinnmouth. King Henry the Eighth converted the castle from a priory, to be a defence for the river and country, against foreign invasions.

1. The south-side of the river is Warwickshire, in the county of Durham, where are many salt-pans, which make white salt out of salt water, boiled with coal.

2. Another commodity, that this river bringeth forth, is coal in great abundance ; most of the people, that live in these parts, live by the benefit of coals, that are carried out of this river into most parts of England southward, into Germany, and other transmarine countries.

John Johnston, out of the poems of the cities of Britain :

NEWCASTLE.

Seated upon high rock, she sees dame Nature's wonders strange,
Or else to others wittily doth vent them for exchange :
In vain why seek you fire from Heaven, to serve your turn ?
The ground here either keeps it close, or quickly makes it burn.
Nor that which folk with stony flesh, or whirl-wind grim affrights,
But giveth life to earthly things, and minds to living wights ;
This melteth iron, brass, and gold, so pliable and soft,
What mind the allective shade of gold stirs not, nor sets aloft ?
Nay, more than so, men say it doth dull metal change to gold ;
To say therefore it is a god, our alchymists are bold.
If god he be, as thou giv'st out, great master, of thy word,
How many gods then doth this place, and our Scotland afford ?

Many thousand people are employed in this trade of coals ; many live by working of them in the pits ; many live by conveying them in waggons and wains to the river Tine ; many men are employed in conveying the coals in keels, from the Stathes¹⁸, a-board the ships. One coal-merchant employeth five-hundred, or a thousand, in his works of coal ; yet, for all his labour, care, and cost, can scarce live of his trade : nay, many of them have consumed and spent great estates, and died beggars. I can remember one of many, that raised his estate by the coal-trade : many I remember, that have wasted great estates. I shall illustrate this by a story of two Spaniards, brothers, who travelled into the West-Indies, with that estate and means which they had acquired : one of the brothers was a miner, to employ many slaves in silver mines ; the other brother was to be an husband

¹⁸ Or coal-wharfs.

man, to provide corn, sheep, and other provisions for the miner and his men; much silver was got out of the ground by these miners; the husbandman got monies out of his stock for his commodities. After many years delving and labouring in these silver-mines, at last the mines were exhausted and decayed, and all the money, which he had got for many years labour and cost, was run into his brother's, the husbandman's hands, and all his stock upstanding; he living all that time of the profit that his ground yielded.

So it is with our coal-miners; they labour, and are at a great charge to maintain men to work their collieries; they waste their own bodies with care, and their collieries with working; the kernel being eaten out of the nut, there remaineth nothing but the shell; their collieries are wasted, and their monies are consumed. This is the uncertainty of mines; a great charge, the profit uncertain.

Some South gentlemen have, upon great hope of benefit, come into this country to hazard their monies in coal-pits. Mr. Beaumont, a gentleman of great ingenuity and rare parts, adventured into our mines, with his thirty-thousand pounds, who brought with him many rare engines, not known then in these parts; as, the art to bore with iron rods, to try the deepness and thickness of the coal; rare engines to draw water out of the pits; waggons with one horse, to carry down coals from the pits to the stathes, to the river, &c. Within a few years, he consumed all his money, and rode home upon his light horse.

Some Londoners, of late, have disbursed their monies for the reversion of a lease of colliery, about thirty years to come of the lease. When they come to crack their nuts, they find nothing but the shells: nuts will not keep thirty years; there is a swarm of worms under ground, that will eat up all before their time; they may find some meteors, *ignis fatuus*, instead of a mine.

A third commodity, that this river bringeth forth, is grind-stones, which are conveyed into most parts of the world, according to the proverb: 'A Scot, a rat, and a Newcastle grind-stone, you may find all the world over.'

The fourth commodity of this river is the great plenty of salmon taken in this water, which serveth this town, and other parts.

Upon the south-side of this river, stands a town, called Jarro, where lived that venerable Bede, admired for his learning, in those times of darkness. Camden intituleth him, 'The singular glory and ornament of England.' Malmesbury, '*Vir erat, quem mirari facilius, quàm dignum prædicari possis, qui extremo natus orbis angulo doctrinæ corusco terras omnes perstrinxerat.*'

Bede lived in the time of the Saxons' heptarchy in England, in the kingdom of Northumbers, seven-hundred years after Christ.

This river hath two heads, or main streams; South Tine, which runs through Allendale; North Tine, which runs through Tinedale: they meet west of Hexam, and salute one another.

Divine Providence over all Nations and Countries.

OUR most provident and glorious Creator hath so furnished all countries with several commodities, that, amongst all nations, there might be a sociable conversation and mutual commerce; one people standing in need of another, all might be combined in a common league, and exhibit mutual succours. *Non omnia fert anima tellus.* From the Indies; gold, silver, gems, drugs, &c. From Italy; silks. From Spain; fruits, saffron, sacks. From Denmark; amber, cordage, firs, and flax. From France; wines and linen. From England; wool, tin. From these Northern parts; coal, salt, grind-stones, &c. Which trade of coal began not past fourscore years since. Coals, in former times, were only used by smiths, and for burning of lime. Woods in the south parts of England decaying, and the city of London, and other cities and towns growing populous, made the trade for coal increase yearly, and many great ships of burthen built, so that there were more coals vended in one year, than were in seven years, forty years by-past. This great trade hath made this part to flourish in all trades.

Camden calls Newcastle *Ocellus*, or the eye of the North; the hearth, that warmeth the

south parts of this kingdom with fire; an Ægypt to all the shires in the North (in time of famine) for bread. All quarters of the country come with money in their purses, to buy corn to feed their families, this summer.

This town hath been famous, in four ages of the world.

1. In the time of the Romans, being, in these parts, the outmost limits of the Roman empire.

2. Famous for the monasteries in old times.

3. This town famous, being a bulwark against the Scots. All the power of Scotland could never win it, since the walls were built; but of late¹⁹, being assisted by the English, it was stormed; our churches and houses defaced; the ornaments of both, plundered and carried away. The crown of our heads is fallen; woe unto us now, for we have sinned.

4. Famous for the great trade of coal, white salt, grind-stones, &c. which they furnish other countries with.

Newcastle, likewise, excels in four things before spoken:

1. The town, walls, gates, towers, and turrets.

2. St. Nicholas's church-steeple, *caput inter nubila condit*.

3. The Tine-bridge, consisting of eight stately arches, towers, and houses.

4. The long and fair key, for ships to unload their commodities.

The revenues of the town are not great, considering the disbursements for repairing of streets, high-ways, bridges; maintenance of ministers, school-masters, poor, &c.

The arms of the town is; the three castles, *Argent*, in a field *Gules*.

Camd. Newcastle, 22 grad. 30 min. long.; 54 gr. 55 min. lat.

Hues. Newcastle, 23 grad. 10 min. long.; 55 grad. 20 min. lat.

The Suburbs of Newcastle.

GATE-SIDE, a borough upon the south-side of the river Tine, an ancient inhabited place, a parish of itself, in the bishoprick of Durham. King Edward the Sixth united it to the town of Newcastle; since, Queen Mary gave it again to the bishop's see of Durham.

The suburbs out of Newgate and Pilgrim-street were ruined in these late wars: near the Barras-bridge is an hospital, dedicated to Mary Magdalene. There are many closes in that part, and large fields of meadows, called, 'The Castle Leases,' belonging to the town; the gift of King John, as some say, to the good men of Newcastle.

There is a postern between Newgate and West-gate, which goeth into a close, called, 'The Warden-close,' where the warden of the prior of Timmouth had his house, garden, fish-ponds, &c.

The suburbs of Sand-gate escaped the fury of these wars, except some near the walls of the town, which was fired.

One remarkable thing is recorded of two carpenters hewing of a tree; blood issued out of the timber, in what part of the wood they cut.

Below east is the Ballast-hill, where women upon their heads carry ballast, which was taken forth of small ships which came empty for coals; which place was the first ballast-shore out of the town; since which time, the trade of coals increasing, there are many ballast-shores made below the water, on both sides of the river.

Upon the north-side of the river is the Ewes-burne, over which is a wood-bridge, which goeth down to a place called 'The Glass-houses,' where plain glass for windows is made²⁰, which serveth most parts of the kingdom. Below east are many shores built for casting of ballast out of ships; which brings profit to the town, and the occupiers of the same.

Of the noble and ancient Famijies of the North, and their Castles.

THE North-parts of England have been in the Romans' time, and in after-ages, the bul-

¹⁹ By the Parliament-army.

²⁰ This has been much improved since that time; for now they make all sorts of glass in great perfection.

warks and fortresses of England against the inroads of the Scots; Newcastle for the east parts of this land, and Carlisle for the west.

The two great princes of the North, were the Earls of Northumberland at Alnwick, and Westmoreland at Raby-castle, in the bishoprick of Durham: the first, famous for the great overthrow he gave Malcolm, King of the Scots, and his son Edward, slain at his castle of Alnwick: the second Earl, made famous for David, King of Scots, prisoner, and the overthrow of his army at Nevil's-cross²¹, near Durham.

The Lords Dacres and Lumley were famous in their generation; the first lived in Cumberland, in his many castles; the other, in the bishoprick of Durham, in Lumley-castle; both of them having lands in Northumberland, who held their lands of the king in knight-service for his wars against the Scots.

The bishops of Durham had their castles in the frontiers, in Northumberland and Elandshire.

The nobility and gentry of the North are of great antiquity, and can produce more ancient families, than any part of England: many of them gentry before the Conquest; the rest came in with William the Conqueror. The noblemen and gentry of the North have been always employed in their native country, in the wars of the kings of England against the Scots, all of them holding their lands in knights-service to attend the wars in their own persons, with horse and spear, as the manner of fighting was, in those days.

Some gentlemen held their lands in cornage, by blowing a horn, to give notice that the Scots, their enemies, had invaded the land²². The Scots, their neighbouring enemies, have made the inhabitants of Northumberland fierce and hardy, whilst sometimes they kept themselves exercised in the wars; being a most warlike nation, and excellent good light-horsemen, wholly addicting themselves to Mars and arms: not a gentleman among them, that hath not his castle or tower; and so it was divided into a number of baronies, the lords whereof, in times past, before King Edward the First's days, went, commonly, under the name of Barons; although some of them were of no great living. It was the policy of the kings of England, to cherish and maintain martial prowess among them, in the marches of the kingdom, if it were nothing else, but with an honourable bare title. Some gentlemen of the North are called, to this day, Barons.

The ancient families and names of the gentry are many, which have continued, from William the Conqueror, unto these late days.

The Grays, of Chillingham and Horton,

Barons of Warke-castle.

Ogles, of Ogle-castle.

Fenwicks, of Wallington.

Widdrington, of Widdrington-castle.

Delavale, of Seaton-Delavale.

Ridleys, of Williams-Week.

Muschampes, of Barsmore, the chief

Baron of Northumberland, in Edward the First's reign.

Middletons, of Belsey.

Midfords, of Midford.

Fosters, of Edderston.

Claverings, of Callalie.

Swinbournes, of Swinbourne; now of Capheaton.

Radcliffes, of Delston²³.

Harbottle, of Harbottle-castle; extinct.

Haggerston, of Haggerston.

Hebburne, of Hebburne.

Blankenship, of Blankenship.

Fetherstonhaugh, of Fetherstonhaugh.

Hérons, of Chepchase.

Horsley, of ———.

Craster, of Craster.

Laraines, of Kirkharle.

Collingwoods, of Estington.

Whitfield, of Whitfield.

Carnaby, of Halton.

Lisles, of Felton.

Strudders, of Kirknewton.

Selbyes, of Twisel.

Eringtons, of Bewfrom.

Weldon, of Weldon.

Bradforth, of Bradforth.

Rodom, of Little-Haughton.

²¹ Half a mile out of 'Cross-Gate.'

²³ Extinct in the Earl of Derwentwater.

²² Camden.

Carres, of Ford-castle.

Thirlwall, of Thirlwall-castle.

Creswell, of Creswell.

Killingworth, of Killingworth.

Halls, of Otterburne.

These ancient noble families continued many years valiant and faithful unto the kingdom of England, and flourished all in their times; until the two powerful Earls of the North rose in rebellion, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, who drew along with them many gentry of the North, who overthrew themselves and confederates, and many ancient families of the North. Since, many ancient names have been extinct, for want of heirs male, and have been devolved upon other names and families.

Since the union²⁴ of both kingdoms, the gentry of this country have given themselves to idleness, luxury, and covetousness; living not in their own houses, as their ancestors have done; profusely spending their revenues in other countries, and have consumed of late their ancient houses.

The castles in the North are many and strong.

Morpeth-castle, so called, from the death of the Picts in that place.

Alnwick-castle, where the Earls of Northumberland kept their court; famous for two battles fought against the Scots, who received a shameful overthrow, by the valour of the Earls of Northumberland.

Upon Tweede and borders are, Wark-castle, a barony of the Grays; Norham-castle, belonging to the bishops of Durham; Berwick, upon the left bank and river, a strong town of war, opposite sometimes against the Scots, the farthest bounds of the English empire. Upon Till (a river, falling into Tweede above Norham) is Ford-castle. To the west, beyond the river, riseth Floddon-hill, made famous by the death of James the Fourth, King of Scotland²⁴; slain in a memorable battle, by Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, general of the English, in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Upon the East-sea are Bambrough-castle and Dunstanbrough-castle, built by the Saxons, and sometimes the royal seats of the kings of Northumbers. Bambrough-castle, afterward converted into a priory, did homage and vassalage to their lord prior.

Many battles and skirmishes have been in this North, and always have been victorious against the Scots. Besides the forenamed battles of Alnwick-castle and Floddon, at Solomoss fifteen-thousand Scots were put to flight, eight-hundred slain, and one and twenty of their nobles taken prisoners, by the English.

There were lord-wardens of the East, West, and Middle Marches appointed; who had power, by martial law, to repress all enormities and outrages committed in the borders. They had their laws, called 'Border-Laws.'

In the north, towards the borders, are many hills; one of them most eminent, called, 'Cheviot-hill.' Upon the top of it is snow to be seen at midsummer; and a land-mark for seamen, that come out of the east-parts from Dantzick, through the Baltick seas, and from the King of Denmark's country; it being the first land, that mariners make for the coast of England. These Cheviot hills are made famous for the hunting of the Earl of Northumberland: at the hunting, the Earl Douglas of Scotland met him with his forces, and engaged one the other, where were many bickerings and skirmishes, to the loss of many men, where both Earls fought valiantly; called to this day 'Cheviot-Chace.'

There are many dales; the chief are Tinedale and Reedsdale, a country, that William the Conqueror did not subdue; retaining to this day their ancient laws and customs (according to the county of Kent) whereby the lands of the father are equally divided, at his death, amongst all his sons. These Highlanders are famous for thieving; they are all bred up, and live by theft. They come down from these dales into the low countries, and carry away horses and cattle so cunningly, that it will be hard for any to get them,

²⁴ In the person of King James the First.

²⁵ [And of late made more famous by the poetical romance of Marmion, and the republication of the old historical ballad of Floddon-field.]

or their cattle, except they be acquainted with some master-thief; who, for some money (which they call Saufey-money) may help them to their stolen goods, or deceive them.

There are many, every year, brought in of them into the jail of Newcastle, and, at the assizes, are condemned and hanged, sometimes twenty or thirty²⁶. They forfeit not their lands (according to the tenure in gavelkind) the father to bough, the son to the plough.

The people of this country have had one barbarous custom amongst them. If any two be displeased, they expect no law, but bang it out bravely, one and his kindred against the other and his; they will subject themselves to no justice, but in an unhuman and barbarous manner, fight and kill one another: they run together clangs (as they term it) or names.

This fighting they call their 'feides²⁷,' or 'deadly feides;' a word so barbarous, that I cannot express it in any tongue. Of late, since the union of both kingdoms, this heathenish bloody custom is repressed, and good laws made against such barbarous and unchristian misdemeanours and fightings.

In this North country, groweth plenty of hadder or ling, good for cattle to feed upon, and for moor-fowl and bees. This herb yieldeth a flower, in June, as sweet as honey; whereof the Picts, in time past, did make a pleasant drink, wholesome for the body of man.

Upon the west parts of Northumberland the Picts-wall is, out of the ruins of which are built many towers and houses, in that part where the Picts-wall stood. In some of the waste ground, the wall is to be seen of a great height, and almost whole; many stones have been found with *Roma* upon it; and all the names of the Roman emperors, consuls, and proconsuls, both in stone and in coin of silver and brass, with their emperors' image upon them. So the Picts-wall goes through Northumberland into Cumberland; where I end my peregrination and travel, keeping myself within the limits and bounds of Northumberland.

²⁶ This nuisance has been long removed; and I can affirm, that there have not been half a score executions for these twenty years.

²⁷ [Or feuds: denoting the hereditary and mortal enmity subsisting between different clans or families. See Jamieson's Etymol. Dict.]

A Narration of the late Accident in the New-Exchange, on the Twenty-first and Twenty-Second of November, 1653. *Stylo Vet.* Written by the most noble and illustrious Lord, Don Pantaleon Sa, Brother to his Excellency of Portugal, Extraordinary Legate in England; to his much esteemed Nobility of England, and to all of the beloved and famous City of London, from Newgate's Prison.

London, printed in the Year 1653.

[Quarto, containing Fourteen Pages.]

MANY will wonder, what feelings I have to be detained in a place so unsuitable to my condition: whilst few vouchsafe me their commiseration, all deem me worthy of reproof. Truly, I do acquiesce in this (to me) harsh tenor of English justice, and obey it without resistance, to this universal and undeserved hatred towards me and ours. Notwithstanding, because I am conscious of my own intentions herein, I cannot but grieve to see the whole envy and malice of this affair pursue only my part; not having given, neither the first nor the second time, any occasion for it, without permitting, that we (remote strangers from our native country) enjoy any pity at all. Much I am afflicted, that few cherish my cause, most withstand it, and, as it were, none interpose themselves, to ascribe this unhappy accident, as really it ought, to chance, rather than to malice; to the ignorance of some particulars, than to the pertinacy of all; to the reciprocal hurly-burly, than to the pretended violence of one only side. This I only say to that end, that I may lay open the business and intentions herein, so to be made apparent to the most beloved gentry and people of England; that all may more easily compassionate my person and condition, and restore to me and ours again their love and favour; which truly, in these circumstances, I equally value with my life.

It no wise can be conceived how deeply I am struck, when I reflect that I am come to that point, that neither I, in my proper cause, nor others can be heard for me; many imagining their aim and honour to withstand me as much as is possible: yea, and that those that assist me herein, therefore are deemed principals in the act. Whence to you all who read this, I leave it to be judged, what an unspeakable grief I must needs inwardly feel, when I hear such strange speeches against me every where in this city; and that, only for my sake, my country-men all and nation displease them. Truly, if it were at first as it is now bruited, I might justly seem a madman towards my brother, most uncivil to all the English gentry, and ungrateful to all this city, wherein I have so long been, and so well known: but these forerunning discourses, at first, discredit themselves by their variety; and, afterwards, totally become groundless.

I. Should I, as it is said, oppress the English, or withstand them from whom my brother, sent hither particularly by my King, demands peace and amity, and under whose protection we all are. Should I commit, by such a levity, (everlastingly by me to be repented) that I should not also seem to intend what my brother, with so much pains, hitherto endeavoured to effect? I would not have been so great an enemy to myself, both in the opinion of my brother, and in the esteem of my King, in whose hands it lies to dispose of my whole life, honour, and fortune; which, since it is so, I confide none will exaggerate my cause, or accuse me beyond reason.

2. Should I hate the English gentry? Alas, I am a gentleman myself; and, indeed, I much ever desired to deserve their love and esteem. I never would have dreamed such a folly, unless I had first forgot my own birth; in which, so far I am from doing wrong, that I endeavoured to shew myself, as I was able, a true follower of my brother; whom I still perceived and noted heartily desirous to oblige all gentlemen, by whatsoever manner of civility and kindness he could afford them.

3. Should I, lastly, on set purpose, bring I know not what arms to besiege the Exchange? I witness Heaven, and beg pardon first of all this common-wealth (to which I totally submit myself), then again of my dear brother, if either of them harbour such an opinion of my deportments. Nay, if by chance I had indiscreetly offended in this kind, it might have been ascribed to my unexperienced youth, and pardonable; and every indifferent judge will find me to have only sought to defend myself and honour, and not in the least to offend others. And I swear to Heaven, I knew nothing of what is spoke of powder, which was found in a hackney-coach.

Some will object, "Why would I go and meet the threats I might have before heard of?" First, I believed no such threats, which, I conjectured, could not proceed but from a very few; especially, when I reflected on the great civilities and kindnesses which, for this year and more, had been betwixt the English and Portugal gentry, and that all differences might be decided by some other handsome mean, and not by the like threats. Again, how could I imagine any hinderance to go to so public a place, which I see open to all nations, even to the basest sort of people? If I had been forbidden any private house, by its owner, or, by a decree of parliament, from any public place, I had kept home, and not stirred, to manifest, with joy and promptness, my obedience therein to this commonwealth. And thus I feared none, nor suspected, in the least, that any would assault me, when they saw me unarmed; neither did I think, that a public place could defend me, when my brother's house is patent¹ to all. Notwithstanding, being danger of life and honour must be provided against, I would not go totally unprepared, in case any where I should be offended.

Coming therefore to the Exchange (as I was wont to do) on the twenty-first of November, 1653, so to gain and increase love and acquaintance with the English gentlemen, I walked with a certain Englishman, new arrived from Portugal, who assured me of the civilities he enjoyed among my countrymen there. As we two thus hand in hand discoursed, behold, on a sudden, an English gentleman obtrudes himself betwixt us with great violence. I regarded not this, until I heard that party and my companion at variance. At this, though I understood little, yet I very much resented it; because I earnestly wished nothing of scandal attempted, where I might have any thing to do. This was my mind then, as they will easily believe, who behold me with an impartial eye. But what? Out of hand the gentleman casteth at me most contumelious words, repeating them twice or thrice in the French tongue, against me alone, who had not offended him; calling me 'Jean Foutre, Brughier, and Coquin.' I pray, what flesh alive, in these conjunctures, could have contained himself from taking a just revenge? Let any speak, whether he could have patiently took the like injurious words from me? If not, why should it be my charge and only blame, not to have been then so patient as to hold my hands without repelling him, making at me in so scurvy a manner? It is true, I then rushed upon him; yet, naked as I was, without either sword, or any weapon that could do him the harm he, in that mutiny, received. Here, quickly a world of English crouded about me, by whom I was unkindly, yea harshly abused; and, by naked swords drawn against my life, compelled to withdraw myself thence as I could, especially perceiving none there so favourable as would either speak or stand in my behalf.

Upon this, I was not a little afflicted, and tenderly felt what was acted against me, a gentleman, a stranger, and innocent, if I had been rightly understood; against whom, none, in my own country, durst have attempted so much; if not for the honour of my de-

¹ [Open.]

portment, at least for the respect and duty of my birth. I say no more, but leave it to your commiseration to reflect how deeply I resented this. I know you are well instructed all in those wholesome counsels of Holy Writ, and therefore, with greater confidence, I now, and ever, did cast myself into your arms, fearing nothing, Levit. xix. ver. 33. 'And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him.' Exod. xxii. ver. 21. 'Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.' Exod. xxiii. ver. 9. 'Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger; for ye know the heart of a stranger; seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.' I am sorry that the gentleman, the cause of all this, should have been wounded; and, if any of my followers did it, I am the more sorry, although it were done in my defence. But I call God to witness, I had not so much as a pin in my hand then, by which I could in the least harm him.

With these unhandsome injuries I thought to have rested; hoping the party, that had affronted me, would have been sensible of what he had done, and so I would have deemed myself sufficiently satisfied. But what? There were several who abused divers Portugal gentlemen, then casually walking, with blows and words. Nay, the gentleman, of whose wound was complained so much, assisted by many others, meeting a Portugal gentleman, ignorant of what had passed, rushed upon him, and, with a blow in the face, wanted but a little to put out one of his eyes.

I was, and am sure, all this did proceed but from some few ill-affected persons, and therefore, the day following, I esteemed it superfluous to look to myself more than usually.

I slighted those, who then publicly bragged, that no Portuguese should then dare to return and expatiate there again: for I should much have admired, if, from the plurality of this nation (so dear to us all) such hard speeches and prohibitions had proceeded; especially remembering how all English, and particularly gentlemen, are, and have always been loved, and honoured in my country; where Portugal against Portugal would have boldly and laudably stood for any stranger in such a rencounter, according to that Polyanthea, *Verbo hospitalitatis redeo*: 'Do no harm, nor affront a guest and stranger; do not so much as endanger his safety;' &c.

Upon these considerations, I came the next night to the Exchange; but with a far other intent than I am accused of. I, myself, brought no arms at all, nor any of those that then entered with me; so great was my confidence in the affection I hoped from the greatest part of whomsoever I should find there, sought for always, and deserved, by my brother and myself. This I did on purpose, persuading myself, with sweet and civil language, and with my unarmed habit of both mind and body, to appease and moderate those that, by chance, might be there unsatisfied, by reason of the mistake happening the night before. I call God to witness, who searcheth the secrets of hearts; and I appeal also to all the English gentlemen there to argue me, if hitherto I flinch from the truth.

For myself, I stood not at all in awe of those threats which I was informed of; but some of our domesticks followed me of their own accord, (apprehending some danger in my behalf,) so to assist me, if need were; but only in a defensive way, wheresoever it were requisite. It is true, all are prone to love and respect me, to whom I will not give any thanks upon this occasion, but only resent and grieve, that they should follow me in so great a number, whose duty, I assure them, shall be less acceptable, because it was not expected: for, I do protest, I dreamed not of half so many, as that night came after me. Although, among these, some had too many arms, (as I said before,) yet would not attempt any thing, if I should enjoy quietly the liberty of my accustomed walk. I confide, nothing can be laid to their charge, as done otherwise than I relate: yet, if any thing were unowardly and foolishly committed by any one of them, I beseech it may not be, or seem, my fault, who was seriously ignorant of it; and I would rigorously punish them, if my brother but granted me leave; nay, I would importune his Excellency, and my King also, with bowed knees, for such a power; so excessive is my sorrow for this most unhappy accident, in which, I hear, we have displeased so many of this city, and singularly of the

Exchange-merchants, who have asserted many things, wholly unknown to me, against me and ours.

It is hard to take away the first impressions so deeply grounded, yet, I humbly beg of them all, that without any partial love or aversion, each one would say no more than his conscience dictates, and he assuredly knows. I doubt not, this I demand; for none can but pity us, seeing we are so small a company, so remote from our country, and to that condition brought, that most are prone to censure and condemn us by the very name of Portuguese; especially, because the total envy of all this business, by most, is only ascribed to us. Let none, I pray, be so much our enemy, as to exaggerate our crime above truth; but let all favour us for our former affection, rather than hate us for this present event.

For you, noble English gentlemen, pardon me, if I were so touched with too quick a spur of honour, that nothing could retard me from coming to the second, yet by me unexpected broil. I never imagined what so unluckily fell out, but put a greater confidence in the civil character I framed of each one (nor was I deceived in most) of a more kind and gallant disposition, than to give an origin or provocation to all this which presseth me alone. You know, and experience, how ardent the thought of glory is in generous souls; whence, I grant, that I do not condemn my life, but I far more value my honour: (although, I protest, if I could have foreseen what befel, for all those threats, I had not come to the Exchange, but would have waved my honour, a little blemished by the indiscreet counsels and threats of some few:) I would not, I say, have ventured so, before I had made my way, by my civility to you all; and procured a better understanding reciprocally betwixt both parties. But, believe me, I did not think it my duty either to fear or fly, or to be reconciled to any that justly would meet me there upon any unhand-some terms; for, indeed, I was conscious that I had peradventure received, but given no offence to any, that would aright reflect and understand me.

Let here that English gentleman speak, if he will honour and befriend me so far in these my straits; for he must needs call to mind, how I then carried myself. He first expostulated quietly with me for what befel the night before; to whom I replied, in all meekness and civility, "That I was ready, if need were, to satisfy him, and all the English gentry, as was fit for me to do, and them to demand." This also I added, and desired, "That none should so mistake me, as to esteem it any injury, contempt, or quarrel, to them at all; for, indeed, the Portugal gentry can neither presume, nor wish, to contest with the English, from whom they seek and desire a firm and stable peace and union.

While thus things were carried, behold, all the Exchangemen, with great noise, shut up their shops, which I will not interpret to any ill intention against my person; for both I in French (as I could), and divers English gentlemen, cried out aloud, "What is the business? What needs all this? To what purpose so great a change?" Nevertheless, no Portuguese did hitherto endeavour any hostility at all, until such time as a pistol was discharged, upon the very ascent of the lower walk to the higher. Here began the unhappy mutiny, wherein so much ill followed, which I grieve as much as any Englishman whatever. Unhappy man! whose shot that was; a most rash action, and cause of all this: whether English or Portuguese, if taken, he deserves no light punishment. I am sorry, from the bottom of my heart, that my people should so love me, as (for the fear they conceived of me) to have made way through that throng to seek me. I am sorry, I say; because, on both parts, blood was shed in that confusion.

For all this, tell me, I pray, Why that which so unhappily fell out, should only produce malice against me and ours? Is it, because that powder was found in a coach? I do protest, before Almighty God, I knew nothing of that: nay, I hope that my brother will not leave him unpunished who committed so indiscreet an action; not only, thereby, to give satisfaction to this deserving gentry, and loving people, but to myself also; seeing, for that, and such other inconsiderate and tumultuous actions, I suffer these, no ordinary things, and very disproportionable to my person.

This I write, to shew my inclinations impartially for Portuguese and English, both whom I desire to be dear; yea, and to give the truest relation I could of all this business, with my intentions therein. I doubt not, but my brother (as the greatness of this affair required) hath made his addresses to the most excellent council, to whose prudence and safeguard I commit myself. Nay, I trust and rely more to the piety of this nation towards strangers, and people remote from their country, than to this narration of mine, which hath no other defence for me, but naked truth; which I lay before the eyes of all this city, that none have a partial aversion for me and ours; though otherwise this business, (hitherto, as I hear, in news-books related,) might justly deserve.

I ask, lastly, in all humility, of all the English gentry, that they will not esteem any wrong done them by me; since even what is effected, was not, nor shall the like be ever intended by me and ours. Ascribe, I pray you, this whole accident to chance, rather than to deliberate envy; and pardon it, for the love our nation hath ever borne to yours. So I demand mine from you, Gentlemen, as my brother, for his King, peace and amity, from all your common-wealth. Unless I were too long, I would compassionate many who have suffered most in this unfortunate chance; but such person, or persons, I will endeavour to comfort and satisfy, when I shall be delivered from this prison, as much inferior to my native quality, as, I hope, above my misdemeanour. In the mean time, I lament equally, and more, this sad conjuncture, than the humble and abject condition wherein I am; and so friendly subscribe myself,

Newgate, Decemb. 8, 1653.

To all the English Gentry, and
whole City of London, in all duty
a devoted Servant,
PANTALEON SA.

The London Printer his Lamentation; or, The Press oppressed, or overpressed. September, 1660.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

In this sheet of paper is contained, first, a short account of Printing in general, as its usefulness, where and by whom invented; and then a declaration of its esteem and promotion in England, by the several kings and queens, since its first arrival in this nation; together with the methods taken by the crown for its better regulation and government, till the year 1640; when (says the author) this trade, art, and mystery, was prostituted to every vile purpose, both in church and state: where he bitterly inveighs against Christopher Barker, John Bill, Thomas Newcomb, John Field, and Henry Hills, as interlopers; and, under the King's patent, were the only instruments of inflaming the people against the King and his friends, &c. As more fully appeareth in the following paper.

HOW venerable and worthily honoured, in all kingdoms and commonwealths, the wonderful and mysterious invention, utility, and dignity of Printing have always been, cannot be rationally contradicted; comparing it especially with the miserable condition and barbarousness of the ancients, as well in the eastern as the western parts of the world (as Strabo *de Situ Orbis* writeth) who, as he saith, for the better conveying to posterity the memorable acts and monuments of their present times, conceived and contrived

at first no better medium, than the impression thereof with their fingers, or little sticks in ashes or sand, thinly dispersed and spread abroad in vaults and cells. But, experience being the mistress of art, some better wits at length invented knives, and other instruments, for the incision of letters in barks of trees; others, for the graving or carving of them in stone; others, with pincers in leaves of laurel, fig-trees, and other crassy leaves, (as in China, and other parts of the Indies and eastern countries,) impressed their memorials in uncouth characters. Since that, the use of lead was brought in estimation, for the insculption of words in a more convenient method. But, as the adage is true, *Facile est inventis addere*, and use tends every day more and more to perfection, the happy experiment first of parchment, and then of paper, was ingeniously found out, with the use of canes, pencils, quills, and ink of several sorts. Yet, all this while, the benefit, accruing by that invention, tended no further, than to the composing of one single manuscript at one time, by the labour and inscription of one single person: the rarity and paucity whereof, hath caused such honour, reverence, and authority to be put upon the antiquities of our ancestors, as they worthily merit.

But, at length, this vast expence of time and pains forced men's wits, by a cogent necessity, to enquire into and search out, the more occult and secret mysteries of art, for the better convenience and communication of their writings. And thereupon, by the blessing of Almighty God, upon the study and industry of John Göttenburg, the rare and incomparable mystery and science of Printing of books was invented and practised at Mentz in Germany, above two-hundred years ago¹; and soon after, that art was brought over into England by one William Caxton, a worshipful mercer of the famous city of London, and there put in use, with meritorious approbation of the religious and virtuous King Henry the Sixth, and all the estates of this kingdom. Since which time, being about two-hundred and twenty years elapsed, that ingenious mystery, splendour of art, and propagatrix of knowledge, hath been duly countenanced and encouraged, with so much favour and respect of all our English princes, that it is, by laudable succession of time, arrived at that exquisite perfection, as we now see it in itself. For true is the character of a Printer, to wit:

Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.

In English thus:

‘ In one day’s time, a Printer will print more,
‘ Than one man write could in a year before.’

To pretermitt the honour and esteem placed upon it, in particular, by Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, and the incorporation of the Stationers’ Company by Queen Mary, merely and only, for her favour and respect to the Printers, and not to the Booksellers (albeit they were both in their several faculties then constituted in one body and society, under one generical and individual term of Stationers²): let us come to the reign of the glorious Queen Elizabeth, of ever-blessed memory; and then we shall plainly and perspicuously discover her Majesty’s great love and royal affection to Printing and Printers; who, for the sake of them and it, so far descended from her royal throne, as that her Highness not only made several gracious grants unto them, for better maintaining their poor, but also graciously recommended (for the special encouragement, and better subsistence of the Master-Printers) the regulation of that mystery, and the professors thereof, to the right honourable and judicious, the Lords of her Majesty’s most honourable Privy-council; who, 23 Junii, 28 Eliz. made a memorable and noble decree in the Star-chamber, confining the number of Master-Printers in England to the number of twenty, to have the use and exercise of Printing-houses for the time being (besides her Majesty’s Printers, and the Printers allowed for the Universities) limiting and confining them within such an ex-

¹ [See Herbert’s Ames, and also Burges’s Observations on the Use of Printing, in the present Vol. p. 148.]

² As may more particularly be seen in the charter of this company, published by T. Osborne.

cellent method and strict regulation, as tended very much to the peace and security of the church and state. But as the world 'waxeth old as doth a garment,' and the corruptions and evil manners of times and men grow daily to a greater maturity and ripeness in sin and wickedness; and that all human kind are boldly inclined to rush through any forbidden mischief, like the old race of the giants, and the builders of Babel; so in tract and process of time, and especially in these later days (notwithstanding the severity and authority of that good decree of the Queen's time) Printing and Printers, about the year 1637, were grown to such a monstrous excess and exorbitant disorder, that the prudent limits and rules of that laudable decree were as much transgressed and infringed at that time, as the King's-Bench rules in Southwark have been extended and eloined³ in later days, for want of due execution of justice.

Wherefore, by the special command of our late royal and most illustrious King Charles, of blessed memory, the right honourable Thomas Lord Coventry, lord-keeper of the great seal of England; the lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace the lord Bishop of London, lord high-treasurer of England, the lords Chief-Justices, and the lord Chief-Baron, being sat together in council in the Star-chamber, 11 July, 13 Car. and reviewing and maturely considering the said decree and ordinances of the Queen's time; in very great wisdom, prudence, and policy of state, thought fit and adjudged not only to confirm the same, but also to make and subjoin thereto several useful and convenient additions and supplements, as the reason of state and the necessity of the times did then require. Which last decree (with due renown to the memory of the makers thereof) was the best and most exquisite form and constitution for the good government and regulation of the Press, that ever was pronounced, or can reasonably be contrived, to keep it in due order and regular exercise.

But now may we well with sorrow cry out at this day, with the comedian, *O tempora, O mores!* or, in another sense, with the spouse in the Canticles, ch. ii. v. 15: 'Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines; for our vines have tender grapes.' Never was there such an honourable, ingenious, and profitable mystery and science in the world so basely intruded upon and disesteemed, so carelessly regarded, so unworthily subjected to infamy and disgrace, by being made so common, as Printing hath been since 1640, in the days of our miserable confusions and calamities. Neither can it be repaired, or restored, to its native worth and regular constitution, so long as such horrid monstrosities and gibbous excrescences are suffered to remain and tumour in that disorderly and confused body, as now it existeth in itself.

The excessive number of Printing-houses and Master-Printers, or such at least as use and exercise the faculty of Printing (though some be Booksellers only by trade and education, and others are of other trades, not relative to Printing) is at present multiplied and increased to above triple the number of twenty, constituted by that decree of the Star-Chamber; so that, by means of that exorbitant and excessive number of above sixty Printing-houses in and about London, and the necessitous conditions of many of the Printers themselves, and the imposition of others upon them (who, if they will not adventure to print for them what is unlawful and offensive to the state and government, being treasonable and seditious, and most profitable for sale, shall not be employed upon things lawful and expedient) all the irregularities, inconveniences, and mischiefs, that can be imagined to be committed and done, by the too much liberty and licentiousness of the Press, have been and are occasioned at this day; and daily will (without some speedy remedy and restriction, for the better encouragement of the honest and ingenious artists) be continued amongst us. How can it, in reason, be conceived to stand with the royalty and dignity of his most excellent Majesty (whom God Almighty prosper and preserve!) or with the safety and security of his kingdoms, to permit and suffer either the fore-mentioned inconveniences for the future, or such notorious impieties and abominable indignities and insolences, done and offered to his Majesty's most sacred person and estate, to go unpunished

³ [Removed to a greater distance.]

in the actors thereof; who are nevertheless in truth and reality his Majesty's Printers; against whom there is just cause of complaint at this present. As for example, Mr. Christopher Barker and Mr. John Bill, by their education and quality, have little or no skill or experience in the faculty and art of Printing, as to the manual operation thereof, being never brought up in that mystery: and the old proverb is and will be true, to wit, *Senex psittacus non capit ferulam*. And, albeit, they are said and intitle themselves (by a very questionable and doubtful authority both in law and equity) to be his Majesty's Printers; yet indeed are they but nominal and titular; for that the manual work and impression itself, as well of the late acts of parliament, as also of his Majesty's proclamations, and other royal acts of state, hath been actually performed by Thomas Newcomb, John Field, and Henry Hill, Printers: which three persons to give them their proper characters, have been the only instruments and incendiaries against, and enemies to his most sacred Majesty, and his friends, in their stations and qualities, before and ever since the detestable and unparalleled murder of our blessed Sovereign his royal father, as far as the extent of the Press could make them capable, or extant.

Who printed the pretended Act of the Commons of England for the Setting up an High Court of Justice, for the Trial of his martyred Majesty, in 1648? Or, the Acts for Abolishing Kingship, and Renouncing the Royal Line and Title of the Stuarts? Or, for the Declaring what Offences should be adjudged Treason? For Taking the Engagement? For Sale of Dean and Chapter's Lands? For Sale of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Goods and Lands, and the Fee-farm Rents? For Sale of Delinquents' Lands? Or, the Proclamation of the 13th of September, 1652, after the fight at Worcester, offering one-thousand pounds to any person, to bring in his Majesty's person? But only John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England, (and since, by Cromwell, was and is continued Printer to the University of Cambridge); omitting many other treasonable offences, and egregious indignities done by him and H. Hills to the Royal Family, and good old cause of the King and Kingdom, in all the late tyrannical usurpations. Who printed the 'Weekly Intelligencer,' and 'Mercurius Politicus,' with the 'Cases of the Commonwealth stated,' and that 'Interest will not lye,' for Marchamont Nedham, gent.⁴ from 1650, till the blessed and assured hopes of his Majesty's restoration of late; but Thomas Newcomb, Printer, dwelling over-against Baynard's-castle in Thames-street? And with what familiar titles of honour did they salute his Majesty therein, we pray, but of young Tarquin, the son of the late Tyrant, the Titular King of Scots, the young Pretender; with an infinite more of the like treasonable extraction? Which, for brevity's sake, and for that they are of Milton's strain⁵, and so publicly known, and were the weekly trash and trumpery of every hawker, pedlar, and petty carrier, we omit.

But we cannot as yet pass over his Majesty's good friends, Hills and Field (take them *conjunctim* and *divisim*). What zealots and factors, or blood-hounds or terriers rather, they have been for that abstract of traitors, tyrants and usurpers, Oliver Cromwell, his son Richard, and the pretended Committee of Safety, in searching for, seizing and suppressing (as far as they could) all books, treatises, and papers, asserting the King's right and title to the crown, or tending to the promotion of his interest and vindication of his authority; the worst of his Majesty's enemies must necessarily, with shame and detestation, confess! And is this all that hath been done by Hills and Field to his Majesty only, and his royal relations and interests? No! Their impieties and insolences have mounted as high, as to become actual and professed traitors against the glorious crown and dignity of the 'KING of Kings,' blessed for ever! Have they not invaded, and still do intrude, upon his Majesty's royal privilege, prerogative, and pre-eminence; and, by the pusillanimous cowardice, and insignificant compact of Mr. Christopher Barker, and another of his name, and, not without probable suspicion, by the consent and connivance of Mr. John

⁴ [A time-serving pamphleteer, whose character and compositions are fully detailed in Wood's *Athenæ*.]

⁵ [Any writing being 'of Milton's strain' at the time this tract was printed, must have been a sufficient cause for its suppression.]

Bill (though he was artificially defeated in his expectations of profit) have they not obtained, and now keep in their actual possession, the manuscript copy of the last translation of the Holy Bible in English, attested with the hands of the venerable and learned Translators in King James's time, ever since the sixth of March, 1655; and thereupon, by colour of an unlawful and forced entrance in the Stationers' registry, printed and published ever since, for the most part, in several editions of Bibles (consisting of great numbers) such egregious blasphemies and damnable erratas, as have corrupted the pure fountain, and rendered God's Holy Word contemptible to multitudes of the people at home, and a *ludibrium* to all the adversaries of our religion? Have they not suffocated and suppressed all books containing pious and religious prayers and devotions to be presented and offered to the Blessed Trinity, for the blessing of Heaven upon his Majesty's royal person and family, and the Church and State, by preventing and obstructing the printing of the Common-Prayer, Primmers, and Psalters, contrary to the statute of 1 Queen Eliz. c. 2. and other good laws and ordinances, and the ecclesiastical canons of the Church of England; unless that they contained prayers for their late Protector! And are these small offences to be past and pardoned, or such as shall deserve the favour of indemnity and oblivion? God forbid!

Impunitas peccati præbet ansam peccandi. The not punishing of offences emboldeneth offenders to commit greater enormities with brazen brows, as if they were incorrigible: and, as the proverb saith, 'He that saves a thief from the gallows, shall be first robbed himself.' Is not the King as the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, his person sacred, his authority dreadful? And is not all our present and future security and happiness involved in his Majesty's preservation and prosperity? And shall his Majesty's most apparent and implacable enemies, be chiefly entrusted in the great concerns of his state and government, as Newcomb, Hills, and Field, are under his titular Printers? God forbid! Are there not honest and well-affected Printers in London, sufficient and able and willing to serve his Majesty; but his grandest adversaries must be picked out for his service? And are there not lodgings enough about the city to be had for convenience, but Mr. Christopher Barker and his family must now be entertained at the house of that libidinous and professed adulterer, Henry Hills, in Aldersgate-street? One that for his heresy in religion (being an Anabaptist) and his luxury in conversation (having hypocritically confessed his fact in print, and been imprisoned for his adultery with a tailor's wife in Blackfriars) would scandalize a good Christian, and an honest man, to be in his company. But it seems, the old confederacy compacted between Barker, Hills, and Field, by the agitation of Nedham, upon their conversion of the copy of the Bible, cannot yet be forgotten; albeit, it tend never so much to the dishonour, disparagement, and prejudice of his Majesty's affairs? And therefore it is more than time, as is humbly conceived, that as well the establishment of his Majesty's office of Printer, as also the regulation of the number of Printers in England, within good rules and limits, were speedily provided for and determined; and not any longer be carelessly and improvidently left and subjected to such extreme mischiefs, and fatal inconveniences. And moreover, it is very fit to be taken into consideration, how much mischief and sedition a press at New-England may occasion and disperse, in this juncture of time, if the licentiousness thereof be connived at, and any longer tolerated; whenas, we daily see such ventilations of opinions, inclining to factions and seditious, are the common merchandise of the Press about the city of London; which, to a sober Christian and loyal subject, are plainly destructive both of Church and State; which God for his glory unite, preserve, and propagate in the old good order and government!

Having thus truly represented to public view the cause of our lamentation, we will never despair of his Majesty's seasonable and timely redress; being humbly confident, that for want of loyal and dutiful information presented to his Majesty, many Fanaticks and disaffected persons to his person and government, by a little counterfeit conversion and hypocritical subjection, do continue and creep into his Majesty's service, in many great places of trust and profit; who, being dyed in grain in the principles of popular liberty,

would willingly cast off his Majesty's sacred authority, and abandon his person, as they did his royal father's, if God, for our sins, in judgment, should permit them the least opportunity. *Quod malum infandum avertat Deus!*

But, briefly to conclude ; we most humbly submit the necessity of our speedy reformation and redress upon consideration of the many great miseries and calamities, that have happened not only in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and other countries and places, by the exorbitant and unlawful exercise of Printing in modern times. Which, had the science and use thereof been known in the time of the grand profession of the Donatist and Arian heresies, would have immersed and drowned the whole world in a second deluge of blood and confusion, to its utter destruction, long time since. Yet however, if our mystery be confined within fit and convenient bounds, and not permitted *transilire limites*, it is and will be of singular use and convenience to his Majesty and his dominions. Otherwise, though the art be so exquisite and excellent in itself, yet by corruption and depravation, it will become the more pernicious and perilous : as the strongest and richest wine, for want of good curing, will turn to the sharpest vinegar ; and a little wound or contusion, neglected, will soon mortify and corrupt itself to an immedicable gangrene.

*Ignis, ab exiguo nascens, exinguitur undâ ;
Sed postquàm crevit, volitantque ad sydera flammæ,
Vix putei, fontes, fluvii succurrere possunt.*

In English thus :

- ' A little fire to quench is done with ease ;
- ' But, when it rages, and the flames increase,
- ' Ponds, fountains, rivers scarce can it surcease.'

The application is easily inferred, in reference to the inconvenience of exorbitant and irregular Printing in general. And, for his Majesty's titular Printers, Mr. Barker and Mr. Bill, let them consider themselves (as all other wise men will and must do) under this trite and excellent aphorism, to wit ; *Impossibile est, vel verè admodùm difficile, ut qui ipsa opera non tractant, peritè valeant judicare.*

- ' Impossible, or very hard be't will,
- ' To judge a work well, wherein th'ave no skill.'

If a presentment should be made of the matter of this complaint to any capable inquest in this kingdom, they would indorse it *Billa vera*, and not return it with an *Ignoramus*.

All which is most humbly submitted to public consideration, in hopes of regulation and speedy reformation.

God save the King.

Observations, both Historical and Moral, upon the Burning of London; September 1666. With an Account of the Losses: and a most remarkable Parallel between London and Moscow, both as to the Plague and Fire. Also an Essay touching the Easterly Wind. Written by Way of Narrative; for Satisfaction of the present and future Ages. By Rege Sincera.

London, printed by Thomas Ratcliffe, and are to be sold by Robert Pawlet, at the Bible in Chancery-lane. 1667.

[Quarto; containing Thirty-eight Pages.]

Many have written concerning this memorable Fire of London in 1666. But, I presume, they that read this, will agree, that none has done it with more conciseness, impartiality, and perspicuity.

In the first place, the author delivers the plain historical fact, without any exaggeration or foreign insinuations, and then enquires, Who has done it? In which enquiry, he endeavours to shew, that it was a punishment sent by a good and wise God upon the city, for just, wise, and good causes.

Thirdly, enquiring what hath done it? he endeavours to prove, that this was the greatest fire that ever happened upon the earth, since the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, and shews, at a moderate computation, that the loss amounted to, at least, 7,335,000 pounds. To which, by way of consolation, he adds an account of the greatness of the city of Moscow, and its visitation first with a raging plague, and in the year following with a consuming fire, contrived by the Tartars, who pursued the Czar to that city, and setting fire to it on all sides, not only burnt the houses and stuff, but destroyed 200,000 people also in its flames, in less than four hours time.

Fourthly, he expatiates on the praise of this city of London, and then endeavours to find out the cause and accidents by which this fire was kindled and promoted; and concludes with some proper reflections on the reason and time of this conflagration.

To his much honoured and respected Friend, John Buller, Esq. a worthy Member of the honourable House of Commons.

SIR,

THIS little treatise having lain dormant in a corner of my desk ever since its birth (which was three weeks after the fire) hath got at last so much strength as to walk abroad. The reason of its long repose was, that I expected when some more pregnant wit and better pen would have undertaken this task, which is altogether out of my profession and employment. But, finding that hitherto all that hath been written concerning it, as to the narrative of its beginning, progress, and ending, hath been thought defective, I have given it leave to shew itself abroad, with observations thereon, under your honourable name; as well to avoid the malignancy of censure, as to testify unto the world how much I am

Your humble and
affectionate Servant,

REGE SINCERA.

BEFORE we proceed any further in the examination of so lamentable and dismal a subject, we have thought fitting (for the curiosity of those that shall read these lines, and for the satisfaction of posterity, in whose hands it may chance to come,) to set down the true and naked narrative of the fact as it did happen, and as it hath been printed by the consent of his Majesty, and of the public authority; that the reader, being made certain of the truth of the accident, may the more willingly proceed to the examination of those observations we have made upon it.

Whitehall, September 8.

ON the second instant, at one of the clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire in Pudding-lane, near New-Fish-street; which falling out that hour of the night (and in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitched houses) spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as it ought to have been: so that this lamentable fire, in a short time, became too big to be mastered by the engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day; and the night following spread itself up to Grace-church-street, and downwards from Cannon-street, to the water-side, as far as the Three-Cranes in the Vintry.

The people, in all parts about it, distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods; many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals, but all in vain; the fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his Majesty's¹ own, and his Royal Highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it; calling upon, and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein; for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people. By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side; so that, on Wednesday morning, we began to hope well, and his Royal Highness never despairing, or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple-church, near Holborn-bridge, Pye-corner, Aldersgate, Cripple-gate, near the lower end of Coleman-street, at the end of Basinghall-street, by the Postern, at the upper end of Bishops-gate-street, and Leadenhall-street, at the standard in Cornhill, at the church in Fanchurch-street, near Clothworkers-hall in Mincing-lane, at the middle of Mark-lane, and at the Tower-dock.

On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished, but so as that evening it unhappily broke out at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his Royal Highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by their applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

Divers strangers, Dutch and French, were during the fire apprehended, upon suspicion that they contributed mischievously to it, who were all imprisoned, and informations prepared, to make a severe inquisition thereupon by Lord Chief-Justice Keeling, assisted by some of the lords of the Privy-council, and some principal members of the city; notwithstanding which suspicions, the manner of the burning all along in a train, and so blown forwards in all its way by strong winds, make us conclude the whole was an effect of an unhappy chance: or, to speak better, the heavy hand of God upon us for our sins, shewing us the terror of his judgments in thus raising the fire; and immediately after his miraculous and never enough to be acknowledged mercy,

¹ [Charles II.]

in putting a stop to it when we were in the last despair, and that all attempts for the quenching it, however industriously pursued, seemed insufficient. His Majesty then sat hourly in council, and in his own person making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was greatest, till next morning that he sent his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, whom he called from sea to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing of this memorable deliverance.

About the Tower, the seasonable orders given for plucking down houses, to secure the magazines of powder, was more especially successful, that part being up the wind; notwithstanding which, it came almost to the very gates of it; so as, by this early provision, the several stores of war, lodged in the Tower, were entirely saved: and we have further this infinite cause, particularly to give God thanks, that the fire did not happen in any of those places where his Majesty's naval-stores are kept; so, though it hath pleased God to visit us with his own hand, he hath not, by disfurnishing us with the means of carrying on the war, subjected us unto all our enemies.

Through this sad accident, it is easy to be imagined, how many persons were necessitated to remove themselves and goods into the open fields, where they were forced to continue some time, which could not but work compassion in the beholders. But his Majesty's care was more signal on this occasion, who, besides his personal pains, was frequent in consulting always for relieving those distressed persons; which produced so good effect, as well by his Majesty's proclamations, and the orders issued to the neighbouring justices of peace, to encourage the sending in of provision to the markets, which are publicly known, as by other directions, that (when his Majesty, fearing lest other orders might not yet have been sufficient, had commanded the victualler of his navy to send bread into Moorfields, for the relief of the poor, which, for the more speedy supply, he sent in baskets out of the sea-stores) it was found that the markets had been already so well supplied, that the people, being unaccustomed to that kind of bread, declined it, and so it was returned in great part to his Majesty's stores again, without any use made of it.

And we cannot but observe, (to the confutation of all his Majesty's enemies, who endeavour to persuade the world abroad, of great parties and disaffection at home against his Majesty's government,) that a greater instance of the affection of this city could never be given, than hath been now given in this sad and deplorable accident; when, if at any time, disorder might have been expected from the losses, distraction, and almost desperation of some persons in their private fortunes; thousands of people not having to cover them. And yet, in all this time, it hath been so far from any appearance of designs or attempts² against his Majesty's government, his Majesty and his royal brother, out of their care to stop and prevent the fire, frequently exposing their persons with very small attendants in all parts of the town, sometimes even to be intermixed with those who laboured in the business; yet nevertheless there hath not been observed so much as a murmuring word to fall from any; but, on the contrary, even those persons, whose losses rendered their condition most desperate, and to be fit objects of their prayers, beholding those frequent instances of his Majesty's care for his people, forgot their own misery, and filled the streets with their prayers for his Majesty, whose trouble they seemed to compassionate before their own

OBSERVATIONS.

THE philosophers, rhetoricians, and lawyers do agree, that all the circumstances of a fact are happily contained in a Latin verse framed for that purpose, as well to illustrate the

² [Our historians seem to be of opinion, that this calamitous conflagration did not arise from accident but design, and Burnet strongly suspected that one Grant, a papist, had some concern in it, from the circumstance of his having privately stopped the water-works at Islington, and taken away the keys, before the fire broke out. A French lunatic, who confessed himself guilty of the fact, was condemned and executed; but it afterwards appeared, that he did not arrive in London till two days after the fire began.]

method, which is the life of history, as to help the memory, which is to reap the benefit of it; the verse runneth thus:

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?

‘ Who hath done it, what hath he done,

‘ Where, by what means, wherefore, how, when?’

Although these disjunctives seem at first sight to carry no great sense, nevertheless, when they shall be thoroughly examined, it will be found, that they do contain all that can be said upon a subject, and that out of them as out of so many living springs may be drawn all that is necessary for the clearing of a propounded question; and we will not be ashamed in this to follow the method of the schools and the authority of the learned, knowing that whatsoever fault shall be found in it, will rather be imputed to our incapacity, than to the foundation we have built upon. Therefore to begin.

Quis?

Who hath done it?

SECT. I.

FOR the clearing of the darkness wherein the human understanding is naturally wrapped up, in distinguishing the several accidents and events that happen daily in this sublunary world; the philosophers have established two principal causes, whereunto every one may have recourse for his satisfaction and the securing of himself; that nothing happeneth by chance, which is the opinion of desperate and atheistical persons. The first and universal cause is God Almighty, who, as he alone hath created the world, so hath he also reserved to himself alone the government thereof; insomuch, that the least accidents that befall, depend merely from his Providence, neither is there any thing hidden to him with whom we have to do. It is he, without whose leave and knowledge not a hair falleth from our heads, and who telleth us by his prophet that, ‘ There is no evil in the city but he hath done it.’ This is that *first* cause, which ought to captivate our understandings under its will, to make us admit all events with an equal mind, and submit our patience to his dispensations, saying with David, ‘ I did hold my peace, because thou didst it;’ Psal. l. verse 21. The other causes are called *second* causes, because most commonly God maketh use of them, for the accomplishing of his will; and these are divided into as many branches as there are individual creatures in the world. By these a man liveth, being begotten by the seed of his parents; dieth, being suffocated; falleth, being drunk; is drowned, in making shipwreck, &c. Where it is to be observed, that several second causes may concur together to the production of one and the same effect; as in this sad and lamentable accident, we see the carelessness of a baker, the solitariness and darkness of the night, the disposition of old and ruinous buildings, the narrowness of the streets, the abundance of combustibile and bituminous matter, the foregoing summer extraordinarily hot and dry, a violent easterly wind, and the want of engines and water, concur as it were unanimously to the production of this wonderful conflagration, and to do in four days what four armies of enemies (not opposed) could scarce have done in eight. The astrologers, whose science is as abstruse as uncertain, would fain introduce another cause between the first and the second; to wit, the position and influence of the celestial bodies. But this accident will contribute much to stop their mouths; for either they could not foresee it, or else, having foreseen it, they should have given us precaution of it, as they do of many other more frivolous things, and of less consequence than this; and which are never true but by a supposition, that if they do not happen in our country, they may happen in another, which is called ‘ to whiten black.’ Let us therefore conclude, that the two causes above-mentioned, that is, first and second, are sufficient to move us to humble ourselves in the

sight of God; who having the year before destroyed in the space of six months about an hundred-thousand people; and seeing our impenitent hearts and seared consciences return again to our first vomiting, of pride, drunkenness, swearing, false dealings, whoring, treachery, and other vices: after he hath taken away the health of some, he taketh away the wealth of others, and threateneth the rest with an impendent famine, by the last excessive rains he did send, and may send again in this sowing-time; and it will avail nothing here to say (as I have heard many) that other countries, as France and Italy, are guilty of as many, if not greater crimes than we are, seeing that God 'chastiseth every son he loveth,' and that he beginneth his judgments by his own household; and this nation having received more prosperities and blessings from his hands than any other, and accordingly more peculiarly bound to serve and obey him than all the rest, whom he will find well enough, when he seeth his due appointed time: 'For that servant that knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes; but he that knew not, and did commit things worthy stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For unto whom much is given, of him shall be much required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.' Luke xii. 47, 48.

Quid?

What hath he done?

SECT. II.

THE answer is easy. An incendi, a conflagration, a ruin and devastation by fire, such (as I believe) did never happen by any natural and ordinary means, for that of Sodom and Gomorrah was supernatural and miraculous; the like being never heard before nor after, that it should rain fire and brimstone suddenly, and in such a quantity in fair weather; for the Scripture mentioneth that the sun was risen upon the earth: besides, that instead of calcining the said towns into powder, (as fire and brimstone will do all solid bodies,) it not only turned them, but also the ground on which they stood, into a bottomless bituminous lake; which to this day remaineth before our eyes for a fearful example of the heinousness of sin, and of the severity of God's justice. Concerning the conflagration of Troy, and that of Rome: the first may be fabulous, or exaggerated by the familiar hyperboles of poets, to whose relation chiefly we owe our belief in that point. As for that of Rome, it is to be believed, that those heaps of stones and marbles of which she was then built, gave a great check, if not a stop, to the raging of the fire, and stood in the way of the tyrant's pleasure. Concerning others, as that of Constantinople³, Cracow⁴, Venice⁵, Vienna in Austria⁶, Delft in Holland⁷, Malines and Antwerp⁸, they came nothing near this, which in three days and three nights, of about four-hundred and sixty acres of ground upon which the city of London stood, hath swept away about three-hundred and fifty⁹; which is at the rate of four parts in five; having destroyed about twelve-thousand houses, eighty-seven parochial churches, besides six or seven consecrated chapels, and the magnificent and stately cathedral church of St. Paul, the public and most excellent buildings of the Exchange, Guild-hall, Custom-house, and all or very near the halls belonging to every private company, besides an innumerable quantity of goods of all sorts, this city being the best magazine not only of England, but also of all Europe; but, amongst the rest, it was a treasure unspeakable of four commodities, which, for their luggage and cumbersomeness, could not be rescued from the jaws of that unmerciful element; that is, wine, tobacco,

³ Turkish History.

⁴ M. Cromen.

⁵ Paulus Jovius, 12 book.

⁶ Cuspinian. in Vita Imp.

⁷ Adr. Junius.

⁸ Guicciardin. 12 book.

⁹ [The inscription on the pedestal of the Monument describes the extent of the devastation to have been four-hundred and thirty-six acres, and the number of houses to have been computed at thirteen-thousand.]

spices, and books. As for the books, the booksellers, who dwelled for the most part round about the cathedral church, had sheltered their books in a subterranean church under the cathedral, called St. Faith's, which was propped up with so strong an arch and massy pillars, that it seemed impossible the fire could do any harm to it; but, the fire having crept into it through the windows, it seized upon the pews, and did so try and examine the arch and pillars, by sucking the moisture of the mortar that bound the stones together, that it was calcined into sand: so that, when the top of the cathedral fell upon it, it beat it flat, and set all things in an irremediable flame. I have heard judicious men of that trade affirm, that the only loss of books in that place, and Stationers-hall, public libraries, and private persons' houses, could amount to no less than 150,000 pounds. I have seen bells and iron wares melted, glass and earthen-pots melted together, as it had been by a fire of fusion; the most big and solid stones (as those of the cathedral) slit, scaled, and in some parts calcined to powder by the violence of the flames. Nevertheless, as God's mercy is above all his works, and he remembereth it always amongst his judgments, I could not learn of above half a dozen people that did perish by that woeful conflagration; one of them was of my acquaintance, and a watch-maker living in Shoe-lane, behind the Globe-tavern; his name was Paul Lawell, born in Strasbourg, who being about eighty years of age, and dull of hearing, was also deaf to the good admonitions of his son and friends, and would never desert the house till it fell upon him, and sunk him with the ruins in the cellar; where, afterwards, his bones, together with his keys, were found.

Although the loss of so famous a city, and of the riches contained within its precinct, be inestimable; nevertheless, to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, and that of posterity, as also, to give some light unto those, who, with a more mature deliberation, shall attempt the full history of it; we will set down the chiefest heads by which it is valued, leaving the liberty to the judicious reader, to add to, or subtract from, as he shall think fit: for we do not pretend here to give an exact account of all the losses, which, we hope, some better wits, and that are more at leisure, will undertake hereafter; but only to invite them, by this, to a more curious and earnest enquiry of the truth, and so transmit to posterity a fearful example of God's judgment, that they may, in avoiding sin, also avoid the like, to the glory and praise of his most holy Name.

Let it, therefore, be said again, that by the computation of the best geometricians, the city of London, within the walls, was seated upon about four-hundred and sixty acres of ground; wherein were built about fifteen-thousand houses, besides churches, chapels, schools, halls, and public buildings: out of this quantity of houses, twelve-thousand are thought to be burnt, which is four parts of five, each house being valued, one with another, at twenty-five pounds a year's rent, which, at twelve years' purchase, maketh three-hundred pounds, the whole amounting to three millions six-hundred thousand pounds.

Fourscore and seven parochial churches, besides that of St. Paul's the cathedral, and six consecrated chapels, the Exchange, Guildhall, Custom-house, the halls of companies, and other public buildings, amounting to half as much, i. e. one million eight-hundred thousand pounds.

The goods that every private man lost, one with another, valued at half the value of the houses, i. e. one million eight-hundred thousand pounds.

About twenty wharfs of coals and wood, valued at a thousand pounds a-piece, i. e. twenty-thousand pounds.

About one-hundred thousand boats and barges, one-thousand cart-loads, with porters to remove the goods to and fro, as well for the houses that were a-burning, as for those that stood in fear of it, at twenty shillings a load, i. e. one-hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

In all, seven millions three-hundred thirty-five thousand pounds.

This being reduced to the account of French money, taking one pound sterling for thir-

teen livres, amounteth to ten-thousand five-hundred and sixty-nine millions six-hundred and seventy-five thousand livres.

Now, O London! it may well be said of thee, ‘How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people; how is she become as a widow; she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces?’ Jerem. Lam. chap. i. 1. But courage, O thou that art now my country, thou art fallen into the hands of God, and not of men; he that chastiseth thee is thy father, and if he hath a rod to punish thee, he hath also a staff to comfort thee: turn to him, and he will turn to thee, for he is merciful and long-suffering, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance: therefore, be not overwhelmed with sorrow, nothing hath befallen thee, but hath happened to others before thee: and, if it be true, that the likeness, and participation of afflictions, doth mitigate the sense of them; that I may something allay thy present sorrow, I will relate thee a story that hath much parallel with thine, to shew thou hast not been the only miserable. It is a true one, written and testified by an honourable Dutch merchant, who was an eye-witness to it; and although it hath been once printed, yet because the book is scarce, and the language foreign, I thought thou wouldst not take it ill, if I should impart it unto thee.

‘Moscow, the chief city of all the countries of the Emperor of Russia, is a very great city, but not well compacted; it hath, in compass, with the suburbs, well inhabited, and as full of people as the town, about three German leagues and a half, which maketh about fourteen English miles; the compass of the town, within the walls, is about three English miles; the streets and path-ways are of great trees set close together, and some boards by the houses’ side; and it is so dirty in rainy weather, that it is impossible to go through the city, otherwise than on horse-back; according to the custom of the country, where horses are of small value, and of little expence, never being shod for any journey whatsoever, unless it be during the ice. The houses are but one story high, or two at the most, all built with wood, set up at the top one of another. There are, in the city, suburbs, and castle, about five-thousand five-hundred churches, built, for the most part, like chapels, most of them with great trees set one upon another. The Great Duke’s lodging is also built of wood, which he thinketh wholesomer than stone; the castle is pretty well fortified with walls and broad ditches; it occupieth as much room as all the rest of the city. On one side of it dwell the *sins*, on the other the *optisins*, who are as the treasurers of the Great Duke, in whose hands, as soon as you come, you must put in all your merchandises. Being departed from Nerva, about the tenth of July, 1570, we came, on the beginning of August, to Moscow, where I found the Great Duke¹⁰, and his officers, busy in seeking out about thirty persons, who fell all under the sword of the common hangman, except one who was cast alive in boiling water; and this, because they had taken bribes. Most of them were great lords, and familiars with the Great Duke; others were merchants of Novogrod, with their wives, children, and families, accused of treason in the behalf of the King of Poland. Few days after, a horrid plague invaded the town of Moscow, and the places about it, with such violence, that in four months, there died above two-hundred and fifty thousand people; and it was particularly observed, that in eight days (that is, from the tenth to the eighteenth of August) there died two-thousand seven-hundred and three priests: and this plague did continue so fiercely, that in the end of it, every one wondered when he met any body of his acquaintance.

‘This extraordinary misery was followed, the year after, on the fifteenth of May, by a strange ruin and conflagration: the occasion was, that the Emperor of the Tartarians, being discontented that the Russians did not pay him some annual tribute; and hearing besides, that the Great Duke, by his tyranny and massacres, had so depopulated the country, that he should find no great resistance that way, did summon him to pay the said tribute; but the Great Duke returned nothing in answer, but spiteful and reproachful words: wherefore, the Tartarian came out of his country, about the end of February, fol-

¹⁰ This Great Duke was John Basilides, the famous tyrant.

lowed with an army of one-hundred thousand horse, who within the space of two months and a half, did ride about five-hundred German leagues, which make two-thousand English miles. When they were come about two days' journey from the frontiers of the Duke, he resolved to meet them, and to give them battle; but he lost it with a prodigious slaughter of his men. The Duke, knowing that the Tartarian would seek him out, ran away, as fast and as far as he could. He was only within nine leagues of Moscow, when the Tartarians came and encompassed the town, thinking he was within; they set a-fire all the villages round about it; and, seeing that the war would prove too tedious for them, resolved to burn that great city, or, at least, the suburbs of it. For this purpose, having placed their troops round about it, they set fire on all sides, so that it seemed a burning globe: then did arise so fierce and violent a wind, that it drove the rafters and long trees from the suburbs into the city: the conflagration was so sudden, that nobody had time to save himself, but in that place where he was then. The persons, that were burnt in this fire, were above two-hundred thousand; which did happen, because the houses are all of wood, and the streets paved with great fir-trees, set close together, which, being oily and rosinous, made the incendiary unexpressible; so that, in four hours time, the city and suburbs were wholly consumed. I and a young man of Rochelle, that was my interpreter, were in the middle of the fire, in a magazine vaulted with stone, and extraordinarily strong, whose wall was three feet and a half thick, and had no air but on two sides; one wherein was the coming in and going out, which was a long alley, in which there were three iron gates, distant about six feet from each other; on the other side there was a window, or grate, fenced with three iron shutters, distant half a foot one from another. We shut them inwardly, as well as possibly we could; nevertheless, there came in so much smoke, that it was more than sufficient to choak us, had it not been for some beer that was there, with the which we refreshed ourselves now and then. Many lords and gentlemen were stifled in the caves, where they had retired; because, their houses being made of great trees, when they fell, they crushed down all that was underneath. Others, being consumed to ashes, stopped all the passages of going and coming out; so that, for want of air, they all perished. The poor country-people, that had saved themselves in the city, with their cattle, from three-score miles round about, seeing the conflagration, ran all into the market-place, which is not paved of wood, as the rest; nevertheless, they were all roasted there, in such sort, that the tallest man seemed but a child, so much had the fire contracted their limbs; and this, by reason of the great houses that were round about; a thing more hideous and frightful than any can imagine. In many places of the said market, the bodies were piled, one upon another, to the height of half a pike; which put me into a wonderful admiration, being not able to apprehend, nor understand, how it was possible they should be so heaped together.

‘ This wonderful conflagration caused all the fortifications of the town-wall to fall, and all the ordnance that were upon it, to burst. The walls were made of brick, according to the ancient way of building, without either fortifications, or ditches. Many, that had saved themselves among them, were, nevertheless, roasted; so fierce and vehement was the fire! Among them, many Italians and Walloons¹¹ of my acquaintance. While the fire lasted, we thought that a million of cannons had been thundering together, and our thoughts were upon nothing but death; thinking that the fire would last some days, because of the great circumference of the castle and suburbs; but all this was done in less than four hours time, at the end of which, the noise growing less, we were curious to know, whether the Tartarians (of whom we stood in no less fear than of the fire) were entered. They are a warlike people, though they eat nothing but roots, and such other like substance, and drink only water. The greatest lords among them feed upon flesh baked between a horse and the saddle, wherein rideth the horseman. Nevertheless, they are very strong, lusty, and inured to all hardships; as also are their horses, who are wonderful swift, and will travel farther in one day, eating nothing but grass, than ours will do

¹¹ [The natives of Flanders, and the rest of Austrian and French Netherlands.]

in three, feeding upon oats: therefore, the Tartarians come so easily, from so far, to invade the Russians. They have also that craft, that they only come in the summer, for the conveniency of their horses. Their country is temperate, from whence they come about the latter end of February, that they may be in Russia about the beginning of June, and go back again, into their own country, at the end of it, lest they should be overtaken by the winter in Russia; which, if it should fall out, they would be all starved, because of the great deserts uninhabited, containing above three-hundred German leagues, and therefore, void of all relief, as well for themselves, as for their horses, there being then no grass upon the ground; which constraineth them to make such a journey, which is of above twelve-hundred German leagues, in four or five months time, with all their army, which consisteth commonly of about one-hundred and fifty thousand, or two-hundred thousand horses, as good as can be: but the horsemen are but slightly armed, having for all weapons, a jack of mail, a dart, and bow and arrows; they know nothing of what belongeth to guns, having in all their country but two cities, wherein the Emperor keepeth his court, without any villages or houses; but are contented to live under tents, which they remove to and fro, as they see occasion.

‘But to come again to our misery; after we had hearkened a while, we heard some Russians running to and fro, through the smoke, who were talking of walling the gates, to prevent the coming in of the Tartarians, who were expecting when the fire went out. I and my interpreter, being come out of the magazine, found the ashes so hot, that we durst scarce tread upon them; but necessity compelling us, we ran towards the chief gate, where we found twenty-five or thirty men escaped from the fire, with whom, in a few hours, we did wall that gate, and the rest; and kept a strict watch all that night with some guns that had been preserved from the fire. In the morning, seeing that the place was not defensible with so few people as we were, we sought the means to get into the castle, whose entry was then inaccessible; the governor was very glad to hear of our intention, and cried to us, ‘We should be very welcome.’ But it was a most difficult thing to come in, because the bridges were all burnt, so that we were fain to get over the wall, having, instead of ladders, some high fir-trees thrown from the castle to us; wherein, instead of rounds to get up, they had made some notches, with a hatchet, to keep us from sliding. We got up then, with much ado; for, besides the evident inconveniency of those rough ladders, we did carry about us the sum of four-thousand thalers, besides some jewels, which was a great hinderance to us to climb along those high trees; and that, which did double our fear, was, that we saw before our eyes some of our company, that had nothing but their bodies to save, yet tumble down from the middle of those high trees into the ditch, full of burnt bodies; so that we could not tread but upon dead corpses, whose heaps were so thick every where, that we could not avoid to tread upon them, as if it had been a hill to climb up; and that, which did augment our trouble, was, that in treading upon them, the arms and legs broke like glass; the poor limbs of these creatures being calcined, by the vehement heat of the fire, and our feet sinking into those miserable bodies, the blood and the filth did squirt in our faces, which begot such a stench all the town over, that it was impossible to subsist in it.

‘The twenty-fifth of May, in the evening, (as we expected, in great perplexity, what the Tartarians would attempt against us, who were about four-hundred in the castle,) the Tartarians, whom we had saluted with our guns, and killed some of them that were come too near one of the castle-gates, began to go back the same way that they came in, with so much speed, that the next morning, all that torrent was drained up: for which, having given God thanks, and set our business in order, as well as the present calamity would permit, we went away from that desolate place.’

Now, O London! consider that thy fate is not peculiar to thyself, and that will allay the bitterness of thy sufferings; remember also, that if thou sanctifiest this affliction to thy use, the Lord promiseth by his prophet, ‘That those shall reap in joy, who did sow in tears.’ Psalm cxxvi. 6.

Ubi?

Where?

SECT. III.

IN the richest city of Europe, and perhaps in the world; the greatest magazine that could be found, for all sorts of merchandises; incomparable for the salubrity of the air, and conveniency of situation; magnificent in public buildings; illustrious in good deeds; renowned for hospitality; famous for government; venerable for antiquity; having subsisted about two-thousand years; inhabited by citizens, whose courage was equal to their fortunes; in a word, a city of which it might be said more truly than of Ormus:

*Si terrarum orbis quaquam patet annulus esset,
Londinum illius gemma decusque foret.*

This circumstance, which we tread over so slightly, that we may not be suspected of flattery, is not the least that aggravateth the enormity of this accident; there is none of those characters, we have given it, but are very true, and might be the worthy employment of a better pen than mine, and the subject of a full volume.

Quibus Auxiliis?

By whose help?

SECT. IV.

HERE we must have recourse to what we have said before in the first paragraph, when we spoke of the second causes, and say that God hath made use chiefly of eight things to accomplish this work. The negligence of the master or his servants, in whose house the fire did first begin; the solitariness of the night, the narrowness of the place, the weakness of the buildings, the quantity of combustible and bituminous matters gathered thereabouts, the preceding summer which was extraordinarily hot and dry, the east-wind that blew violently all that while, and the want of engines and water to quench the fire; we shall give every one its little section, to satisfy the curiosity of these, who enquire so much of the causes that have made this conflagration so violent, dismal, and irremediable.

I. Though there be some accidents which no human prudence can prevent;—as when a man either in his own house, or going through the street, is crashed by a sudden ruin; nevertheless, the philosophers are not to blame, when they say that every one may be the author of his own fortune; for it is certain, that if a man neglecteth or forsaketh that providence given him by nature, he doth together forsake the instrument and the means which his good genius maketh use of, to make him avoid the ill accidents that may befall him. For, as our soul doth only act by the organs of our body, so our genius either good or bad cannot act but by the means of our soul: now if our soul enjoyeth a sound and temperate body, and doeth her functions with purity and facility; that genius, which is always near hand, (and as it were whispering at our ear,) doth move and stir her to the preservation of whatsoever belongeth or concerneth her. If, on the contrary, this soul inhabiteth a body dyscratiated, melancholic, full of obstructions, or drowned in the excesses of eating and drinking, or passions; its nature being igneous, and never ceasing from action; it necessarily followeth, that, according to the disposition of the organs, she turneth to the wrong way, and neglecteth those things wherein she is merely concerned. Now, in things

that might be prevented or remedied, it is an invalid excuse to say, "I would never have thought that such a thing should happen." For who can attribute it to a mere accident to put fire in an oven, and to leave a quantity of dry wood, and some fitches of bacon by it, within the sphere of its activity; and so go to bed, in leaving his providence with his slippers.

I remember that, some thirty-six years ago, in a town of Brie, a province of France, called Sezane, upon a Sunday morning, a woman that kept a chandler's shop, having occasion to snuff a candle, threw the snuff into a corner of her shop, among some old rags and papers, and so shutting the door, went to mass; but, within the space of half an hour, and before she could come back again, not only her house, but those of her neighbours were all in a flame, which being helped by an east-wind which blew at that time, (and which is the most dangerous of all the winds for incendies, as we shall shew hereafter,) did in the space of a day and a night consume the whole town, consisting of about four-hundred houses. Can this be called a mere accident; since there is nobody so void of common sense, but might have either foreseen, or prevented so calamitous a consequence?

II. The second cause of this misfortune is, the time wherein it did happen; to wit, about one of the clock in the night, when every one is buried in his first sleep; when some for weariness, others by debauchery, have given leave to their cares to retire; when slothfulness and the heat of the bed have riveted a man to his pillow, and made him almost incapable of waking, much less of acting and helping his neighbours.

III. The narrowness of the place did also much contribute to this conflagration, for the street where it did happen, as also most of those about it, were the narrowest of the city; insomuch that in some a cart could scarce go along, and in others not at all. The danger I did once run of my life thereabouts, by the crowd of carts, hath caused me many times to make reflection on the covetousness of the citizens, and connivency of magistrates, who have suffered them from time to time to incroach upon the streets, and to jet the tops of their houses, so as from one side of the street to touch the other; which, as it doth facilitate a conflagration, so doth it also hinder the remedy, and besides taketh away the liberty of the air, making it unwholesome, and disfigureth the beauty and symmetry of the city. I hope that for the future, his Majesty, his council, and that of the city, will take care that such disorder happen no more, and will cause this city to be as commodious in its buildings, as it is happy in its situation.

IV. Now followeth the weakness of the buildings, which were almost all of wood, which by age was grown as dry as a chip. This inconvenience will easily be remedied, in building the houses with stone or brick, according to the statutes and ordinances of parliament, provided and enacted long ago in that behalf, though for the most part ill observed.

V. The quantity of combustible and bituminous matter hath given the greatest encouragement to this devouring fire; for, as the place wherethe fire began was not far from the Thames, and from those wharfs where most merchandises are landed, so Thames-street, and others thereabouts, were almost nothing else but magazines of combustible and sulphureous merchandises. Thereabouts were a prodigious quantity of oil, butter, brandy, pitch, brimstone, saltpetre, cables, &c. and by the Thames' side were almost all wharfs full of coals and wood. Now as fire of itself is nothing but light which incorporifieth itself in the matter, and acteth more or less according to the disposition of it, as we see that a fire of straw is less violent than that of coals; it followeth, that this fire, having lighted upon these sulphureous and bituminous matters, did feed upon them as in its proper element; and not only devoured them with ease, but imparted to the next combustible matters a disposition more fitting and apt to receive it. The nature of this sulphureous fire was evidently seen in the melting of bells, iron, pots, glasses, and other metallic things; and in the calcining of stones and bricks, which no other single fire of wood, coals, or other vulgar matter, could have done. I remember, that some four or five years ago, the

lightning fell in Herefordshire without doing any harm in the country, but, being extinguished of itself, the exhalation of it did mix itself with a strong westerly wind, that came as far as London; beating down houses, plucking up trees by the roots, and, to shew its nitrous and sulphureous nature, did as it were neglect to touch wood, but did chiefly stick upon metal, and either broke or bent it: the tokens of it are seen to this day upon the steeples of Bow-church, St. Andrew, St. Giles Cripplegate, the May Pole, and other places. These sulphureous matters were also the cause of another inconveniency, which is, that the fire, being corporified in them, did extend the sphere of its activity at a further distance than ordinary, and cast its burning beams furthest off, mixing more exactly its atoms in the air, which it turneth almost into its own nature; which was the cause, that nobody could come nearer that fire than a hundred or two-hundred paces.

VI. The foregoing summer, that was extraordinarily hot and dry, had also disposed the matter of the buildings to admit the fire more quickly and easily, by sucking not only the intrinsical moisture that was in them, but also that of the air which might have moistened them; for, though there be no rain falling, nevertheless, there is a certain vapourish moisture in the air, which, if it be not dried up, doth moisten all porous things intrinsically, and doth condense itself upon the solid ones, in the form of an oleaginous moisture, as doth appear upon marbles and glasses.

VII. In cometh now the East-wind to play its part in this tragedy. That unfortunate wind, of which it is commonly said, 'that it is neither good for man nor beast;' did blow with such a wonderful fierceness all the time of the conflagration, that it did not only quicken the fire, as bellows do the furnaces, but also, getting into the streets, and among the houses, when it found any let or hinderance that did recoil it back, it blew equally both to the right and to the left, and caused the fire to burn on all sides, which hath persuaded many that this fire was miraculous. I myself remember, that going into some streets at that time, and having the wind impetuously in my face, I was in hope that at my return I should have it in my back; but it was all one, for the reason aforesaid. It would be here too tedious to speak of the nature of winds, and to shew many reasons why this wind is so dry in England, as to burn the flowers and leaves of the trees, more than the hottest sun can do; one, which I think satisfactory, will serve for all. It is therefore to be observed, that winds do not only participate of the nature of the places where they are begot, but also that of the countries through which they pass: now all the southern, western, and northern winds must pass through the great ocean to come into England, in which passage there mixes with them abundance of vapours, which cause their moisture, except the north-wind, wherein the moisture is condensed by the cold: but the east-wind, to come to us, must pass over the greatest continent in the world, France, Germany, Hungary, Greece, Persia, &c. even to China; so that, in pursuing such a tract of land, it not only droppeth down by the way its moist effluvioms, (the earth, as it were, sucking them for its irroration,) but also carrieth along all the hot and dry exhalations that perpetually arise out of the earth, which is the cause of its dry and burning quality. I had formerly a little garden, where I did bestow as much pains and care as I could, to bring up some young fruit-trees that were in it, having the advantage of a very good mould; but being seated eastward, and closed narrowly by a brick wall on either side, this wind (that reigneth constantly here in England, in the months of March, April, and beginning of May) did, in their budding, so burn the leaves and the flowers, that the hottest sun could not do the like; so that I was fain to give it over; having been two or three years, before I could understand that mystery, and the nature of that wind in this country: for there are some other countries where this wind is salubrious and fruitful enough.

VIII. It was also a great contributing to this misfortune, that the Thames water-house was out of order, so that the conduits and pipes were almost all dry; as also, that the engines had no liberty to play, for the narrowness of the place, and crowd of the people;

but some of them were tumbled down in the river, and among the rest, that of Clerkenwell, esteemed one of the best.

And thus, courteous reader, thou seest an admirable concurrence of several causes, for the putting of God's will in execution. In other cities that are not subject to conflagrations, as Paris, which is all built of free-stone, the inundations have several times played their pranks; other towns, as in Italy, that think themselves exempted from fire and water, come to their periods by fearful earthquakes; others, that escape fire, water, and earth, do perish by the meteors of the air, and are calcined by the lightning; so that God Almighty never wanteth instruments to compass his will: and it seemeth that the four elements, of which this world is compounded, do conspire against the happiness and quietness of man; when, by their daily prevarications, they goabout to confirm the disobedience of our first parents.

Cur?

Why?

SECT. V.

HERE it is that we must wholly stoop and humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and answer with the apostle, 'O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?' Rom. xi. 33. Let it suffice thee, O man! to know, that whether he hath done it to punish thee for thy sins, or to try thy faith and exercise thy patience; if thou canst make benefit of this affliction, and sanctify it to thy use; we know, that 'all things work together for good, to them that love God.'

Quomodo?

How?

SECT. VI.

THIS circumstance is answered by the contents of the fourth.

Quando?

When?

SECT. VII.

WHEN we were newly come out of a civil war of twenty years standing, where it is thought one-hundred-thousand people did perish.

When the plague had the year before swept away above one-hundred thousand people, and was still raging.

When the kingdom was exhausted of money, and trade lost.

When we had wars with France, Denmark, and Holland, and not without fear of divisions among ourselves.

Then, even then, came this dreadful fire, after the aggregation of so many judgments before, (like Job's comforter, after his unwelcome messengers) but then, even then, did our seeming utter destruction appear; but, by our Heavenly Father's paternal corrections, and by his mercy, we are secured from our fears by peace and quietness, both at home and abroad, and restored to the hopes of a flourishing nation, and the most glorious city of the world.

Crescit sub pondere virtus.

A Satyr on the Earl of Oxford, Lord Bolingbrook, Mr. Moor,
and Mr. Prior. (MS.)

OH! the wretched peace-makers,
Bob, Harry, Arthur, Matt.¹
Who've lost our trade,
Our friends betray'd,
And all to serve a chambermaid²,

Oh! the wretched damn'd sham peace,
That must our rents and stock decrease,
Must starve our poor,
And open the door
To let in a Popish son of a wh—.

Marlborough the great,
Our foes did defeat;
May they still by him be bang'd;
May the skip³ be stript,
And the drawer⁴ whipt,
But Bob and Harry hang'd.

¹ Oxford, Bolingbrook, Moor, Prior.

² Massam.

³ Moor.

⁴ Prior.

The Memoirs of Monsieur Du Vall; containing the History
of his Life and Death: Whereunto are annexed his last
Speech and Epitaph. Intended as a severe Reflexion on
the too great Fondness of English Ladies towards French
Footmen; which, at that Time of Day, was a too common
Complaint.

—————*Si quis*
Opprobriis dignos latraverit, integer ipse,
Solventur risu tabulae—————

HORAT.

London, printed 1670.

[Quarto, containing Nineteen Pages.]

CLAUDE DU VALL was born, anno 1643, at Domfront in Normandy, a place
very famous for the excellency and healthfulness of the air, and for the production
of mercurial wits. At the time of his birth (as we have since found, by rectification of

his nativity, by accidents) there was a conjunction of Venus and Mercury; certain presages of very good fortune, but of a short continuance. His father was Pierre du Vall, a miller; his mother Marguerite De la Roche, a tailor's daughter. I hear no hurt of his parents; they lived in as much reputation and honesty, as their conditions and occupations would permit.

There are some that confidently aver he was born in Smock-alley without Bishopsgate; that his father was a cook, and sold boiled beef and porridge. But this report is as false as it is defamatory and malicious; and it is easy to disprove it several ways. I will only urge one demonstrative argument, against it: If he had been born there, he had been no Frenchman; but, if he had been no Frenchman, it is absolutely impossible he should have been so much beloved in his life, and lamented at his death by the English ladies.

His father and mother had not been long married, when Marguerite longed for pudding and mince-pie, which the good man was fain to beg for her at an English merchant's in Rouen, which was a certain sign of his inclination to England. They were very merry at his christening, and his father, without any grumbling, paid also then the fees for his burial; which is an extraordinary custom at Domfront, not exercised any where else in all France, and of which I account myself obliged to give the reader a particular account.

In the days of Charles the Ninth of that name, the curate of Domfront (for so the French name him whom we call parson and vicar) out of his own head, began a strange innovation and oppression in that parish; that is, he absolutely denied to baptize any of their children, if they would not at the same time pay him also the funeral-fees; and what was worse, he would give them no reason for this alteration, but only promised to enter bond for himself and his successors, that hereafter all persons, paying so at their christening, should be buried *gratis*. What think ye the poor people did in this case? They did not pull his surplice over his ears, nor tear his mass-book, nor throw crickets¹ at his head; no, they humbly desired him to alter his resolution, and amicably reasoned it with him; but he, being a capricious fellow, gave them no other answer, but, "What I have done, I have done: take your remedy where you can find it; 'tis not for men of my coat to give an account of my actions to the laity." Which was a surly and quarrelsome answer, and unbefitting a priest. Yet this did not provoke his parishioners to speak one ill word against his person or function, or to do any illegal act. They only took the regular way of complaining of him to his ordinary, the Archbishop of Rouen. Upon summons, he appears; the Archbishop takes him up roundly, tells him, he deserves deprivation, if that can be proved which is objected against him: and asked him, "What he had to say for himself?" After his due reverence, he answers, That he acknowledges the fact, to save the time of examining witnesses; but desires his Grace to hear his reasons, and then do unto him as he shall see cause. "I have been (says he) curate of this parish these seven years; in that time I have, one year with another, baptized a hundred children and buried not one. At first I rejoiced at my good fortune, to be placed in so good an air; but looking into the register-book, I found, for a hundred years back, near the same number yearly baptized, and not one above five years old buried: and, which did more amaze me, I find the number of the communicants to be no greater now than they were then. This seemed to me a great mystery; but, upon further enquiry, I found out the true cause of it; for all that were born at Domfront were hanged at Rouen. I did this to keep my parishioners from hanging, encouraging them to die at home, the burial-duties being already paid."

The Archbishop demanded of the parishioners, "Whether this was true or not?" They answered, That too many of them came to that unlucky end at Rouen. "Well then, (said he) I approve of what the curate has done, and will cause my secretary, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, to make an act of it:" which act the curate carried home with him, and the parish cheerfully submitted to it, and have found much good by it; for, within

¹ [Joint-stools.]

less than twenty years, there died fifteen of natural deaths, and now there die three or four yearly.

But, to return to Du Vall, it will not, I hope, be expected that I should, in a true history, play the romancer, and describe all his actions from his cradle to his saddle, telling what childish sports he was best at, and who were his play-fellows; that were enough to make the truth of the whole narration suspected; only one important accident I ought not to omit.

An old friar, accounted very expert in physiognomy and judicial astrology, came on a time to see old Du Vall and his wife, (for so we call him, to distinguish him from his son). They had then, by extraordinary good fortune, some Norman wine (that is, cider) in their house, of which they were very liberal to this old friar, whom they made heartily welcome, thinking nothing too good for him.

For those silly people, who know no better, account it a great honour and favour, when any religious person, as a priest or friar, are pleased to give them a visit, and to eat and drink with them. As these three were sitting by the fire, and chirping over their cups; in comes Claude, and broke the friar's draught, who fixed his eyes attentively upon him, without speaking one word for the space of half an hour, to the amazement of Claude's parents, who, seeing the friar neither speak nor drink, imagined he was sick, and courteously asked him, "Brother, what ails you? Are you not well? Why do you so look upon our son?" The friar having roused himself out of his ecstasy, "Is that stripling (says he) your son?" To which, after they had replied, "Yes." "Come hither, boy;" quoth he: and, looking upon his head, he perceived he had two crowns; a certain sign that he should be a traveller. "This child (says he) will be a traveller, and shall never, during his life, be long without money; and, wherever he goes, he will be in extraordinary favour with women of the highest condition." Now, from this story, the certainty of physiognomy and judicial astrology is evidently proved; so that from henceforward whoever shall presume to deny it, ought not to be esteemed a person in his right wits.

Pierre and Marguerite looked upon the friar as an oracle, and mightily rejoiced at their son's good fortune; but it could not enter into their imagination, how this should come to pass; having nothing to leave him as a foundation to build so great a structure upon.

The boy grew up, and spoke the language of the country fluently, which is lawyer's French, and which (if I should not offend the ladies, in comparing our language with theirs) is as much inferior to that at Paris, as Devonshire or Somersetshire English to that spoken at White-Hall.

I speak not this to disgrace him, for could he have spoke never so good French, it is not in such high esteem there as it is here; and it very rarely happens, that, upon that account alone, any great man's daughter runs away with a lacquey.

When he was about thirteen or fourteen years old, his friends mustered their forces together to set him up in the world; they bought him shoes and stockings, for (according to the laudable custom of that country, of inuring their youth to hardship) till then he had never worn any; they also bought him a suit of the brokers, gave him their blessing and twenty sous in his pocket, and threw an old shoe after him, and bid him go seek his fortune. This throwing of an old shoe after him, was looked upon as a great piece of prodigality in Normandy, where they are so considerable a merchandise; the citizens' wives of the best quality wearing old shoes chalked; whence, I suppose, our custom of wearing white shoes derives its original.

His friends advised him to go to Paris, assuring him he would not fail of a condition there, if any could be had in the world; for so the French call Paris. He goes to Rouen, and fortunately meets with post-horses, which were to be returned, one of which he was proffered to ride *gratis*, only upon promise to help to dress them at night. And, which was yet more fortunate, he meets several young English gentlemen, with their governors, going to Paris, to learn their exercises, to fit them to go a wooing at their return home; who were infinitely ambitious of his company, not doubting but in those two days' travels, they

should pump many considerable things out of him, both as to the language and customs of France; and, upon that account, they did very willingly defray his charges.

They arrive at Paris, and light in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, the quarter wherein generally the English lodge, near whom also, our Du Vall did earnestly desire to plant himself. Not long after, by the intercession of some of the English gentlemen, (for in this time he had endeared himself to them,) he was admitted to run on errands, and to do the meanest offices at the St. Esprit, in the Rue de Boucherie: a house, in those days, betwixt a tavern, an ale-house, a cook's-shop, and a bawdy-house; and, upon some of these accounts, much frequented by the English, his patrons. In this condition he lived unblameable, during some time, unless you esteem it a fault to be scabby, and a little given to filching qualities, very frequent in persons of his nation and condition.

The restoration of his Majesty, which was in 1660, brought multitudes of all nations into England, to be spectators of our jubilee; but, more particularly, it drained Paris of all the English there, as being most concerned in so great a happiness: one of them, a person of quality, entertained Du Vall as his servant, and brought him over with him.

What fortunes he ran through afterwards, is known to every one, and how good a proficient he was in the laudable qualities of gaming and making love. But one vice he had, which I cannot pardon him, because it is not of the French growth, but Northern and ungentle; I mean that of drinking; for, that very night he was surprized, he was over-taken.

By these courses (for I dare not call them vices) he soon fell into want of money, to maintain his sport; that, and his stars, but chiefly his own valour, inclined him to take the generous way of padding; in which he quickly became so famous, that, in a proclamation for the taking several notorious highway-men, he had the honour to be named first.

This is the place where I should set down several of his exploits; but I omit them, both as being well known, and because I cannot find in them more ingenuity than was practised before by Hind and Hannum, and several other mere English thieves.

Yet, to do him right, one story there is that savours of gallantry, and I should not be an honest historian, if I should conceal it. He with his squadron overtakes a coach, which they had set over night, having intelligence of a booty of four-hundred pounds in it. In the coach was a knight, his lady, and only one serving-maid, who, perceiving five horsemen making up to them, presently imagined they were beset; and they were confirmed in this apprehension, by seeing them whisper to one another, and ride backwards and forwards: the lady, to shew she was not afraid, takes a flageolet out of her pocket and plays. Du Vall takes the hint, plays also, and excellently well, upon a flageolet of his own; and, in this posture, he rides up to the coach-side. "Sir, (says he, to the person in the coach,) your lady plays excellently, and I doubt not but that she dances as well; will you please to walk out of the coach, and let me have the honour to dance one currant² with her upon the heath." "Sir, (said the person in the coach,) I dare not deny any thing to one of your quality and good mind; you seem a gentleman, and your request is very reasonable." Which said, the lacquey opens the boot; out comes the knight, Du Vall leaps lightly off his horse, and hands the lady out of the coach. They danced, and here it was that Du Vall performed marvels; the best master in London, except those that are French, not being able to shew such footing as he did in his great riding French boots. The dancing being over, he waits on the lady to her coach: as the knight was going in, says Du Vall to him, "Sir, you have forgot to pay the musick." "No, I have not;" (replies the knight;) and, putting his hand under the seat of the coach, pulls out an hundred pounds in a bag, and delivers it to him; which Du Vall took with a very good grace, and courteously answered, "Sir, you are liberal, and shall have no cause to repent your being so; this liberality of yours shall excuse you the other three-hundred pounds:" and, giving him the word, that if he met with any more of the crew, he might pass undisturbed, he civilly takes his leave of him.

² [Courant, or Coranto, formerly one of the principal dances practised in England. It is described in Sir John Davis's poem intitled Orchestra.]

This story, I confess, justifies the great kindness the ladies had for Du Vall; for in this, as in an epitome, are contained all things that set a man off advantageously, and make him appear, as the phrase is, ‘much a gentleman.’ First, here was valour, that he and but four more, durst assault a knight, a lady, a waiting-gentlewoman, a lacquey, a groom, that rid by, to open the gates, and the coachman; they being six to five, odds at football: and besides, Du Vall had much the worst cause, and reason to believe, that whoever should arrive, would range themselves on the enemy’s party. Then he shewed his invention and sagacity, that he could *sur le champ*, and without studying, make that advantage of the lady’s playing on the flageolet. He evidenced his skill in instrumental music, by playing on his flageolet; in vocal by his singing; for (as I should have told you before) there being no violins, Du Vall sung the currant himself. He manifested his agility of body, by lightly dismounting off his horse, and with ease and freedom getting up again, when he took his leave; his excellent deportment, by his incomparable dancing, and his graceful manner of taking the hundred pounds; his generosity, in taking no more; his wit and eloquence, and readiness at repartees, in the whole discourse with the knight and lady; the greatest part of which I have been forced to omit.

And here, could I dispense with truth and impartiality (necessary ingredients of a good history), I could come off with flying colours, leave Du Vall in the ladies’ bosoms, and not put myself out of a possibility of ever being in favour with any of them.

But I must tell the story of the sucking-bottle; which, if it seem to his disadvantage, set that other against it which I am come from relating. The adventure of the sucking-bottle was as follows:---It happened another time, as Du Vall was upon his vocation of robbing on Black-heath, he meets with a coach richly fraught with ladies of quality, and with one child, who had a silver sucking-bottle; he robs them rudely, takes away their money, watches, rings, and even the little child’s sucking-bottle: nor would he, upon the child’s tears, nor the lady’s earnest intercession, be wrought upon to restore it; till at last one of his companions (whose name I wish I could put down here, that he may find friends when he shall stand in need of them), a good-natured person (for the French are strangers both to the name and thing) forced him to deliver it. I shall make no reflections upon this story, both because I do not design to render him odious, or make this pamphlet more prolix.

The noise of the proclamation, and the rewards promised to those who should take any therein named, made Du Vall retire to France. At Paris he lives highly, makes great boastings of the success of his arms and amours in England, proudly bragging, “He could never encounter with any of either sex that could resist him.” He had not been long in France, but he had a fit of his old disease, want of money, which he found to be much augmented by the thin air of France; and therefore, by the advice of his physicians, lest the disease should seize upon his vitals, and make him lie by it, he resolves to transport himself into England; which accordingly he did: for, in truth, the air of France is not good for persons of his constitution, it being the custom there to travel in great companies well armed, and with little money; the danger of being resisted, and the danger of being taken is much greater there; and the quarry much less than in England. For, if by chance a dapper fellow, with fine black eyes, and a white peruke, be taken there, and found guilty of robbing, all the women in the town do presently take the alarm, and run to the king to beg his life.

To England he comes; but, alas! his reign proves but short; for, within few months after his return, before he had done any thing of great glory or advantage to himself, he fell into the hands of justice, being taken drunk at the Hole in the Wall, in Chandois-street: and well it was for the bailiff and his men that he was drunk, otherwise they had tasted of his prowess; for he had in his pocket three pistols (one whereof would shoot twice); and by his side an excellent sword, which, managed by such a hand and heart, must, without doubt, have done wonders. Nay, I have heard it attested by those that knew how good a marksman he was, and his excellent way of fencing; that, had he been

sober, it was impossible he could have killed less than ten. They farther add, upon their own knowledge, he would have been cut as small as herbs for the pot, before he would have yielded to the bailiff of Westminster; that is to say, he would have died in the place, had not some great person been sent to him, to whom he might with honour have delivered his sword and himself. But taken he was, and that too *à bon marche*; without the expence of blood or treasure, committed to Newgate; arraigned, convicted, condemned, and on Friday, January the 21st, executed at Tyburn, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, (which number is made up of three times nine,) and left behind him a sad instance of the irresistible influence of the stars, and the fatality of climacterical years.

There were a great company of ladies, and those not of the meanest degree, that visited him in prison, interceded for his pardon, and accompanied him to the gallows; a catalogue of whose names I have by me; nay, even of those who, when they visited him, durst not pull off their vizards, for fear of shewing their eyes swoln, and their cheeks blubbered with tears.

When I first put pen to paper, I was in great indignation, and fully resolved, (nay, and I think I swore,) that I would print this muster-roll. But, upon second thoughts and calmer considerations, I have altered my fierce resolution: partly, because I would not do my nation so great a disgrace, and especially that part of it to whom I am so entirely devoted; but principally, because I hoped milder physick might cure them of this French disease, of this inordinate appetite to mushrooms, of this dangerous doating upon strangers.

After he had hanged a convenient time, he was cut down, and, by persons well dressed, carried into a mourning-coach, and so conveyed to the Tangier-tavern in St. Giles's, where he lay in state all that night, the room hung with black-cloth, the hearse covered with escutcheons, eight wax-tapers burning, and as many tall gentlemen with long black clokes attending; mum was the word, great silence expected from all that visited, for fear of disturbing this sleeping lion. And this ceremony had lasted much longer, had not one of the judges (whose name I must not mention here, lest he should incur the displeasure of the ladies) sent to disturb this pageantry. But I dare set down a mark whereby you may guess at him. It is one betwixt whom and the highway-men there is little love lost; one who thought the fellow had honour enough done him, that he was not buried under the gallows.

This story of lying-in-state seemed to me so improbable, and such an audacious mockery of the laws, that till I had it again and again from several gentlemen, who had the curiosity to see him, I durst not put it down here, for fear of being accounted a notorious liar.

The night was stormy and rainy, as if the heavens had sympathized with the ladies, and echoed again their sighs, and wept over again their tears.

As they were undressing him, in order to his lying-in-state, one of his friends put his hands in his pocket, and found therein the speech, which he intended to have made, written with a very fair hand; a copy whereof I have, with much cost and industry, procured; and yet do freely make it public, because I would not have any thing wanting, in this narration.

Du Vall's Speech.

‘ I SHOULD be very ungrateful (which, amongst persons of honour, is a greater crime, than that for which I die) should I not acknowledge my obligation to you, fair English ladies. I could not have hoped, that a person of my nation, birth, education, and condition, could have had so many and powerful charms to captivate you all, and to tie you so firmly to my interest, that you have not abandoned me in distress, or in prison; that you have accompanied me to this place of death, of ignominious death.

‘ From the experience of your true loves I speak it; nay, I know I speak your hearts; you could be content to die with me now, and even here, could you be assured of enjoying your beloved Du Vall in the other world.

‘ How mightily, and how generously, have you rewarded my little services! Shall I

‘ ever forget that universal consternation amongst you, when I was taken? Your frequent, your chargeable visits to me at Newgate? Your shrieks, your swoonings, when I was condemned? Your zealous intercession and importunity for my pardon?’

‘ You could not have erected fairer pillars of honour and respect to me, had I been a Hercules, and could have got fifty sons in a night.

‘ It has been the misfortune of several English gentlemen, in the times of the late Usurpation, to die at this place, upon the honourablest occasion that ever presented itself, the endeavouring to restore their exiled Sovereign: gentlemen, indeed, who had ventured their lives, and lost their estates in the service of their prince; but they all died unlamented, and uninterceded for, because they were English. How much greater, therefore, is my obligation; whom you love better than your own countrymen, better than your own dear husbands? Nevertheless, ladies, it does not grieve me, that your intercession for my life proved ineffectual; for now I shall die with little pain, a healthy body, and (I hope) a prepared mind. For my confessor has shewed me the evil of my way, and wrought in me a true repentance; witness these tears, these unfeigned tears. Had you prevailed for my life, I must, in gratitude, have devoted it wholly to you; which yet would have been but short: for, had you been sound, I should have soon died of a consumption; if otherwise, of the p---x.’

He was buried with many flambeaux, and a numerous train of mourners; most whereof were of the beautiful sex. He lies in the middle aisle in Covent-Garden church, under a plain white marble stone, whereon are curiously engraved the Du Vall’s arms, and under them, written in black, this epitaph.

Du Vall’s Epitaph.

‘ HERE lies Du Vall: Reader, if male thou art,
 ‘ Look to thy purse; if female, to thy heart:
 ‘ Much havock has he made of both; for all
 ‘ Men he made stand, and women he made fall.
 ‘ The second conqu’ror of the Norman race;
 ‘ Knights to his arms did yield, and ladies to his face;
 ‘ Old Tyburn’s glory, England’s illustrious thief;
 ‘ Du Vall, the ladies’ joy; Du Vall, the ladies’ grief.’

The Author’s Apology, why he conceals his Name.

SOME there are, without doubt, that will look upon this harmless pamphlet as a libel and invective satire, because the author has not put his name to it; but the bookseller’s printing his true name, and place of abode, wipes off that objection.

But if any person be yet so curious, as to enquire after me, I can assure him, I have conjured the stationer not to declare my name so much as to his own wife: not that I am ashamed of the design, no, I glory in it; nor much of the manner of writing, for I have seen books, with the authors’ names to them, not much better written; neither do I fear I should be proud, if the book takes, and crest-fallen, if it should not; I am not a person of such a tender constitution:

———*Valeat res ludicra, si me
 Palma negata macrum, donata reducat opimum.*

But, upon other pressing and important reasons, though I am resolved not to be known, yet I intend to give you some account of myself; enough to exempt me from being so pitiful and inconsiderable a fellow, as, possibly, some incensed females may endeavour to represent me.

I was bred a scholar, but let none reproach me with it, for I have no more learning left,

than what may become a well-bred gentleman. I have had the opportunity, if not the advantage, of seeing all France and Italy very particularly; Germany and the Spanish Netherlands *en passant*. I have walked a currant, in the hands of Monsieur Provosts, the French King's dancing-master; and several times pushed at the Plastron of Monsieur Filboy le Vieux. Now, I hope, these qualities, joined with a white peruke, are sufficient to place any person *hors de la portée*, out of the reach of contempt.

At my return from France, I was advised by my friends to settle myself in the world, that is, to marry; when I went first amongst the ladies upon that account, I found them very obliging, and, as I thought, coming. I wondered mightily, what might be the reason could make me so acceptable; but afterwards found it was the scent of France, which was then strong upon me; for, according as that perfume decayed, my mistresses grew colder and colder.

But that which precipitated me into ruin, was this following accident. Being once in the company of some ladies; amongst other discourses, we fell upon the comparison betwixt the French and English nations. And here it was, that I, very imprudently, maintained, even against my mistress, That a French lacquey was not so good as an English gentleman. The scene was immediately changed; they all looked upon me with anger and disdain; they said I was unworthy of that little breeding I had acquired, of that small parcel of wit (for they would not have me esteemed a mere fool, because I had been so often in their company) which nature had bestowed upon me, since I made so ill use of it, as to maintain such paradoxes. My mistress for ever forbids me the house; and, the next day, sends me my letters, and demands her own; bidding me pick up a wife at the plough-tail, for it was impossible any woman well bred would ever cast her eyes upon me.

I thought this disgrace would have brought me to my grave; it impaired my health, robbed me of my good humour. I retired from all company, as well of men as of women, and have lived a solitary melancholy life, and continued a batchelor, to this day.

I repented heartily, that at my return from my travels, I did not put myself into a livery, and in that habit, go and seek entertainment in some great man's house; for it was impossible, but good must have arrived to me from so doing. It was *à la mode* to have French servants; and no person of quality, but esteemed it a disgrace, if he had not two or three of that nation in his retinue; so that I had no reason to fear, but that I should soon find a condition.

After I had insinuated myself into one of these houses, I had just reason to expect, if I could have concealed myself from being an Englishman, that some young lady with a great portion should run away with me, and then I had been made for ever. But if I had followed bad courses, and robbed upon the highway, (as the subject of this history did,) I might have expected the same civilities in prison, the same intercessions for my life, and (if those had not prevailed) the same glorious death, lying-in-state in Tangier-tavern, and being embalmed in the ladies' tears. And who is there, worthy the name of a man, that would not prefer such a death, before a mean, solitary, and inglorious life?

I design but two things in the writing this book. One is, That the next Frenchman that is hanged, may not cause an uproar in this imperial city; which I doubt not but I have effected. The other is a much harder task: To set my countrymen on even terms with the French, as to the English ladies' affections. If I should bring this about, I should esteem myself to have contributed much to the good of this kingdom.

One remedy there is, which, possibly, may conduce something towards it.

I have heard, that there is a new invention of transfusing the blood of one animal into another, and that it has been experimented, by putting the blood of a sheep into an Englishman. I am against that way of experiments; for, should we make all Englishmen sheep, we should soon be a prey to the Loure.

I think I can propose the making that experiment, a more advantageous way. I would have all gentlemen, who have been a full year or more out of France, be let blood weekly, or oftener; if they can bear it. Mark how much they bleed; transfuse so much French

lacquey's blood into them ; replenish these last out of the English footmen ; for it is no matter what becomes of them. Repeat this operation *toties quoties* ; and, in process of time, you will find this event : Either the English gentlemen will be as much beloved as the French lacquies, or the French lacquies as little esteemed as the English gentlemen.

But to conclude my apology : I have certainly great reason to conceal my name ; for, if I suffered so severely for only speaking one word in a private company, what punishment will be great enough for a relapsed heretick publishing a book to the same purpose ? I must certainly do as that Irish gentleman that let a scape in the presence of his mistress ; run my country, shave my head, and bury myself in a monastery, if there be any charitable enough to harbour a person guilty of such heinous crimes.

Reasons and Proposals for a Registry or Remembrancer of all Deeds and Incumbrances of real Estates, to be had in every Country, most necessary and advantageous, as well for Sellers and Borrowers, as Purchasers and Lenders. To the Advance of Credit, and the general Good, without Prejudice to any honest-minded Person, most humbly offered to Consideration. By Nicholas Philpot, of New-Inn.

Oxford, printed by W. Hall, for Richard Davis, 1671.

[Quarto ; containing Ten Pages.]

IT is most apparent, that fraud and deceit increases continually ; for remedy whereof, there have been many wholesome laws made, which are no sooner published, than evaded by some new contrived artifice.

Until 27 Eliz. no provision was made against fraudulent conveyances ; and then, that mischief being grown high, was a most excellent law enacted to remedy it ; without which none durst purchase, and consequently none could sell lands in those days, as it is evident by the great number of cases controverted therein.

Yet, notwithstanding the well penning of that statute, and the learned exposition upon it, this law is not, at all times, able to suppress or avoid a fraud, subtly contrived, as by payment of money, or giving security in public, and then repaying or restoring it in private, or the like : but, if a public registry, or remembrance of all conveyances and incumbrances on real estates, were settled in each county ; all mischiefs and inconveniences whatsoever, by precedent grants and incumbrances, would be prevented to purchasers and creditors, unless it were by their own wilful neglect ; and if so, they are deceived by themselves, and none else.

The usefulness and benefit to all his Majesty's subjects, of what is proposed, appears, and is demonstrable in nothing more, than the vast number of suits and actions in the courts at Westminster ; arising merely by reason of precedent and concealed incumbrances, which have, and daily do waste and consume the whole substance of such as are concerned in them ; and two parts in three, at least, of all suits touching real estates, depending in Westminster-hall, are sprung from this mischief.

To instance particular examples of persons deceiving, and deceived in this kind, is not necessary, it being so epidemical and obvious, nor can be mentioned without scandal to such as are guilty therein; yet, to satisfy curiosity, I could vouch and justify, within the circuit of the small county wherein I live, to the value of above forty thousand pounds, at least, of them at this time in being; and, I presume, there are very few, who are acquainted with dealings in the world, that cannot demonstrate too many sad instances of the like kind, in their own respective countries.

The terror of this mischief affrights persons who have money to lend unto those that want it, and occasions the demanding of too unreasonable securities, which enforces men to engage their friends, as well as their lands, to satisfy scrupulous lenders; and hath so far weakened credit, as that a lender, in these days, will rather set at five *per cent* to a city goldsmith, or scrivener, upon a note of his hand, than at six to a country gentleman on his mortgage, judgment, or statute; and with a prudent foresight too: for, in the one case, if his security proves defective, he spends, perhaps, all he hath to endeavour the recovery of it; and, in the other, being out of hopes, he is freed from further trouble or charge, and sits down by his first loss.

As the discovery of precedent incumbrances would be to the great benefit, safety, and satisfaction of purchasers and lenders; so would it prove no less advantageous to borrowers and sellers, by giving them credit to raise money on sale, or engagement of their lands, as occasion requires, without drawing in (and thereby often ruining) their friends to be engaged with them; or giving general securities by judgments, statutes, and recognisances, which attach their whole estates, and make them incapable of selling or disposing any part of it, upon what emergent occasions soever: this, as to the sober and circumspect debtors.

Then, as for the young gallants, who know no more of attaining to estates, than the derivation of their descent; and at sixteen years old, hop to the university, then at nineteen, fly to London; where by one-and-twenty, (their uncurdled brains evaporating into froth and air,) they, like young jackdaws, are enfranchised into the society of the old rooks of the city, who, having discovered their warm nests in the country, soon lead them into the snares and lime-twigs of judgments and statutes. The principal means of their delivery and preservation will be a timely discovery of their first engagement, which the thing proposed will effect; for, when once the incumbrance they create is discovered, by the entry of it in their own country, without which no considerable sum will be raised: then the parent, if living, is fairly forewarned to check the son's prodigality; if otherwise, the unthrift will be enforced to discharge his old engagement before his new will be taken; and the very apprehension of discovery will cause many to forbear those follies, which, though subject unto, they abhor to have known.

When an estate is once involved in unfathomed incumbrances, then it creates suits upon suits; the expence whereof soon devours all, without either satisfying the creditors, or leaving any thing to remain for the debtor.

It is very observable how the state and condition of the seller alters the rate and quickness of the sale.

If a person, reputed to be indebted, or engaged, offers land to sell, none will adventure to deal, for fear of precedent incumbrances, unless it be upon very great advantages of an under value, in regard of the danger; whenas a man, void of that prejudice, may soon sell at the uttermost value.

There are persons who drive a trade in brokerage of money, whose course is this. Upon the application of a borrower, he finds out the money, proposes the security, and names himself for one. This double kindness obtains a bountiful reward out of the sum, and, likewise, undoubted counter-security, not only against this engagement, but also all others in future; for my broker intends not to desert his fresh man so. Then, for his general indemnity, he takes a lusty previous judgment of his friend, as more concealable than a statute; and, upon the credit of it, makes new supplies, from time to time, as occasion re-

quires. When the old debt is called in, as it must be once a year, he engages a new; taking up so much more money as will supply the present occasions of the borrower, and reward the broking-surety. If the principal and his co-engaged country securities, (these things being reciprocal betwixt them,) prove slack or defective, whereby the broking-bondsman is hardly set upon; he resolves to submit to the law, and takes up his quarters in the Fleet or Marshalsees; and then, to extend his judgment, to gain some part of recompence for being undone by his kindness to his friend, whose estate is far short to recompence his damage, although he was never worth a groat more than what he got by these means.

My application is, that, if these judgments came to be entered, persons of subsequent concernment would come to the discovery of them, and thereby avoid, or be timely relieved against them.

The difficulty to borrow money proceeds not from its scarcity, but the diffidence of good security; for it is generally known, that those who need it not, and have estates, may borrow what they please on easy terms; whereas persons in debt cannot procure it without much trouble and charge.

If moneyed men could safely deal in purchases or mortgages of lands, (the obstruction whereof is only concealed and undiscoverable incumbrances,) they would not keep their treasure lying by them without profit to themselves, or use to the publick, but set it abroad to benefit; and none, who are owners of land, could want money, at any time, to serve their occasions. This would promote trade and commerce betwixt all men.

The too frequent and abominable villainy of forging, erasing, altering, and antedating of conveyances, would be wholly prevented by the means of this registry.

It will very much assist executors to discover their testator's debts of record, whereby to know how to make due administration with safety to themselves.

Objections may be made, which, though weak in themselves, yet some may think them fit to receive an answer: as

1. The matter proposed would discover men's estates to their prejudice, their debts would be made known, and so their credit and reputation weakened; and others, who desire to conceal their fortunes, would be discovered to the world, and thereby liable to taxes and burthensome offices, which now they avoid.

Answer. As to the first, the support of credit and repute, by having poverty undiscovered, is like the concealing of a wound till it comes to an uncurable ulcer; and the effects of it can never recover the patient, but will at last destroy him, and deceive all who trust in him.

As for the other, it is most just and equitable, that they should bear and undergo taxes and burthens proportionable to their estates, and not lay it on the shoulders of those who are of less ability.

2d Ob. It would give opportunities to pick holes, and find out defects in men's conveyances.

Answer 1. Many persons, having once gotten a possession, hold by wrong, on pretence of conveyances which they have not, occasioning many suits for discovery thereof; which need not be, if the public registry did demonstrate it.

2. The registering may be brief and short, setting forth the effect of the conveyance. Besides, scarce any in these days do sell or grant land, without keeping an exact copy or counterpart; by which defects, in case there be any, will more appear, than it can do by the registry.

3d Ob. It would put purchasers to an unnecessary trouble and charge.

Answer. The charge will be inconsiderable to the great satisfaction they receive, by being freed from the danger of precedent titles; and the trouble cannot be much, when an office for the purpose is kept in the shire-town, or chief city of the county.

There is yet another objection, which, though perhaps it will not be openly owned, yet may covertly prove more obstructive than all the rest; and that is, the growing stu-

dents of the law, who observe, with admiration, the vast wealth and honour acquired by their predecessors in their functions, may see cause of despairing the like to themselves, if this preventive remedy is set on foot. But the genuine and candid exposition of the law's use and intention, forbids all contradiction of what tends to the public tranquillity and welfare; and therefore, I hope, there needs not much to be said in confutation of what will not be publicly asserted. And this I dare aver, that many learned lawyers have been deceived in their purchases, by precedent titles of the very money which they got in controverting the like cases for their clients.

Having thus far discoursed of the great benefit (and, indeed, absolute necessity) of what is proposed; I shall add my conjectures of an order, manner, and likewise the charge in execution of the business in hand.

1. That the registry be kept in the shire-town, or chief city of each county, and all in-counties of cities and towns, saving some great cities particularly to be mentioned, be included within the out-county, it being not worth the attendance for some in-counties alone.

2. That the entry of each deed, grant, fine, common recovery, will, and conveyance, be in large books of royal paper bound, (which are more durable than parchment,) and to contain only the date, parties' names, consideration, lands granted, to whom, for what term or estate, what uses, upon what conditions or limitations, and the endorsement or subscription of witnesses, omitting all other covenants; and this is to be done briefly and concisely, only the lands granted to be full and at large, for expedition-sake: the purchaser may bring an abstract with him, which being compared and examined by the register, and the deed signed by him, the entry may be made by the abstract.

3. If the deed contains lands in several counties, then an entry to be made in each county, as to so much as lies within the same.

4. As for judgments, statutes, and recognizances, to be briefly entered with their dates, number, rolls, and courts, where recorded, in such and so many counties, as the cognisor's lands do lie in; and, in case of subsequent purchases, then where, when, and as often as such purchases shall be made; for the discovery whereof, the creditor or purchaser is to take care at his peril.

5. As for copyhold estates, they are always conveyed openly in the lord's court, by way of surrender, and therefore need no other discovery; but, in case of leases made, or terms granted by deed of copyhold estates, by the lord's licence, or otherwise, those to be registered.

6. This registering not to be used as binding evidence of the making or execution of any deed (in regard it is done at the instance of the grant, in the granter's absence) but only to serve for a discovery of it to such as shall be concerned.

7. To the end the present generation may reap some benefit from this work, that all deeds, assurances, and real incumbrances, made or created since the year 1660, be registered within a year, at the peril of the grantees or cognisees being postponed.

8. That all other registries be made within four months after the date, and then to be effectual as from the date, at the peril of being postponed to all intervening before it is registered; but not to be forecluded of registering at any time, running the hazard of postponing. And if any will so far rely upon his security, and his granter or cognisor's integrity, without registering it; to stand good against all but creditors and purchasers.

9. That an exact alphabet be kept of all the granters and cognisors' names, with their titles and additions, and the number or folio wherein their art is registered. And in regard some persons are called by several surnames, with alteration of title and addition; that, for better assurance, another alphabet be kept of the names of the towns and places wherein the lands granted do lie; for both these alphabets together must be infallible.

10. As for fees of the office: Every entry, not exceeding three sheets, each sheet containing twelve lines, and eight words in every line, two shillings; and for every sheet exceeding, six-pence.

For the alphabeting of each entry, six-pence.

For a search and sight of the entry, for every ten years, five shillings; and, if for any less number of years, eight-pence for each year.

For copies of every sheet written as aforesaid, six-pence.

A Treatise concerning Registers to be made of Estates, Bonds, Bills, &c. With Reasons against such Registers by the Honourable Mr. William Pierrepont. (MS.)

THE expences, concerning such registers, would be insupportable to the subjects of this kingdom; their charges for the first year (by being compelled to register their deeds made in times past) would be above six-hundred thousands, and above two-hundred thousand pounds, for every year for the time to come.

And such hath been the carelessness (if not worse) of trustees, widows, their second or other husbands, guardians of orphans, sequestrators, and other plunderers, in the late times of troubles, concerning deeds which came into their hands; as not in one estate of twenty, but some defect in law would be found therein, if every person might peruse their deeds, as all might do, if they were recorded.

Many now quietly enjoy their lands, chief rents, and other just profits out of the lands of other persons; because, it is believed, they have good deeds to shew for them, and questionless their ancestors, or those under whom they claim, had such deeds; many have intired their manors, by several purchases and exchanges from freeholders, within their said manors, and thereby made great improvements; some deeds are lost, registers would discover the wants of those deeds, many hundreds of persons would thereby lose their lands, chief rents, and just profits out of the lands of other persons, and have their inclosed grounds thrown open to commons.

Creditors lend their monies on judgments, statutes, recognisances, mortgages, bonds, or bills; judgments, statutes, and recognisances are recorded, the nature of them, suits thereunto; the defect therein is, that the records of judgment are so difficultly to be found out; for judgments being recorded in Chancery, by rules of common law, in the King's-Bench, in the Common-Pleas, in the Exchequer, and many hundreds in every Term, in time as they happen, it is scarcely possible to find them in due time, to the great damages of many persons.

These defects may be redressed by making fit alphabetical kalendars of judgments in every of those courts, and such kalendars may be easily done, and will be readily made by the clerks in those several courts, if by act of parliament some reasonable fee be allowed to such clerks for so doing; as to take two pence for search for every year, as is allowed by the statute 27 Elizabeth, chap. iv. for search for statutes merchant, and of the staple.

Mortgages are of like nature with judgments and statutes, wherein lands mortgaged are of double value to the money lent on them; and with general warranty against all persons, and the monies to be repaid at six or twelve months, so as seldom to be incumbrances on lands, longer than for the mortgager's life; therefore, it may be of greater benefit than prejudice to record mortgages. But therein will be difficulties which will require serious consideration; as, amongst others, because some mortgages are made by absolute sales with defeasances collateral, and some purchasers are concerned to keep ancient mortgages on foot, assigned to trustees for security of their purchases.

In the time of the Rump, an act of parliament (as they falsely called it) was by some men there violently prosecuted for registering all deeds, pretending what they so pressed was to prevent frauds against purchasers and creditors, but they were such who had no money to lend, or wherewith to buy lands; the registering of mortgages for the time to come was not much opposed, but that did not satisfy them; their aims were their private gains to have or sell registers' places, thereby to share among themselves above a hundred thousand pounds yearly. The officers, in such registers, would have to themselves so much at least, over and above all charges and expences therein.

If bonds and penal bills (which are quick securities, and but for short times) should be made void, if not registered, the prejudices which might happen thereby to creditors are apparent.

Quadráginta hath been writ for *quadríngenti*, forty for four-hundred; then he who had truly lent two-hundred pounds on such a bond, if this mistake had been discovered, could not, in the court of common law, have recovered on that bond more than forty pounds; and so may easily be mistakes in *quínquaginta* for *quínqenti*, fifty for five-hundred; *nonaginta* for *nonagínti*, ninety for nine-hundred; and so for many others; but, the mistakes not being discovered, the creditors have had their monies lent well paid, without demand to see the bonds, or hear them read, or being put to any charges or troubles in suits.

Bonds and bills are no effectual incumbrances on lands, until sued to judgments.

When kalendars are made, whereby judgments may be speedily discovered, then there can be little prejudice by not recording bonds and bills; but the recording them would destroy trade, two parts of three, in trade, being carried on upon credit.

Many tradesmen have borrowed great sums of money, and taken up wares on bonds and bills; have lived well, and paid all their creditors to their satisfactions; have enriched this kingdom, and raised good estates to themselves and their heirs, who at some times have owed to several creditors, on bonds and bills, much more than they were then worth; which if it had been then known, and which registers would have laid them open, they would have had their bonds and bills sued against them to judgments, when it would have been to their ruin; but each creditor, believing those persons did owe nothing, or but little but to themselves, did not sue or molest their debtors.

In like condition would have been many gentlemen free-holders and farmers, who were necessitated to borrow money, and take up goods on their bonds and bills, for the managements of their estates, to provide stocks, and other necessities; which if it had been known at all times, what they owed to all creditors, would then, when they had not been able to pay, have had their bonds and bills sued to judgments, and thereon their lands and goods seized, their bodies imprisoned, or they to lie hid, or to fly into foreign parts, to the inestimable damages of this kingdom; thereby bereaved of the benefits from the abilities of their minds, and labours of their bodies.

Concerning the Registering of Bargains and Sales and Settlements of Lands of Inheritance.

GREAT mischiefs appear therein to present view; more are rationally to be feared. In these deeds are no double values, no general warranty, no time of redemption, no cause to peruse those deeds every six or twelve months (as are in mortgages), and wherein defects seldom appear till after the seller's death.

For these deeds must be registered at large, word for word, or by taking extracts out of them.

The wit of man cannot draw such extracts without errors: the judgment of man is not capable to prevent all mistakes and misunderstandings in such extracts.

If all deeds of purchase and settlements of lands of inheritance must be registered at

large, register-records would be so voluminous in ten years, as no good use could be made of them.

In forty years experience, I have not known or heard (yet I have enquired of many lawyers of great practice) of above three causes in all the courts of judicature, which have gone against purchasers who paid valuable considerations, and those causes, not in the whole, to the value of thirty-thousand pounds; which, if so, (as I doubt not but when examined, it will be found to be so,) then, if these registers had been established forty years since, register-offices would have had from the subjects eighty-hundred-thousand pounds, at two-hundred-thousand pounds yearly, to have saved thirty-thousand pounds defrauded, and that but in forty years: I know that several persons would have lost their lands, if some others had known their deeds. I have had some references to me, and thereon perusal of deeds, wherein were such defects, as, if their deeds had not been private to those they trusted, they would have lost their lands for which they paid a full value.

These registers will cause differences and discontents in families, between husbands and their wives, parents and their children, and children amongst themselves. Whilst a father keeps his deeds of settlements of his estate private to himself, his wife and children, each hoping for better than is done for them (perhaps than the estate can bear), yet they live in love and quiet; but, if they should know (which by these registers they would know) what the settlements are, wives would be unquiet, children would be undutiful; the eldest brother would think his youngest brothers and sisters had too much; and they, that they had too little. A father may have good cause to give to some younger son or daughter, more than to the other: this the others will call inequality, and want of natural affection to them; they would live in envy and hatred.

Fathers, to have household contentment, must then (although against their judgments of what is fittest to be done by them) make no deeds of settlements of their estates, but leave all to be disposed by their last wills and testaments; thereby subjecting their estates to wrongs and frauds by executors or administrators, and themselves to troubles and vexations in their sicknesses and weaknesses, as neither to live quietly nor die quietly.

Many have sudden exigents to borrow money under irrecoverable damages, if not provided therewith in some short time, who have lands of clear titles and of double the value of the monies they would borrow thereupon, yet their lands lying remote, as if in Yorkshire or Devonshire, when they need the monies in London.

London is the great market of lands, there is the great stock of monies for the whole kingdom; the lender's council in law, if these registers should be established, must advise their clients, not to lend monies on lands, till the registers, in the countries where those lands are, be searched, and by able men of whose abilities and honesties they are satisfied; these delays necessitate great expences, much time is wasted, the opportunities for those monies lost, and they who needed such monies irrecoverably damnified. It cannot be an easy or cheap business for purchasers to get due knowledge of the sellers' deeds registered in remote places; it would be chargeable and dangerous to convey their deeds of purchase, to be registered in distant places.

Many are concerned on marriages, and other settlements, to make large deeds; many skins of parchment, wherein their lands, in many several counties, are conveyed; these deeds must be registered in every several county wherein any land lieth therein conveyed; or, if such deeds be to be registered only in one county, with references therein to the other counties; this (besides other inconveniences which would follow thereon) would send men for making searches on those references, east, west, south, and north, certainly to their great charges, probably to little purpose.

All frauds, which have hitherto been committed by cheats, may be done by clerk registers, and more than have hitherto been known.

Their temptations to gain by bribery, would probably be greater than their honesties to resist; they would have means and opportunities to act frauds, which none yet have had.

Deeds of purchase of lands, to be recorded in these registers, must take their force, either from their dates or caption of taking acknowledgments of them, or from the time they are entered in the registers; if from their dates or captions, as if from six months after either of them, then fraudulent purchasers have six months time to conceal such deeds, and, they and the sellers combining, the sellers may make subsequent deeds of sale of the same lands to purchasers on full values, and defraud them; the fraudulent purchasers, registering their precedent deeds within the six months, would have the lands; those registers being records.

If deeds of purchase must take their force from the entries of them into the registers, then so many deeds would be brought to a register-office in one day, as it would be impossible to register them the same day; the preference in time, to register them, would fall to the will of clerks, registers, and the just purchasers in their mercies.

If several deeds of sale of the same lands should be made, some for a full value, some fraudulent, and the just deeds brought to the registers, the same day, before the fraudulent deeds; the register clerk is bribed, and the fraudulent deeds are first recorded in the register-offices, the fraudulent purchasers will have the lands.

If the clerk registers, who being ordered to register deeds in time, as they come to them, will not be bribed to do otherwise; yet fraudulent sellers may have fraudulent deeds, and just deeds ready to execute so soon before or after the just deeds, as, if the fraudulent buyers cannot otherwise be before the just purchasers at the register-offices with their deeds, horses will be laid for them, whereby to outride the others; so fraudulent deeds would be first recorded in those registers, and the purchasers for full values would be defrauded of the lands and of their monies.

Considerate men cannot believe, but that such persons, who now contrive and act frauds, will commit more frauds when they shall have more means to do so; or that clerk registers will not take bribes for false entries of deeds into the registers, when they shall have, besides other tricks, such ready excuses for their mis-entries when found out; that it was but their mistake in such a crowd of business: their bribes taken are not easily proved, but such mis-entry, if but a mistake, would be fatal to the honest purchasers.

Forged deeds are now vacated by the courts of judicature, but deeds forged (if registered in those registers) made records, could not be vacated by any court of judicature.

I have heard some men say, that forgeries and other frauds would be prevented by making such offences in clerk registers, if contrivers or accessary thereunto, to be felony without benefit of clergy: this may deceive sudden apprehensions, but considerate men will foresee such birds of prey would soon know, that those scarecrows would not kill them.

Clerk registers, by their offices, would have such means to keep their frauds in darkness, and to tamper with jurors, as juries would not find that they had full evidence to take away their lives; and such forgeries would probably be concealed, till after the forgers' deaths, who seldom leave estates sufficient to answer damages to the parties wronged by them. Bribe-takers will be bribe-givers; most commonly, great cheaters are notorious livers, and die beggars.

Men will enjoy their monies, and other goods, in their houses much safer, by keeping their doors well locked and barred, than they would do if they should be compelled to leave their doors open; although the most severe penalties of sufferings and death should be imposed on those who should steal any of their goods out of their houses: we do not suffer prejudices for want of officers toward the law, but our grievances are very great by over-many officers, and their clerks, attorneys, and solicitors. Officers will raise profits to themselves, whoever lose by it; the more officers, the more will be the frauds and oppressions; more than two-thousand clerks and solicitors, concerning those registers, would be employed in these register-offices.

It cannot be rationally thought that all these officers, when first made, will be able and honest; it is not to be supposed that those in succession will be so; there will be unworthy hirelings to discover to insatiable covetors of the estates of others, and to riotous

wasters of their own estates, the flaws in deeds; and to discover flaws in deeds to such men, would be as to publish to thieves, what jewels, monies, plate, and other goods, persons have in their houses, and in what places; or, when they are to travel, what monies or other goods they will take with them, to what place they go, which way, and with what company.

These registers would, in many fundamental things, subvert our common law; which is a sufficient reason to fear great evils from them.

11 Hen. 7. cap. 3. an act of parliament was made to put penal laws in execution by information, although without presentments or indictments by juries. It had as fair and flattering a preamble as any act for registers can have, to be for avoiding many mischiefs, which were to the high dishonour of God, to the great let of the common law, and to the great let of the wealth of the land; but it proved to be to the high dishonour of God, to the great let of the common law, and wealth of the land; and, on grievous complaints against it, was repealed, 1 Hen. 8. cap. 6; and hath been detested ever since.

If a council of law be examined as a witness upon oath, in a court of judicature, of the secrets of his client's estate, he is not bound to make any discovery of them. If he revealeth any thing in his client's deeds to his client's damage, our common law punisheth such a lawyer. By the common law, no purchaser for a valuable consideration is to be compelled to shew his deeds of purchase.

These registers would compel all persons to discover what was in their deeds; would give copies of all deeds to every person's adversary, to every attorney, solicitor, and rapinous person, whereby to make preys of the estates of honest and quiet persons.

One in a room perusing his deeds, another comes thither to him; the owner of the deeds, upon some sudden occasion, goeth out, and layeth the written side downwards; if, on his return, he finds the other person to have laid the written side upwards, Englishmen esteem this a great incivility; but, if he finds the other person taking copies of his deeds, it is insufferable.

Many men, who, not long since, declared their opinions for all deeds to be registered, both for the time past, and time to come, do now speak against the registering of deeds for the time past; some, I believe, from candour and ingenuity, being convinced of the mischiefs and inconveniences thereof; but such men are seriously to consider, that if they grant, that all persons should be compelled to register their deeds for the time to come, they would thereby be so far engaged, as hereafter not to resist to have all deeds registered for the time past. It will be pressed, that herein time past, and time to come, are links of the same chain, as, for one to be without the other, the chain would be broken and useless; it will be pressed, to try retrospect deeds for some few years past, and after for more years, and never rest until all be yielded; many will be persuaded to yield to further follies, to maintain the errors they have committed, rather than, by contracting, to shew their former weakness. Besides, on the same reasons for registering deeds of inheritance, to prevent frauds against purchasers and creditors, other deeds also must be registered, all leases for lives or years, the charges whereof would be insupportable by tenants; for, if registering deeds of lands would prevent such frauds, the registering of leases would prevent frauds from leases; and, in justice, it ought to be done, if the allegations for registering of deeds of lands of inheritance were true; else it would be permitted, that purchasers of leases, and creditors, on securities by leases, might be defrauded for any estates they should have by leases for lives or years.

We have yet no law which compels any person to record his deeds of purchase, covenants, or trusts. The statute 27 Hen. 8. cap. 16. for enrollment of deeds of bargain and sale, inviteth some, but forceth none; not one deed of an hundred is enrolled on that statute, wherein covenants or trusts are expressed.

No human wisdom can foresee to make laws to prevent all future frauds: when new frauds are invented and acted, new laws are to be made to suppress them. We have some good laws to avoid fraudulent conveyances, yet those laws are defective; registers cannot supply those defects: if registers should prevent one small fraud, they would raise twenty worse frauds.

It is worthy the wisdom of parliament, by some new laws to provide further for avoiding fraudulent conveyances, but without taking from us, by registers, the good laws we already have.

It is worthy of most serious consideration, that if these registers were settled by a law, that vast and wealthy body of register-officers would soon be able to raise and maintain great stocks of monies, whereby to gain more authority, and thereby more profit to themselves, by new laws concerning registers, and obstruct the passing of laws to take from them any powers or profits, although those powers and profits were common grievances to others; their wealth would enable them to gratify such as would be of their party, and to oppress others that were against them. It is probable that every principal register, and many of their clerks, would be members of the house of commons.

If the inconveniences, from register-offices, being in every county, should settle them in fewer places, as if into seven of the most convenient places for the subjects to resort unto from their respective habitations, then this kingdom would soon be under seven jurisdictions; every several register-office will necessitate, that a court of judicature be with it for superintendency on the management thereof, to determine questions as they should arise (which would be very many and daily) concerning mistakes, misunderstandings, and misentries, of clerk registers.

Several judicatures would introduce several rules and courses of proceeding; men would seldom buy or sell on credit, out of their own judicatures, when they did not know by what rules or courses of proceedings those transactions should be judged; they would be fearful of the influences which the inhabitants of the several jurisdictions would have on the judges and jurors in their several judicatures; which would break the commerce and trade which the several parts of this kingdom now have each with the other.

The union of our law, which is the unity for our common benefits, would be lost in our causes concerning our lands or goods, although the trials of matters of fact by juries are twice yearly in the several counties, to the great ease and benefit of the subjects; yet the judgments in points of law, on those trials, are in the courts of the King's-bench, Common-Pleas, and Exchequer, before the judges of those courts, learned in our laws; this keeps the law entire, and to be the same throughout the whole kingdom.

It cannot be foreseen how far those new judicatures would intrench on the entireness and interest of the monarchy of this kingdom: seven several judicatures, in seven several jurisdictions, might endanger endeavours for another heptarchy; the persons in the several jurisdictions would be so involved by their interests in the judgments given in their several judicatures, as to leave no means unattempted to maintain those judgments, and to be unquiet when proceedings should be against their persons or estates, elsewhere than in their own judicatures.

The British Ambassadors's Speech to the French King. (MS.)

The following was a manuscript in the Earl of Oxford's library, and in a few lines exposes the intrigues of the court, and the sad condition the church and nation were in, at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign: it may be, better, and more clearly, than has been ever done before.

“ **H**AIL, tricking Monarch! more successful far
In acts of peace, than glorious deeds of war:

As Anna's great Ambassadors I come,
 With news that will rejoice both you, and Rome.
 Ne'er did the French affairs so gaily smile
 These hundred years, as now in Britain's isle ;
 For there the spirit of blind delusion reigns,
 And spreads its fury o'er the stupid swains.
 The Lords, the Commons, and the Priests conspire
 To raise your power, and their own ruin, higher.
 Nay, even the Queen, with qualms of conscience prest,
 Seems to advance your cause above the rest.
 Her generous temper can't forget so soon
 The royal favours you have always done
 Both to her father, and his injur'd son ;
 And therefore is contriving every day,
 Her mighty debt of gratitude to pay.
 For you she has ceas'd the thunder of the war,
 Laid up her fleets, and left her channel bare ;
 For you the fighting Marlborough's disgrac'd,
 And in his room a peaceful general¹ plac'd ;
 For you she broke her word, her friends betray'd,
 With joy look'd on, and saw them² victims made.
 That pious Princess, when I left her court,
 The place where none but friends to you resort,
 Bid me go greet you in the kindest words,
 That the most sacred tie of love affords :
 And tell you that she mourns, with sacred pains,
 The mighty loss you've borne these ten campaigns.
 And therefore now resolves to give you more
 By this last treaty, than you had before ;
 And to its former height raise your declining power. }
 She knows she has no right the crown to wear,
 And fain would leave it to the lawful heir.
 In order to effect this grand design,
 And baffle all the H——n line,
 A set of ministers she lately chose ;
 To honour and their country equal foes :
 Wretches, whose indigence has made 'em bold,
 And will betray their native land for gold.
 Oxford's the chief of this abandon'd clan,
 Him you must court ; for he's the only man :
 Give him but gold enough, your work is done,
 He'll bribe the Senate, and then all's your own.
 Dartmouth and Bolingbroke are friends to you,
 Though 'tis not in their power much harm to do :
 But Oxford reigns prime-minister of state,
 Ruling the nation at a mighty rate ;
 And, like a conjurer with his magic wand,
 Does both the Parliament and Queen command :
 Keep but that wily trickster still your friend,
 He'll crown your wishes with a prosperous end.
 Now is your time to push for Britain's crown,
 And fix King James *the Third* upon the throne.

¹ Duke of Ormond.² Denain.

A powerful fleet prepare, you need no more,
But only land him on his native shore;
They'll soon depose the present reigning thing,
And, in her stead, proclaim you favourite King."

Thus spoke the gay Ambassadors; when straight
Up rose the tyrant from his chair of state:
With love transported, and a joyous air,
Within his trembling arms he clasp'd the fair.
That night, as fame reports, and some have heard,
A pompous bed was instantly prepar'd,
In which the Monarch and the Heroine lay,
And spent their hour in politicks and play.
The Duke o'erjoy'd, that his Italian dame
Could in so old a hero raise a flame,
With an ambitious pleasure, as 'tis said,
Led her, himself, unto the royal bed.

A Narrative of the wicked Plots carried on by Seignior Gondamore, for advancing the Popish Religion and Spanish Faction. Heartily recommended to all Protestants, by Richard Dugdale, Gent.

• Have no Fellowship with the unfruitful Works of Darkness, but rather reprove them; for it is a Shame even to speak of those Things, which are 'done of them in secret.' Ephes. v. 11, 12.

London, printed 1679.

[Folio, containing Sixteen Pages.]

The PREFACE.

Courteous Reader,

THIS following narrative has run all the hazards and risks of fortune; it breathed for a long time in the obscure shadow of a country and loyal divine's study; after the death of that worthy and eminent person (a relation to the great Earl of Strafford), it fell into the hands of one of his younger sons, who being a man of business, and a daily frequenter of Westminster-hall (that great mart and exchange of law), this lay bundled up, among some bundles of insignificant and worthless papers, till it pleased God to confine this gentleman to his chamber, by a distemper, which though it was so severe as to deny him to act abroad, yet it did not so at home. Under this imprisonment (for restraint is such to active spirits) he reviewed his long-neglected writings; and being unwilling, like the rabble of the town, to condemn and execute upon a bare presumption of guilt: he calls all to a single scrutiny and examination. The multitude here, as in the world, proved trash and refuse; only this manuscript, like Moses among the reeds, was preserved alive, because it was of

a very fair and beautiful countenance. Perils, and manifold sorts of death, attend writings as well as their authors : and God's Providence is as legible in the extraordinary preservation of useful and profitable books, as in raising up and protecting persons of invincible resolution and courage, to be the public instruments of the church's and kingdom's deliverance. Of this advantageous nature and consideration, I take these following sheets to be : for herein are evidently discoursed and unriddled the designs of the Spanish match, the stratagems of the comprehensive statesman Gondamore, and of his faithful adherents the Jesuits, for the introduction of his master's religion and empire, into these nations together. The negotiations betwixt Spain and Great-Britain were, in King James's reign, the unaccountable state-secrets and mysteries ; these exercised and distressed the combined heads and wits of our great council, raised the fears and jealousies of the people, and prepared them to entertain those groundless suggestions, which afterwards both gave rise and support to our late civil wars. The designs of the Catholick Bishop and monarch, in all these treaties of marriage, were to enslave us to a false and foppish religion, and a tyrannical government ; and, though pretences of commerce and friendship swam at the top, yet these were the great motives, which lay at the bottom. To compass these, perjuries and the violation of the marriage-oath with an heretical prince, would be a sacred and meritorious action ; and if the Antichristian Beast could be drawn in, as the giant did the cattle into his den, backward, and by the tail, it is no matter how much reason and morality is affronted : nay, his Holiness, out of the plenitude of his power, will indulge his faithfullest adherents to renounce even *in extremis*, at the very point of death, some essential and reproachful articles of their faith (as the lawfulness of deposing¹ kings and sovereign princes) that the whole system may with the less suspicion be glibly swallowed down and entertained. The dimensions of Hercules were exactly calculated by the measure of his foot ; and the magnitude of a limb may discover to the intelligent the true bulk of the symmetrical and well-built body ; and the horrid lies and immoralities, rapines and murders, assassinations and massacres, approved of in this small pamphlet, for the effecting of the Romish design, may sufficiently instruct such (of the villainous and pernicious nature of the whole) as have cast out the two devils of prejudice, and of a blind and implicit faith in that arch-fanatick of Europe, and divider of the kingdoms ; for he it is (and, for this lesson, I must acknowledge myself entirely indebted to this paper) who sows the tares of division betwixt the Gown-men of this nation ; sets the Lawyer to quarrel with the Divine ; the two Temples to deprecate the Church ; and Westminster-hall to envy the princely and magnificent structure of the Abbey. Read this discovery with seriousness, and I am confident it will prove very instructive in many important particulars. It was its misfortune to lie so long in obscurity, and so was it too to breathe first of all in air, infected with the stench of such an infinite number of puny, insect, and imperfect libels. Here is nothing in this but what is masculine ; the argument is weighty, the style passant and expressive, the discovery of the popish designs in that juncture of affairs clear and palpable ; and that it may be serviceable in this to the public weal, is the only design and hearty wish of him, who is

READER,

A hearty well-willer to the welfare
and prosperity of this Nation,

RICHARD DUGDALE.

HIS Catholic Majesty having given commandment, that presently upon the return of Seignior Gondamore, the Leiger Ambassador from England, a special meeting of the principal States of Spain, who were of his council, together with the presidents of the

¹ *Vid. Concil. Lateran. magnum sub Innocentio III. Can. 3^o. de Hæreticis*, where the legality of the Pope's power to depose princes is asserted, and this declaration thus authoritatively made (denied by the late dying conspirators) is a sufficient ground of faith, except they will grant the Catholic church, both representative and virtual, to be fallible ; which concession would stab popery in its vitals, and kill it at a blow.

council of Castile, of Arragon, of Italy, of Portugal, of the Indies, of the treasure of war, and especially of the holy Inquisition, should be held at Monson in Arragon, the Duke of Lerma being appointed president; who should make declaration of his Majesty's pleasure, take an account of the Ambassador's service, and consult, touching the state and religion respectively, to give satisfaction to his Holiness's Nuncio, who was desired to make one in this assembly, concerning overtures of peace and amity with the English, and other Catholic princes; which might engender suspicion and jealousy betwixt the Pope and his Majesty, if the mystery were not unfolded, and the ground of those counsels discovered aforehand. This made all men expect the Ambassador's return with a kind of longing, that they might behold the issue of this meeting, and see what good for the Catholic cause the Ambassador's employment had effected in England, answerable to the general opinion, received of his wisdom, and what further project would be set on foot to become matter for public discourse.

At length he arrived, and had present notice given him from his Majesty, that before he came to court, he should give up his account to this assembly; which command he gladly received, as an earnest of his acceptable service; and gave thanks, that for his honour he might publish himself in so judicious a presence.

He came first upon the day appointed to the council-chamber; not long after all the council of state and the president met; there wanted only the Duke of Lerma and the Pope's Nuncio, who were the head and feet of all the assembly. These two staid long away for divers respects: the Nuncio, that he might express the greatness of his master, and lose the see of Rome no respect by his oversight, but that the benches might be full at his approach: the Duke of Lerma, to express the authority and dignity of his own person, and to shew how a servant, put in place of his master, exacts more service of his fellow-servants than the master himself.

These two staid till all the rest were weary of waiting; but at length the Nuncio, supposing all the council sat, launched forth and came to road in the council-chamber, where, after mutual discharge of duty from the company, and blessing upon it from him, he sat down in solemn silence; grieving at his oversight, when he saw the Duke of Lerma absent, with whom he strove as a competitor for pomp and glory.

The Duke had sent before, and understood of the Nuncio's being there, and staid something the longer, that his boldness might be observed; wherein he had his desire; for the Nuncio, having a-while patiently driven away the time, with several compliments to several persons, had now almost run his patience out of breath; but the Duke of Villa Hermosa (president of the council of Arragon) fed his humour by the discharge of his own discontentment, upon the occasion of the Duke of Lerma's absence, and beckoned Seignior Gondamore to him, using this speech in the hearing of the Nuncio, after a sporting manner: "How unhappy are the people, where you have been! First, for their souls, being hereticks; then for their estates, where the name of a favourite is so familiar. How happy is our estate! where the keys of life and death are so easily come by, (pointing at the Nuncio,) hanging at every religious girdle, and where the door of justice and mercy stand equally open to all men, without respect of persons." The Ambassador knew the ironical stroke to be intended as a by-blow to the Nuncio, but fully at the Duke of Lerma (whose greatness began now to wax heavy towards declension), and therefore he returned this answer: "Your Excellency knoweth the state is happy, where wise favourites govern kings, if the kings themselves be foolish, or if the wiser sort will not yet be governed by them; the state of England (howsoever you hear of it in Spain or Rome) is so happy in the last kind, that they need not care much what the favourite be, (though, for the most part, he be such as prevents all suspicion in that kind, being rather chose as a scholar to be taught, than a tutor to teach;) of this they are sure, no prince exceeds theirs in personal abilities, so that nothing could be added to him in my wish, but this one, he were our vassal and a Catholick."

With that, the noise without gave notice of the Duke of Lerma's entrance, at whose first approach the whole house arose, though some later than others, as if some had hung

plummets on them, to keep them down; the Nuncio only sat unremoved. The Duke received the obeisance of the rest with a familiar kind of carriage too high for courtesy, as one not neglecting such demeanours, but expecting it; and, after a filial observance to the Pope's Nuncio, sat down as president under the cloth of state, but somewhat lower; then, after a space given for admiration, preparation, and attention :

The President's Speech, requiring the Ambassador to give an Account of his Plots and wicked Intrigues against England, and what Success he met with.

THE King my master (holding it more honourable to do, than to discourse, to take from you the expectation of oratory, used rather in schools and pulpits than in councils) hath appointed me president in this holy, wise, learned, and noble assembly; a man naturally of a slow speech, and not desirous to quicken it by art or industry, as holding action only proper to a Spaniard, as I am by birth; to a soldier, as I am by profession; to a king, as I am by representation: take this therefore briefly for a declaration, both for the cause of this meeting, and my master's further pleasure.

There hath been at all times, from the world's foundation, one chief commander or monarch upon the earth; this needs no further proof than a back-looking into our own memories and histories of the world: neither now is there any question (except with infidels and hereticks) of that one chief commander in spirituals, in the unity of whose person, the members of the visible church are included; but there is some doubt of the chief commander in temporals, who (as the moon, to the sun) might govern by night, as this by day, and by the sword of justice compel to come in, or cut off, such as infringe the authority of the keys. This hath been so well understood long since, by the infallible chair, as that thereby, upon the declension of the Roman emperors, and the increase of Rome's spiritual splendour, (who thought it unnatural, that their suns should be sub-lunary,) our nation was by the bishop of Rome selected, before other people, to conquer and rule other nations with a rod of iron; and our kings, to that end, adorned with the style of "Catholic kings," as a name above all names under the sun; which is, under God's vicar-general himself, the Catholic bishop of souls. To instance this point, by comparison; look first upon the Grand Seignior, the great Turk, who hath a large title, but not universal; for, besides that he is an infidel, his command is confined within his own territories, and he is not styled Emperor of the world, but of the Turks, and of their vassals only. Among Christians, the Defender of the Faith, was a glorious style, whilst the king, to whom it was given by his Holiness, continued worthy of it; but he stood not in the truth, neither yet those that succeeded him: and besides, it was no great thing to be called, what every good Christian ought to be, "Defender of the Faith," no more than to be styled, with France, "the most Christian King," wherein he hath the greatest part of his title common with most Christians. The emperors of Russia, Rome, and Germany, extend not their limits further than their styles, which are local; only my master, "the most Catholic King," is for the dominion of bodies, as the universal bishop for the dominion of souls, over all that part of the world, which we call America (except where the English intruders usurp) and the greatest part of Europe; with some part of Asia and Africa, by actual possession, and over all the rest, by realand indubitable right, yet acknowledgeth his right to be derived from the free and fatherly donation of his Holiness; who, as the sun to the moon, bestows lustre by reflection, to this kingdom, to this king of kings, my master. What therefore he hath, howsoever gotten, he may keep and hold; what he can from any other king or commander, by any stratagem of war or pretence of peace, he may take; for it is theirs only by usurpation, except they hold of him, from whom all civil power is derived, as ecclesiastical from his Holiness. What the ignorant call treason, if it be on his behalf, is truth; if against him, it is treason. And thus, all our peace, our war, our treaties, marriages, or whatsoever intendment else of ours, aims at this principal end, to get the whole possession of the world, and to reduce

all to unite under our temporal head, that our King may truly be, what he is styled, the Catholick and Universal King." As faith therefore is universal, and the truth universal, yet so, as they be under our head, the Pope; whose seat is, and must necessarily be, at Rome, where St. Peter sat; so must all men be subject to our and their Catholic King, whose particular seat is here in Spain. He is universal every where, and almost made natural; so that by a key of gold, by intelligence, or by way of confession, my master is able to unlock the secrets of every prince, and to withdraw their subjects' allegiance, as if they knew themselves more my master's subjects in truth, than theirs, whom their birth hath taught to miscall sovereigns. We see this in France and in England, and especially, where all at once they learn to obey the church of Rome, as their mother; to acknowledge the Catholic King, as their father; and to hate their own King, as an heretick and usurper. So we see religion and the state coupled together; laugh and weep, flourish and fade, and participate of either's fortunes, as growing upon one stock of policy. I speak this the more boldly in this presence; because, I speak here before none but natives, persons who are partakers, both in themselves, and issues of the triumphs, above all those of ancient Rome, and therefore, such (as besides their oaths) it concerns to be secret: neither need we refrain this freedom of speech from the Nuncio's presence; because, besides that he is a Spaniard by birth, he is also a Jesuit by profession, an order raised by the providence of God's vicar, to accomplish this monarchy the better; all of them being appropriate thereunto, and as public agents and privy-counsellors to this end; wherein the wisdom of the state is to be beheld with admiration: that as in temporal war, it employs, or at least trusts none, but natives in Castile, Portugal, and Arragon; so, in spirituals, it employs none but Jesuits, and so employs them, that they are generally reputed (how remote soever they are from us, how much soever obliged to others,) still to be ours, and still to be of the Spanish faction; though they be Polonians, English, French, and residing in the countries or courts. The penitent therefore, and all with whom they deal and converse in their spiritual traffick, must needs be so too; and so our Catholic King must needs have an invisible kingdom, and an unknown number of subjects in all dominions, who will shew themselves and their faith, by their works of disobedience, whensoever we shall have occasion to use their jesuitical virtue and policy. This therefore, being the principal end of all our counsels (according to those holy directions of that late pious King, Philip the Second, to his son succeeding) to advance the Catholic Roman religion, and the Catholic Spanish dominion, together: we are now met by his Majesty's command to take an account of you, Seignior Gondamore, who have been ambassador for England, to see what good you have effected there, towards the advancement of this work; and what further projects shall be thought fit to be set on foot to this end: and this briefly is the occasion of our meeting.

Then the Ambassador, (who attended bare-headed all the time) with a low obeisance, began thus:

THIS laudable custom of our King, in bringing all officers to such an account, where a review is taken of good and bad services, upon the determination of their employments, resembles those Roman triumphs appointed for their soldiers; and, as in them it provoked to courage, so in us it stirs up to diligence: our master converseth by his agents with all the world, yet with none of more regard than the English, where matter of such diversity is presented, (through the several humours of the states, and those of our religion and faction,) that no instruction can be sufficient for such negociations; but much must be left in trust to the discretion, judgment, and diligence of the incumbent. I speak this, not for my own glory, (I having been restrained, and therefore deserved meanly;) but to forewarn on the behalf of others, that there may be more scope allowed them to deal

in, as occasion shall require. Briefly this rule, delivered by his Excellency, was the card and compass, by which I sailed, "to make profit of all humours, and by all means to advance the state of the Romish faith and Spanish faction together, upon all advantages of oaths and the breach of them." For this is an old observation, and a true one; that for piety to Rome, his Holiness did not only give, but bless us, in the conquest of the new world; and thus, in our pious observance, we hope still to be conquerors of the old: and, to this end, whereas his Excellency in his excellent discourse seems to extend our outward forces and private aims, only against hereticks, and to restrain them with true amity, with these of the Romish religion; this I affirm, that, since there can be no security, but such princes, though now Romish Catholicks, may turn hereticks hereafter, my aims have ever been to make profit of all, and to make my master master of all, who is a faithful and constant son of his mother Rome; and to this end, I beheld the endeavours of our kings of happy memory, how they have atchieved kingdoms and conquests by this policy, rather than by open hostility, and that without difference, as well from their allies and kinsfolks, men of the same religion and profession; such as were those of Naples, France, and Navarre, though I do not mention Portugal, now united to us, nor Savoy, that hardly fled from us, as of an adverse and heretical faith; neither is this rule left off, as the present kingdom of France, the state of Venice, the Low-countries, and Bohemia, now all labouring for life under our plots, apparently manifest: this way therefore I bent my engines in England, as your honours shall particularly hear; I shall not need to repeat a catalogue of the services I have here done, because this state hath been acquainted with many of them heretofore, by intercourse of letters and messengers; these only I will speak of that I have of late done, since the return of the Lord Roos from hence, and may seem most directly to tend to those ends formerly propounded by his Excellency, that is, the advancement of the Spanish state and Romish religion together. First, it is well observed by the wisdom of our state, that the King of England, who is otherwise one of the most accomplished princes that ever reigned, extremely hunts after peace, and so affects the true name of a Peace-maker, as that for it he will do or suffer any thing; and withal, they have beheld the general bounty and munificence of his mind, and necessity of the state so exhausted, as it is unable to supply his desires, who seeks to have that he may give to others; upon these advantages they have given out directions and instructions both to me and others, and I have observed them as far as I was able.

And, for this purpose, whereas there was a marriage propounded betwixt them and us; howsoever I suppose our state too devout to deal with hereticks in this kind in earnest, yet I made that a cover for much intelligence, and a means to obtain what I desired, whilst the state of England longed after the marriage, hoping thereby, though vainly, to settle peace, and fill the Exchequer.' Here the Archbishop of Toledo, Inquisitor-general, stepped up and interrupted Gondamore, saying, "That marriage was not to be thought on; first, for religion's sake, lest they should endanger the soul of the young lady, and the rest of her company might become hereticks. Secondly, for the state, lest by giving so large a portion to hereticks, they should enrich and enable themselves for war, and impoverish and weaken the Catholicks."

To the first objection the Pope's Nuncio answered, "That his Holiness, for the Catholic cause, would dispense with the marriage; and urged these following reasons:—First, That there was a valuable danger, in the hazarding of one for the gaining of many, perhaps of all. Secondly, That it was no hazard, since women (especially young ones) are too obstinate to be removed from their opinions; and abler to win Solomon to their opinions, than Solomon to work them to his faith. Thirdly, It was great advantage to match with such, from whom they might break at pleasure, having the Catholic cause for a colour: and besides, if need were, to be at liberty in all respects, since there was no faith to be kept with hereticks; and, if his Holiness may dispense with the murder of such, and dispose of their crowns, (as what good Catholick doubts but he may?) much more he may, and will he, in their marriages, to prevent the leprosy-seed of heresy, and to settle

Catholic blood in the chair of state." To the second objection, the Ambassador himself answered, saying, ' That, though the English generally loathed the match, and would (as he thought) buy it off with half their estates, hating the nation of Spain, and their religion, (as appears by an uproar and assault a day or two before his departure from London, by the apprentices, being greedy to vent their own spleen, in doing him, or any of his, a mischief;) yet two sorts of people unmeasurably desired the match might proceed. First, the begging and beggarly courtiers, that they might have to furnish their wants. Secondly, the Romish Catholicks, who hoped thereby, at least, for a moderation of fines, and laws; perhaps a toleration; and perhaps, a total restoration of their religion in England; in which regard (quoth he) I have known some zealous persons protest, that if all their friends, and half their estates, could procure the service of our Lady, if she came to be married with the Prince; they would use the means faithfully to fight under her colours, when they might safely do it: and, if it came to portion, they would underhand contribute largely of their estates to the Spanish collector, and make up half the portion of themselves, perhaps more. So by this marriage it might be so wrought, that the state should be rather robbed and weakened (which is our aim) than strengthened, as the English vainly hope; besides, in a small time they should work so far in the body of the state by buying offices, and the like, either by sea or land; of justice, civil or ecclesiastical, in church or state (all being for money exposed to sale); that with the help of Jesuits they would undermine with mere wit (without gunpowder) and leave the King but a few subjects, whose faith he might rely upon, while they were of a faith adverse to his: for what Catholic body, that is sound at the heart, can abide a corrupt and heretical head, or ruler?' With that the Duke Medina des Rio Setto, president of the council of war, and of the council of state, rose up and said, " His predecessors had felt the force and wit of the English, in 88, and he had cause to doubt the Catholicks themselves that were English, and fully jesuited, upon any foreign nation, would rather take part with their own King, though an heretick, than with his Catholic Majesty a stranger."

The Ambassador desired him to be of another mind, since, first, for their persons, generally their bodies, by long disuse for arms, were disabled, and their minds effeminated, by peace and luxury, far from what they were in 88, when they were fleshed in our blood, and made haughty in customary conquests; ' and for the affection of those whom they call Recusants (quoth he) I know the bitterness of their inveterate malice; and have seen so far into their natures, as, I dare say, they will be for Spain against all the world; yea, (quoth he) I assure your Honours, I could not imagine so basely of their King and state, as I have heard them speak: nay, their rage hath so perverted their judgments, that what I myself have seen and heard from their King beyond admiration, even to astonishment; they have slighted, misreported, scorned, and perverted to his disgrace, and my rejoicing, magnifying in the mean time our defect for grace.'

Here the Duke Pastrane, president of the council for Italy, stepped up and said, " He had lately read a book of one Cambden's, called his ' Annals;' wherein writing of a treaty of a marriage long since, between English Elizabeth, and the French Duke of Anjou; he there observes, that the marriage was not seriously intended on either side, but politically pretended by both states, counterchangeably, that each might effect their own ends: there the English had the better; and I have some cause to doubt, (since they can dissemble, as well as we,) that they have their aims underhand as well as we, and intend the match as little as we do; and this (quoth he) I believe the rather, because the King, as he is wise to consult and consider, so he is a constant master of his word, and hath written and given strong reasons against matches made with persons of contrary religion; which reasons no other man can answer: and therefore doubtless he will not go from, nor counsel his son to forsake those rules laid down so deliberately."

' Your Excellency mistakes, (quoth the Ambassador). The advantage was then on the side of the English, because the Frenchmen sought the match; now it must be upon ours, because the English seek it, who will grant any thing, rather than break off: and besides, they have no patience to temporize and dissemble, in this or any other design, as the

' French long since have well observed; for their necessities will give them neither time nor rest, nor hope elsewhere to be supplied. As for their King, I cannot search into his heart, I must believe others that presume to know his mind, hear his words, and read his writings, and these relate what I have delivered. But, for the rest of the people, as the number of those that are truly religious, are ever the least; for the most part, of least account; so is it there, where, if an equal opposition be made betwixt their truly religious and ours, the remainder will be the greatest number, and will stand indifferent, and 'fall to the greatest side, where there is most hope of gain and glory; for those two are the gods of the magnitude, and of the multitude. Now these see apparently no certain supplies for their wants but from us.'

" Yes, (quoth the Duke,) for even now you said the general state, loathing the match, would redeem the fear thereof, with half their estates. It is therefore but calling a parliament, and the business were soon effected." ' A parliament! (quoth the Ambassador,) nay, therein lies one of the principal services I have done, in working such a dislike between the King and the Lower-house, by the endeavours of that honourable Earl and admirable engine, a sure servant to us, and the cause, whilst he lives, that the King will never endure a parliament again; but rather suffer absolute want, than receive conditional relief from his subjects. The matter was so curiously carried the last parliament, that is, in the Powder-plot; the fact effected should have been imputed to the Puritans, the greatest zealots of the Calvinian sect; so the propositions, which dam up the proceedings of this parliament, howsoever they were invented by Roman Catholicks, and by them invented to disturb that session, yet were propounded in favour of the Puritans, as if they had been hammered in their forge, which very name and shadow the King hates: it being a sufficient aspersion to disgrace any person, to say he is such; and a sufficient bar to stop any suit, and utterly to cross it, to say it smells of, or inclines to that party. Moreover, there are so many about him which blow this coal, fearing their own states. If a parliament should enquire into their actions, they use all their art and industry to withstand such a council; persuading the King he may rule by his absolute prerogative, without a parliament; and thus furnish himself by a marriage with us, and by other domestic projects, without subsidies, when leaving off subsidies and taxes hath been the only use princes have made of such. And whereas some free minds among them, resembling our nobility, who prefer the privilege of subjects against sovereign invasion, call for the course of the common law, a law proper to their nation; there are other time-servers cry the laws down, and up the prerogative; whereby they prey upon the subjects by their suits and exactions, mulct the state, and keep it poor; procure themselves much suspicion amongst the better and judicious sort, and hate amongst the oppressed commons. And yet, if there should be a parliament, such a course is taken, as they shall never choose their shire knights and burgesses freely, who make the better half of the body thereof: for these, being to be elected by most voices of the free-holders, in the county where such elections are to be made, are carried which way the great persons, who have lands in these countries, please; who, by their letters, command their tenants, followers, and friends, to nominate such as adhere to them; and, for the most of them, are our faction, and respect their own benefit and gain, rather than their country's good: yea, the country people themselves will every one stand for the great man, their lord, or neighbour, or master, without regard of his honesty, wisdom, and religion. That which they aim at, (as I am assured by faithful intelligence,) is to please their landlords, and to renew their lease; in which regard, they will betray their country and religion too, and elect any man that may most profit their particular. Therefore it is unlikely there should be a parliament, and impossible the King's debts should be paid, his wants sufficiently repaired, and left himself full-handed by such a course: and indeed, as it is generally thought, by any other course than with a marriage with us; for which cause, whatsoever project, we list to attempt, enters safely at the door, whilst their policy lies asleep, and will not see the danger. I have made trial of these particulars, and found few exceptions in these general rules; thereby I, and their own

wants together, have kept them from furnishing their navy, which (being the wall of their island, and once the strongest in Christendom) lies now at road, unarmed, and fit for ruin. If ever we doubted their strength by sea, now we need not; there are but few ships or men able to look abroad, or to live in a storm, much less in a sea-fight. This I effected by buzzing in their ears, The furnishing a navy bred suspicion in my master, and so would avert his mind from this match; the hope of which, rather than they would lose, they would almost lose their hope of heaven.

Secondly. All their voyages to the East-Indies I permitted, rather with a colourable resistance, than a serious; because I see them not helpful, but hurtful to the state in general; carrying out gold and silver, and bringing home spice, silks, feathers, and such like toys; an insensible wasting the common stock of coin and bullion, whilst it fills the custom-house, and some private houses, who thereby are unable to keep this commodity on foot, by bribes especially, so many great persons being venturers and sharers in the gain; besides, this wasteth the mariners, not one of ten returning; which I am glad to hear, for they are the men we stand in fear of. As for the West-Indian voyages, I withstood them in earnest; because they began to inhabit there, and to fortify themselves, and may, in time, there perhaps raise another England to withstand a New-Spain in America; as this old England opposeth our state, and clouds the glorious extent thereof in Europe. Besides, there they trade for commodities, without waste of their treasure, and often return gold for knives, glasses, or the like trifles, without such loss of their mariners as in other places; therefore I crossed whatsoever intendments were projected for Virginia or Bermudas; because they may be hereafter really helpful unto them, as now they serve for drains to unload their populous state, which else would overthrow its own banks by a continuance of peace, and turn head upon itself, or make a body fit for any rebellion: and so far I prevailed therein, as I caused most of the Recusants, who were to go thither, to withdraw their ventures, and discourage the work: so that, besides private persons, unable to effect much, nothing was done by the public purse. And we know by experience, such voyages and plantations are not effected without great means, to satisfy great difficulties; and, with an unwearied resolution and power, to meet all hazards and distastes, with strong help and continual supplies, or else the undertaking proves idle. By this means also I kept the voluntary forces from Venice, until it was almost too late to set out, and had hoped that work should have broken forth to action, before these would have arrived to succour them. I put hard for the cautionary towns, which our late Philip, of happy memory, so much aimed at, accounting them the keys of the Low-countries, that they might be delivered to his Catholic Majesty, as to the proper owner; and had perhaps prevailed, but that the professed enemy to our state and church (who died shortly after) gave counsel to restore them to the rebellious states, as one that knew popular commonwealths to be better neighbours, safer friends, and less dangerous than monarchs; and so by this practice wrested from my hands, and furnished the Exchequer from thence, for that time. Neither was I much grieved; because the dependency they had before on the English seemed to be cut off, and the interest that the English had in them to be taken away; which must now fully and finally be effected; before we can either hope to conquer them, or England; who, holding together, are too strong for the world at sea, and therefore must be disunited, before they can be overcome. This point of state is acknowledged by our experienced pensioner and sure friend, Monsieur Barnevelt, whose succeeding plots to this end shall bear witness for the depth of his judgment.

But the last service, I did in the state, was not the least; when I underwrought that admirable engine, Raleigh, and was the cause his voyage (threatening much danger to us) was overthrown, and himself returning in disgrace. I pursued him almost to death; neither, I hope, need I say *almost*, if all things hit right, and all things hold; but the determination of my commission would not permit me longer to stay to follow him to execution; which I desired the rather, that by confession I might have wrung, from the inconsiderable English, an acknowledgment of my master's right in those places, punish-

ing him for attempting there, though he might prescribe for the first foot. And this I did to stop their mouths hereafter, and because I would quench the heat and valour of that nation, that none should dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardy to look out at sea, or breathe upon our coast.

And, lastly, because I would bring to an ignominious death that old pirate, who is one of the last now living, bred under that deceased English virago², and, by her, fleshed in our ruin. To do this, I had many agents:

First, Divers courtiers, who were hungry, and gaped wide for Spanish gold.

Secondly, Some that bare him a grudge at heart for inveterate quarrels.

Thirdly, Some foreigners, who, having in vain sought the elixir hitherto, hoped to find it in his head.

Fourthly, All men of the Romish faith, who are of the Spanish faction, and would have been my blood-hounds to hunt him or any such to death willingly, as persons hating the prosperity of their country, and the valour, worth, and wit of their own nation, in respect of us and our Catholic cause.

Lastly, I left behind me such an instrument, composed artificially of a secular understanding and a religious profession, as he is every way adapted to screw himself into the closet of the heart, and to work upon feminine lenity; who, in that country, have masculine spirits to command and pursue their plots unto death. This, therefore, I count as done, and rejoice in it; knowing it to be very profitable to us, grateful to our faction there; and, for the rest, what though it be a cross to the people, or that clergy? We, that only negotiate for our own gain, and treat about this marriage for our own ends, can conclude or break off, when we see our own time, without respect of such as can neither profit us, nor hurt us. For I have certain knowledge, that the commons generally are so effeminate and cowardly, that at their musters (which are seldom, or sleight, only for the benefit of their muster-masters) of a thousand soldiers scarce an hundred dare discharge a musquet; and, of that hundred, scarce one can use it like a soldier. And as for their arms, they are so ill provided, that one corslet serves many men; when such, as use their arms upon a day in one place, lend them to their friends in other places, to shew them, when they have use; and this, if it be spied, is only punished with a mulct in the purse, which is the officer's aim; who, for his advantage, winketh at the rest, and is glad to find and cherish by connivance profitable faults, which increase his revenue. Thus stands the state of that poor miserable country, which had never more people, and fewer men; so that, if my master would resolve upon an invasion, the time never fits as at this present, security of this marriage, and disuse of arms, having cast them into a deep sleep; a strong and weakening faction being ever amongst them, ready to assist us; and they being unprovided of ships and arms, or hearts to fight; an universal discontentment filling all men. This have I from their muster-masters and captains, who are, many of them, of our religion, or of none, and so ours, ready to be bought and sold, and desirous to be my master's servants in fee. Thus much for the state particularly; wherein I have bent myself to weaken them, and strengthen us, and in all these have advanced the Catholic cause, but especially in procuring favours for all such as favour that side, and crossing the other by all means. And this I practised myself, and give out to be generally practised by all others, that whatsoever success I find, I still boast of victory: which I do to dishearten the hereticks, and to make them suspicious one of another, especially of their prince and of their best statesmen; and to keep our own in courage, who by this means increase, but would otherwise be in danger to decay.

Now, for religion, and for such designs as fetch their pretence from thence, I beheld the policy of that late bishop of theirs (Bancroft) who stood up and maintained dangerous schism between our secular priests and jesuits; whereby he discovered much weakness, to the dishonour of our clergy, and prejudice to our cause. This taught me, as it

² [Queen Elizabeth.]

did Barnevelt in the Low-countries, to work secretly and insensibly between the Conformist and Nonconformist; and to cast an eye as far as the Orcades, knowing that business might be stirred up there, that might hinder proceedings in England, and so to prevent their conquest. The effect you have partly seen in the Earl of Argyle, who sometime was captain for the King and Church, against the Marquis Huntley; and now fights under our banner at Brussels, leaving the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew for the staff of St. James.

Neither do our hopes end here; for we daily expect more revolters, at least such a disunion, as will never admit solid reconciliation, but will send some to us, and some to Amsterdam. For the King, a wise and vigilant prince, labouring for a perfect union betwixt both the kingdoms, which he seeth cannot be effected, where the least ceremony of religion is continued, divers sharp and bitter brawls from thence arising; whilst some, striving for honour more than for truth, prefer their own way and will before the general peace of the church, and the edification of souls. He, I say, seeks to work an uniformity betwixt both churches, and to this end made a journey into Scotland, but with no such success as he expected; for divers of ours attended the train, and stirred up humours and factions, and cast in scruples and doubts, to hinder and cross the proceeding. Yea, those that seem most averse to us, and averse to our opinions, (by their disobedience and example,) helped forward our plots; and these are encouraged by a faction and heady multitude, by a false and irresolute clergy (many false brethren being amongst the bishops), and by the prodigal nobility, who maintain these stirs in the church, that thereby they may keep the church-livings in their hands, which they have most sacrilegiously seized upon, in the time of the first deformation³, and which, they fear, would be returned by the clergy, if they could be brought to peace and agreement. For, if they have seen the King very bountiful in this kind, having lately increased their pensions, and settled on the clergy a competent maintenance; and, besides, out of his own means, (which, in that kingdom, is none of the greatest,) having brought in and restored whole bishopricks to the church, which were before in laymen's hands; a great part of the nobility's estates consisting of spiritual lands; which makes them cherish the Puritanical faction, who will be content to be trencher-fed with scraps, and crumbs, and contributions, and arbitrary benevolences from the lairds⁴, and lords, and ladies, and their adherents and followers.

“But, (quoth the Inquisitor-general,) now if this act of the King, wherein he is most earnest and constant, should so prevail, as it should effect a perfect union, both in church and commonweal: I tell you, it would, in my conceit, be a great blow to us, if, by a general meeting, a general peace should be concluded, and all their forces bent against Rome; and we see their politic King aims at this.”

True, (quoth Gondamore,) but he takes his mark amiss; howsoever, he understands the people, and their inclination, better than any man, and better knows how to temper their passions and affections; for (besides that he is hindered there in Scotland, underhand, by some, for the reasons before recited, and by other great ones of ours, who are in great places and authority amongst them) he is likewise deluded in this point by his own clergy at home in England, who pretend to be most in the cause; for they considering, if a general uniformity were wrought, what an inundation would follow, whilst all, or most of theirs, as they fear, would flock hither for preferment, (as men pressing to the sun for light and heat,) and so their own should be unprovided: these, therefore, I say, howsoever they bear the King in hand, or underhand against it, and stand for all ceremonies to be obtruded with a kind of absolute necessity, upon them, when the other will not be almost drawn to receive any, when, if an abatement were made, doubtless, they might be drawn to insert in the midst; but there is no hopes of this with them, where neither part deals seriously, but only for the present to satisfy the King; and so

³ Meaning the reformation of the church, under King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth.

⁴ Gentlemen of estates.

‘ there is no fear on our side, that affections and opinions so divers will ever be reconciled and made one. The bishop of St. Andrews stands almost alone in the cause, and pulls upon himself the labour, the loss, and the envy of all, with little proficiency; whilst the adverse faction have as sure friends, and as good intelligence about the King as he hath; and the same post, that perhaps brings a packet from the King to him, brings another from their abettors to them, acquainting them with the whole proceedings and counsels, and preparing them aforehand for opposition. This I know for truth, and this I rejoice in, as concerning much the Catholic good.’ “ But (quoth the Nuncio) are there none of the heretical preachers busy about this match? Methinks their fingers should itch to be writing, and their tongues burn to be prating of this business, especially the puritanical sort, howsoever the most temperate and indifferent carry themselves.” ‘ The truth is, my Lord, (quoth the Ambassador,) that privately what they can, and publicly what they dare, both in England and Scotland, all, for the most part, except such as are of our faith, oppose this match to the utmost, by prayers, counsels, speeches, and wishes; but, if one be found longer-tongued than his fellows, we have still means to charm their sauciness, to silence them, and expel them the court; to disgrace them, and cross their preferment with the imputation of pragmatic puritanism. For instance, I will relate this one particular; a doctor of theirs, and a chaplain in ordinary to the King, gave many reasons in a letter, against this marriage; and propounded a way, how to supply the King’s wants otherways; which I understanding, so wrought underhand, that the doctor was committed, and hardly escaped the danger of his presumptuous admonition, though the state knew his intent honest, and his reasons good: whereas we, on the other side, both here and with the Archduke, have books penned and pictures printed, directly against their King and state, for the which their ambassadors have sought satisfaction of us in vain; not being able to stay the print, or so much as to touch the hem of the author’s garment. But we have an evasion, which hereticks miss; our clergy being freed from the temporal sword, and so not included in our treaties and conditions of peace, but at liberty to give any heretical prince the slip, when they list; whereas theirs are liable to account and hazard; and are muzzled for barking, when ours may both bark and bite too: the council-table and the Star-chamber do so terrify them, as they dare not riot, but run at the stirrop with excellent command, and come in at the least rebuke. They call their preaching in many places ‘ standing up;’ but they crouch, and dare not stand up, behaving themselves like sitters silent; creeping upon their bellies, lick the dust, which our priests shake from their beautiful feet.’ “ Now, (quoth the Duke of Lerma,) satisfy me about our own clergy, how they fare; for there were here petitions made to the King in the name of the distressed, afflicted, persecuted, and imprisoned priests, that his Majesty would intercede for them, to free them from the intolerable burthens they groaned under, and to procure them their liberties, and letters were directed from us to that end, that you would negotiate that demand with all speed and diligence.”

‘ Most excellent prince, (replied Gondamore,) I did your command with a kind of command myself, not thinking it fit to make it a suit in your name, or my master’s; I obtained them liberty to walk freely up and down, to face and outface their accusers, judge, magistrates, bishops; and to exercise their function, almost as freely, altogether as safely, as at Rome.’

Here the Nuncio replied, “ That he did not well in his judgment, in procuring their liberty; since they might do more good in prison than abroad; because in prison they seemed to be under persecution, and so were pitied of others, and pity of the person prepares the affection further: besides, then they were careful over their own lives to give none offence, but abroad they might be scandalous in their lives; as they use to be in Rome and Spain, and other Catholic countries; and so the opinion of their holiness, which upholds their credit and cause against the married clergy, would soon decay.”

But the Ambassador answered, ‘ He considered those inconveniences; but besides, a superior advantage arose from the profit of liberty, more than restraint; for now they

might freely confer, and were ever practising, and would doubtless produce some work of wonder; and besides, by reason of their authority, and means to change places, did apply themselves to many persons, whereas in prison they could only deal with such as came to be taught, and were their own before; and this (quoth he) add as a secret, that as before they were maintained by private contributions to denounce Catholicks even to access; so much more now shall they be able to gather great sums to weaken the state and furnish them for some high attempt, by the example of Cardinal Woolsey, barrelling up gold for Rome; and this they may easily do, since all Catholicks rob the heretical priests, and hold tithes from them by fraud and force, to give to theirs of their own, to whom it is properly due; and, if this be spied, it is an easy matter to lay all upon the Hollander, and say, 'He carrieth the coin out of the land,' (who are forward indeed in such practices,) and so ours shall not only be excused, but a flaw made betwixt them, to weaken their amities, and to get suspicion betwixt them of each other's love.'

"But amongst all these priests (quoth the Inquisitor-general) did you remember, that old reverend father Baldwin, who had a finger in that admirable attempt made on our behalf against the parliament-house? Such as he, deserving so rightly, adventuring their lives so resolutely for the Catholic cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby to encourage others to the like undertaking."

'Holy father, (quoth Gondamore,) my principal care was of him, whose life and liberty when I had with much difficulty obtained of the King, I solemnly went in person, attended with my train, and divers other well-willers, to fetch him out of the Tower, where he was in durance. As soon as I came into his sight, I behaved myself after so lowly and humble a manner, that our adversaries stood amazed to see the reverence we gave to our ghostly fathers; and this I did, to confound them and their contemptuous clergy, to beget an extraordinary opinion of holiness in the person, and piety in us, and also to provoke the English Catholicks to the like devout obedience; that thereby, at any time, their Jesuits (whose authority was somewhat weakened since the schism betwixt them and the seculars, and the succeeding powder-plot) may work them to our ends; as masters their servants, tutors their scholars, fathers their children, kings their subjects; and that they may do this the more boldly and securely, I have somewhat dashed the authority of their high-commission; upon which whereas there are divers pursuivants (men of the worst kind and condition, resembling our flies and familiars⁵ attending upon the Inquisition) whose office and employment is to disturb the Catholicks, searching their houses for priests, holy vestments, books, beads, crucifixes, and the like religious appurtenances. I have caused the execution of their offices to be slackened, that so an open way may be given to our spiritual instruments, for the free exercise of their faculties. And yet, when these pursuivants were in greatest authority, a small bribe in the country would blind their eyes, or a little greater at court, or in the exchequer, frustrate and cross all their actions; for that their malice went off like squibs, made a great crack to fright children and new-born babes, but hurt no old men of Catholic spirits. And this is the effect of all other their courses of proceedings in this kind, in all their judicial courts; whether known Catholicks committed, (as they style them,) or often summoned and cited, threatened and bound over: but the danger is past, so soon as the officer hath his fee paid him; then the execution goeth no further. Nay, upon my conscience, they are as glad, when there are offenders in that kind; because they are bountiful; and the officers do their best to favour them, that they may increase, and so their revenue and gain come in freely. And, if they should be sent to prison, even that place, for the most part, is made a sanctuary to them; as the old Romans were wont to shut up such, by ways of restraint, as they meant to preserve from the people's fury: for they live safe in prison, till we have time to work their liberty, and assure their lives; and, in the mean time, their place of restraint is, as it were, a study to them, where they may have

⁵ These are two of the meanest officers in the Inquisition.

‘ opportunity to confer together, as in a college, and to arm themselves in unity against the single adversary abroad.’

“ But (quoth the Inquisitor-general) how do they for books, when they have occasion either to write, or to dispute ?”

‘ My Lord, (replied Gondamore,) all the libraries belonging to the Roman Catholicks, through the land, are at their command ; from whence they have all such collections, as they can require, gathered to their hands, as well from thence, as from all the libraries of both universities, and even the books themselves, if it be requisite. Besides, I have made it a principal part of my employment to buy all the manuscripts, and other rare and ancient authors, out of the hands of the hereticks ; so that there is no great scholar dies in the land, but my agents are dealing with his books ; insomuch as even their learned Isaac Casaubon’s library was in election to be ours, had not their vigilant King, who foreseeeth all dangers, and hath his eye busy in every place, prevented my plot. For, after the death of that great scholar, I sent to request a catalogue of his books, with the price ; intending not to be outvied by any man, if money would have fetched them. Because, beside the damage that side should have received by the less prosecuting the cause against Cardinal Baronius, we might have made a good advantage of his notes, collections, castigations, censures, and criticisms for our party ; and framed and put out others under his name, at our pleasure. But this was foreseen by their Prometheus, who sent that torturer of ours, the Bishop of Winchester, to search and sort the papers, and to seal up the study, giving a large and a princely allowance to the relict of Casaubon, with a bountiful pension and provision for her and her’s. But this plot, failing at that time, hath not ever done so. Nor had the University of Oxford so triumphed in their many manuscripts, given by that famous Knight, Sir Thomas Bodley⁶, if either I had been then employed, or this course of mine then thought upon ; for I would labour, what I might this way or any other way, to disarm them ; or either to translate their best authors hither, or, at least, to leave none, but in the hands of Roman Catholicks, who are assuredly ours : and, to this end, a special eye would be had upon the library of one Sir Robert Cotton⁷ (an ingrosser of antiquities), the most choice and singular pieces might be gleaned, and gathered up by a Catholic hand. Neither let any man think, that descending thus low to petty particulars is unworthy an ambassador, or a small avail for the ends we aim at ; since we see every mountain consists of several sands, and there is no more profitable conversing for statesmen, than amongst scholars ; especially the King, for whom we watch, is the king of scholars, and loves to live altogether almost in their element. Besides, if we can by any means continue differences in their church, or make them wider, or get distaste betwixt their clergy and common lawyers, who are men of greatest power in the land ; the benefit will be ours, and the consequent great, opening way for us to come between ; for personal quarrels produce real questions.’ As he was prosecuting this discourse, one of the secretaries, who waited without the chamber, desired entrance ; and, being admitted, delivered letters, which he had newly received from the post, directed to the president, and the rest of the council, from his Catholic Majesty ; the contents whereof were to this effect :

“ Right trusty and well-beloved cousins and counsellors, we greet you well. Whereas, we had a hope, by our agents in England and Germany, to effect that great work of the Western Empire ; and likewise, on the other side, to suppress Europe, at one instant ; and, enfolding it in our arms, make the easier road upon the Turks in Asia, and, at length, reduce all the world to our Catholic command. And, whereas, to this end, we had secret and sure plots and projects on foot in all those places, and good intelligence in all courts : know now, that we have received late and sad news of the apprehension of our trusty and able pensioner Barnevelt, and of the discovery of other our intentions ; so that our hopes are at present adjourned, till some other more convenient

⁶ [Founder of the Bodleian library at Oxford, and ambassador to several foreign courts.]

⁷ [Founder of the Cottonian library in the British Museum, and a commissioner of the navy.]

“and more auspicious time: we therefore will you presently, upon the sight hereof, to break up your consultations, and repair straight to our presence, there to take further directions, and proceed as necessity of time and cause shall require.”

With that his Excellency, and the whole house, struck with amazement, crossed their foreheads, rose up in a sad silence, and brake up this treaty abruptly; and, without tardiance, took horse, and posted to court; from whence expect news, the next fair wind.

In the mean time, let not those be secure, whom it concerns to be roused up, knowing that this aspiring Nebuchadnezzar will not lose the glory of his greatness, who continueth still to magnify himself in his great Babylon, until it be spoken, ‘The kingdom is departed from thee.’ Daniel iv.

A true and just Relation of Major-General Sir Thomas Morgan's Progress in France and Flanders, with the six-thousand English, in the Years 1657 and 1658, at the Taking of Dunkirk, and other important Places; as it was delivered by the General himself.

London, 1699.

[Quarto, containing Sixteen Pages.]

Cromwell, being confirmed in his protectorship by the parliament, concludes a league offensive and defensive with the King of France, conditionally; that the Protector should assist the French with six-thousand men, and that they should be put into possession of Mardyke and Dunkirk, when taken. But Cromwell's great aim, in this league, was to destroy the children of Charles the First, and their adherents.

So, in consequence of this treaty, James Duke of York, and all others that adhered to the fortune of the Stuarts, had notice to leave France; and Cromwell sent his six-thousand soldiers, who (as it plainly appears from all, but especially from the following account,) wrought wonders in that expedition; not under the command of Reynolds and Lockhart, two successive ambassadors at the court of France, (as Rapin and most historians have erroneously recorded,) but under that brave soldier, Sir Thomas Morgan; as this intrepid general has avouched under his own hand.

I shall say no more of the value of this piece of history, without which the memoirs of those times are imperfect, but conclude this introduction with the publisher's

ADVERTISEMENT.

Sir Thomas Morgan (says he) drew up the following relation at a friend's desire, who was unwilling that posterity should want an authentic account of the actions of the six-thousand English, whom Cromwell sent to assist the French against the Spaniards, and thought the right they did their country, by their behaviour, might make some amends for the occasion of their being in that service. It had been printed in the last reign¹, if the authority of it had not interposed; because there was not so much said of some², who were then in the Spanish army, as they expected; and is published now, to let the

¹ Of King James II.

² The Duke of York, the Earl of Bristol, &c.

world see, that more was owing to our countrymen, at the battle of Dunkirk, than either Monsieur Bussy Rabutin³, or Ludlow⁴, in their memoirs, do allow. The former, by his manner of expression, seems contented with an opportunity to lessen their merit; and, being in the right wing of the French, while this passed in the left, comes under the just reflection, he himself makes⁵ a little after, upon the describers of fights, who are particular in what they did not see; and, whether the latter was misinformed, or swayed by his prejudice⁶, to those that were engaged to support the new-erected tyranny, is left to the reader to judge. It may not be improper to add, that these papers came to the publisher's hand, from the gentleman, at whose request they were wrote, and to whom Sir Thomas Morgan confirmed every paragraph of them, as they were read over, at the time he delivered them to him: which, besides the unaffected plainness of the style, may be urged for the credit of the narrative, since Sir Thomas was entitled to so much true reputation, that he had no need to grasp at any that was false.

Jan. 24, 1698.

THE French King, and his Eminence the Cardinal Mazarine, came to view the six-thousand English near Charleroy; and ordered Major-general Morgan, with the said six-thousand English, to march and make conjunction with Marshal Turenne's army, who, soon after the conjunction, beleaguered a town, called St. Venant, on the borders of Flanders. Marshal Turenne having invested the town on the east-side, and Major-general Morgan, with his six-thousand English, and a brigade of French horse on the west, the army encamped betwixt Marshal Turenne's approaches and Major-general Morgan's; and, being to relieve Count Schomberg, out of the approaches of the west-side of the town, Major-general Morgan marched into the approaches, with eight-hundred English. The English, at that time, being strangers in approaches, Major-general Morgan instructed the officers and soldiers to take their places by fifties, that thereby they might relieve the point to carry on the approaches, every hour. In the mean time, whilst we besieged the town, the enemy had beleaguered a town, called Ardres, within five miles of Calais. In the evening, Count Schomberg, with six noblemen, came upon the point, to see how Major-general Morgan carried on his approaches: but there happened a little confusion, by the soldiers intermingling themselves in the approaches, so as there was never an entire fifty to be called to the point. Count Schomberg and his noblemen taking notice thereof, Major-general Morgan was much troubled, leaped upon the point, and called out fifty to take up the spades, pick-axes, and fascines, and follow him. But so it happened, that all in the approaches leaped out after him; the enemy, in the mean time, firing as fast as they could. Major-general Morgan (conceiving his loss, in bringing them again to their approaches, would be greater than in carrying them forward,) passed over a channel of water, on which there was a bridge and a turn-pike; and, the soldiers crying out, "Fall on, fall on;" he fell upon the counterscarp, beat the enemy from it, and three redoubts; which caused them to capitulate; and the next morning, to surrender the town, and receive a French garrison; so as the sudden reduction thereof gave Marshal Turenne an opportunity afterwards to march and relieve Ardres.

The next place Marshal Turenne besieged was Mardyke; taken, in twice eight-and-forty hours, by the English and French. After the taking whereof, Major-general Morgan was settled there, by order of the French King and Oliver, with two-thousand English, and one-thousand French; in order to the beleaguering Dunkirk, the next spring.

The rest of the English were quartered in Borborch. For the space of four months, there was hardly a week, wherein Major-general Morgan had not two or three alarms by the Spanish army. He answered them all, and never went out of his clothes all the winter, except to change his shirt.

³ Part II. p. 135.

⁴ Part II. p. 561.

⁵ Part II. p. 139.

⁶ Part II. p. 496.

The next spring, Marshal Turenne beleaguered Dunkirk on the Newport-side, and Major-general Morgan on the Mardyke-side, with his six-thousand English, and a brigade of French horse. He made a bridge over the canal, betwixt that and Bergon, that there might be communication betwixt Marshal Turenne's camp and his. When Dunkirk was close invested, Marshal Turenne sent a summons to the governor, the Marquis de Leda, a great captain, and brave defender of a siege; but the summons being answered with defiance, Marshal Turenne immediately broke ground, and carried on the approaches on his side, whilst the English did the same on their's; and, it is observable, the English had two miles to march every day, upon relieving their approaches. In this manner the approaches were carried on, both by the French and English, for the space of twelve nights; when the Marshal Turenne had intelligence, that the Prince of Conde, the Duke of York, Don John of Austria, and the Prince de Ligny were at the head of thirty-thousand horse and foot, with resolution to relieve Dunkirk.

Immediately upon this intelligence, Marshal Turenne and several noblemen of France went to the King and Cardinal at Mardyke, and acquainted his Eminence therewith; and desired his Majesty, and his Eminence the Cardinal, to withdraw their persons into safety, and leave their orders. His Majesty answered, "That he knew no better place of safety, than at the head of his army; but said, it was convenient the Cardinal should withdraw to Calais." Then Marshal Turenne and the noblemen made answer, "They could not be satisfied, except his Majesty withdrew himself into safety;" which was assented to: and the King and Cardinal, marching to Calais, left open orders with Marshal Turenne, 'That, if the enemy came on, he should give battle, or raise the siege; as he should be advised by a council of war.'

The enemy came to Bruges, and then Marshal Turenne thought it high time to call a council of war, which consisted of eight noblemen, eight lieutenant-generals, and six marshals-du-camp; but never sent to Ambassador Lockhart, or Major-general Morgan. The whole sense of the council of war was, 'That it was great danger to the crown of France, to hazard a battle in that streight country, full of canals and ditches of water:' and, several reasons being shewn to that purpose; it ran through the council of war, to raise the siege, if the enemy came on. Within half an hour after the council of war was risen, Major-general Morgan had the result of it in his camp, and went immediately to Ambassador Lockhart⁷, to know if he had heard any thing of it. He said he heard nothing of it; and complained, that he was much afflicted with the stone, gravel, and some other impediments. Major-general Morgan asked him to go with him the next morning to the head-quarters. He said he would, if he were able.

Next morning, Marshal Turenne, sent a nobleman to Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan, to desire them to come to a second council of war. Immediately, therefore, Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan went with the nobleman to Marshal Turenne's camp; and, by that time they came there, the council of war was ready to sit down in Marshal Turenne's tent.

Marshal Turenne satisfied the council of war, that he had forgot to send for Ambassador Lockhart and Major-general Morgan to the first council of war, and therefore thought fit to call this, that they might be satisfied; and then put the question: 'Whether, if the enemy come on, he should make good the siege on the Newport-side, and give them battle; or raise the siege?' And required they should give their reasons for either. The marshals-du-camp ran away with it clearly to raise the siege; alleging what danger it was to the crown of France, to hazard a battle within so streight a country, full of canals and ditches of water; farther alleging, that, if the enemy came upon the rock, they would cut between Marshal Turenne's and Major-general Morgan's camps, and prevent their conjunction. Two of the lieutenant-generals ran along with the marshals-du-camp, and shewed the same reasons. But Major-general Morgan (finding it was high time to speak, and that otherwise it would go round the board) rose up, and desired, though out

⁷ This man had married Cromwell's niece.

of course, that he might declare his mind, in opposition to what the marshals-du-camp and the two lieutenant-generals had declared. Marshal Turenne told him he should have freedom to speak his thoughts. Then Major-general Morgan spake, and said, 'That the reasons, the marshals-du-camp, and the two lieutenant-generals had given for raising the siege, were no reasons; for the streightness of the country was as good for the French and English, as for the enemy: and, whereas they alleged, that, if the enemy came on the bank between Furnes and Dunkirk, they would cut between Marshal Turenne's and Major-general Morgan's camps;' Major-general Morgan replied, 'It was impossible; for they could not march upon the bank above eight a-breast;' and farther he alleged, 'That Marshal Turenne's artillery and small shot would cut them off at pleasure.' He added, 'That that was not the way the enemy could relieve Dunkirk; but that they would make a bridge of boats over the channel, in an hour and half, and cross their army upon the sands of Dunkirk, to offer Marshal Turenne battle.'

Farther, Major-general Morgan did allege, What a dishonour it would be to the crown of France to have summoned the city of Dunkirk, and broke ground before it, and then raise the siege, and run away; and he desired the council of war would consider, that, if they raised the siege, the alliance with England would be broken, the same hour.

Marshal Turenne answered, 'That, if he thought the enemy would offer that fair game, he would maintain the seige on Newport-side; and Major-general Morgan should march, and make conjunction with the French army, and leave Mardyke-side open.' Upon Marshal Turenne's reply, Major-general Morgan did rise from the board, and, upon his knees, begged a battle, and said, 'That he would venture the six-thousand English, every soul.' Upon which, Marshal Turenne consulted the noblemen that sat next him, and it was desired, that Major-general Morgan might walk a turn or two without the tent, and he should be called immediately. After he had walked two turns, he was called in: as soon as he came in, Marshal Turenne said, 'That he had considered his reasons, and that himself and the council of war resolved to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the siege on Newport-side; and that Major-general Morgan was to make conjunction with the French army.' Major-general Morgan then said, 'That, with God's assistance, we should be able to deal with them.'

The very next day, at four in the afternoon, the Spanish army had made a bridge of boats, crossed their army on the sands of Dunkirk, and drew up into battalia, within two miles of Marshal Turenne's lines, before he knew any thing of them. Immediately, all the French horse drew out to face the enemy at a mile's distance; and Marshal Turenne sent immediate orders to Major-general Morgan, to march into his camp, with the six-thousand English, and the French brigade of horse; which was done accordingly.

The next day, about eight of the clock, Marshal Turenne gave orders to break avenues on both the lines, that the army might march out in battalia. Major-general Morgan set his soldiers to break avenues for their marching out in battalia likewise. Several officers being with him, as he was looking on his soldiers at work, Ambassador Lockhart comes up, with a white cap on his head, and said to Major-general Morgan, 'You see what a condition I am in; I am not able to give you any assistance this day; you are the older soldier, and the greatest part of the work of this day must lie upon your soldiers.' Upon which the officers smiled; and so he bid 'God be with us;' and went away with the lieutenant-general of the horse, that was upon our left wing; from which time we never saw him, till we were in pursuit of the enemy. When the avenues were cleared, both the French and English army marched out of the lines towards the enemy. We were forced to march up in four lines (for we had not room enough to wing, for the canal between Furnes and Dunkirk, and the sea) till we had marched above half a mile; then we came to a halt on rising hills of sand, and, having more room, took in two of our lines.

Major-general Morgan, seeing the enemy plain in battalia, said, before the head of the army, 'See! yonder are the gentlemen you have to trade withal.' Upon which the whole brigade of English gave a shout of rejoicing, that made a roaring echo betwixt the sea and the canal. Thereupon, the Marshal Turenne came up, with above an hundred

noblemen, to know what was the matter and reason of that great shout. Major-general Morgan told him, 'It was an usual custom of the red-coats, when they saw the enemy, to rejoice.'

Marshal Turenne answered, 'They were men of brave resolution and courage.' After which, Marshal Turenne returning to the head of his army, we put on to our march again. At the second halt, the whole brigade of English gave a shout, and cast up their caps into the air, saying, 'They would have better hats before night.' Marshal Turenne, upon that shout, came up again, with several noblemen and officers of the army, admiring the resolution of the English; at which time we were within three-quarters of a mile of the enemy in battalia. Marshal Turenne desired Major-general Morgan, that at the next halt, he would keep even front with the French, for says he, 'I do intend to halt at some distance, that we may see how the enemy is drawn up, and take our advantage accordingly.' Major-general Morgan demanded of his Excellency, 'Whether he would shock the whole army at one dash, or try one wing first?' Marshal Turenne's reply was, 'That, as to that question, he could not resolve him yet, till he came nearer the enemy.' Major-general Morgan desired the Marshal, not to let him languish for orders, saying, 'That oftentimes opportunities are lost, for want of orders in due time.' Marshal Turenne said, 'He would either come himself and give orders, or send a lieutenant-general;' and so Marshal Turenne parted, and went to the head of his army. In the mean time, Major-general Morgan gave orders to the colonels and leading officers, 'to have a special care, that when the French came to a halt, they keep even front with them;' and farther told them, 'if they could not observe the French, they should take notice when he lifted up his hat,' (for he marched still above threescore before the centre of the bodies). But, when the French came to halt, it so happened, that the English pressed upon the leading-officers, so that they came up under the shot of the enemy: but, when they saw that Major-general Morgan was in a passion, they put themselves to a stand. Major-general Morgan could soon have remedied their forwardness, but he was resolved he would not lose one foot of ground he had advanced, but would hold it as long as he could. We were so near the enemy, the soldiers fell into great friendship, one asking, 'Is such an officer in your army?' another, 'Is such a soldier in yours?' and this passed on both sides. Major-general Morgan endured this friendship for a little while, and then came up to the centre of the bodies, and demanded, 'How long that friendship would continue?' and told them further, 'that for any thing they knew, they would be cutting one another's throats, within a minute of an hour.' The whole brigade answered, 'Their friendship should continue no longer than he pleased.' Then Major-general Morgan bid them tell the enemy, 'No more friendship: Prepare your buff-coats and scarfs, for we will be with you sooner than you expect us.' Immediately after the friendship was broke, the enemy poured a volley of shot into one of our battalions, wounded three or four, and one dropped. The Major-general immediately sent the Adjutant-general to Marshal Turenne for orders, 'Whether he should charge the enemy's right wing, or whether Marshal Turenne would engage the enemy's left wing;' and advised the Adjutant-general not to stay, but to acquaint Marshal Turenne, that we were under the enemy's shot, and had received some prejudiceal ready; but there was no return of the Adjutant-general, nor orders. By-and-by, the enemy poured in another volley of shot, into another of our battalions, and wounded two or three. Major-general Morgan, observing the enemy mending faults, and opening the intervals of the foot, to bring horse in, (which would have made our work more difficult,) called all the colonels and officers of the field together, before the centre of the bodies, and told them, 'he had sent the Adjutant-general for orders, but when he saw there was no hope of orders, he told them, If they would concur with him, he would immediately charge the enemy's right wing.' Their answer was, 'They were ready whenever he gave orders.' He told them, 'He would try the right wing with the blue regiment, and the four-hundred firelocks, which were in the interval of the French horse; and wished all the field-officers to be ready at their several posts.' Major-general Morgan gave orders, that the other five regiments should not move from their ground, except

they saw the blue regiment, the white, and the four-hundred firelocks shocked the enemy's right wing off of their ground; and, farther, shewed the several colonels what colours they were to charge, and told them moreover, 'That, if he was not knocked on the head, he would come to them.' In like manner, as fast as he could, he admonished the whole brigade, and told them, 'They were to look in the face of an enemy who had violated, and endeavoured to take away, their reputation; and that they had no other way, but to fight it out to the last man, or to be killed, taken prisoners, or drowned; and farther, that the honour of England did depend much upon their gallantry and resolution that day.'

The enemy's wing was posted on a sandy hill, and had cast the sand breast-high before them. Then Major-general Morgan did order the blue regiment, and the four-hundred firelocks, to advance to the charge. In the mean time, Major-general Morgan, knowing the enemy would all bend upon them that did advance, removed the white regiment more to the right, that it might be in the flank of them, by that time the blue regiment was got within push of pike.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, with a select party of horse, had got into the blue regiment, by that time the white came in, and exposed his person to great danger: but we knew nobody at that time. Immediately the enemy were clear shocked off of their ground, and the English colours flying over their heads, the strongest officers and soldiers clubbing them down. Major-general Morgan, when he saw this opportunity, stepped to the other five regiments, which were within six score of him, and ordered them to advance, and charge immediately. But, when they came within ten pikes length, the enemy, perceiving they were not able to endure our charge, shook their hats, held up their handkerchiefs, and called for quarter: but the red coats cried aloud, 'They had no leisure for quarter.' Whereupon the enemy faced about, and would not endure our charge, but fell to run; having the English colours over their heads, and the strongest soldiers and officers clubbing them down; so that the six-thousand English carried ten or twelve-thousand horse and foot before them. The French army was about musquet-shot in the rear of us, where they came to halt, and never moved off of their ground. The rest of the Spanish army, seeing the right wing carried away, and the English colours flying over their heads, wheeled about in as good order as they could; so that we had the whole Spanish army before us; and Major-general Morgan called out to the colonels, 'To the right as much as you can, that so we might have all the enemy's army under the English colours.' The six-thousand English carried all the Spanish army, as far as Westminster-Abbey to Paul's-Churchyard, before ever a Frenchman came in, on either wing of us; but then at last we could perceive the French horse come pouring on each wing, with much gallantry; but they never struck one stroke, only carried prisoners back to the camp. Neither did we ever see the Ambassador Lockhart, till we were in pursuit of the enemy; and then we could see him amongst us very brisk, without his white cap on his head, and neither troubled with gravel or stone. When we were at the end of the pursuit, Marshal Turenne and above a hundred officers of the army came up to us, quitted their horses, embraced the officers, and said, 'They never saw a more glorious action in their lives, and that they were so transported with the sight of it, that they had no power to move, or do any thing.' And this high compliment we had for our pains. In a word, the French army did not strike one stroke in the battle of Dunkirk, only the six-thousand English. After we had done pursuing the enemy, Major-general Morgan rallied his forces, and marched over the sands where he had shocked them at first, to see what slaughter there was made. But Ambassador Lockhart went into the camp as fast as he could, to write his letters for England, of what great service he had done; which was just nothing. Marshal Turenne and Major-general Morgan brought the armies close to invest Dunkirk again, and to carry on the approaches. The Marquis de Leda happened to be in the counterscarp, and received an accidental shot, whereof he died; and the whole garrison, being discouraged at his death, came to capitulate in few days: so the town was surrendered, and Ambassador Lockhart marched into it with two regiments of English for a gar-

risson; but Major-general Morgan kept the field, with Marshal Turenne, with his other four regiments of English.

The next siege was Bergen St. Winock, six miles from Dunkirk, which Marshal Turenne beleaguered with the French army, and the four regiments of English; and, in four or five days siege, Bergen St. Winock was taken upon capitulation. Marshal Turenne did rest the army for two days after, and then resolved to march through the heart of Flanders, and take what towns he could, that campaign.

The next town we took was Furnes, the next Menin, after that Oudenard; and, in a word, eight towns, besides Dunkirk and Ypres; for, so soon as the red-coats came near the counterscarp, there was nothing but a capitulation, and a surrender presently. All the towns we took were towns of strength.

The last siege was made before the city of Ypres, where the Prince de Ligny had cast himself in before, for the defence of that city, with two-thousand five-hundred horse and dragoons. Besides, there were in the city four-thousand burghers, all proper young men, under their arms; so that the garrison did consist of six-thousand five-hundred men. Marshal Turenne sent in a summons, which was answered with a defiance. Then Marshal Turenne broke ground, and carried on two approaches towards the counterscarp. Major-general Morgan went into the approaches every night, for fear of any miscarriage by the English, and came out of the approaches at sun-rising to take his rest; for then the soldiers had done working. The fourth morning, Major-general Morgan went to take his rest in his tent; but, within half an hour afterwards, Marshal Turenne sent a nobleman to him, to desire him to come to speak with him: when the Major-general came, there were above a hundred noblemen and officers of the army walking about his tent: and his gentlemen had decked a room for his Excellency with his sumpter-cloaths, in which homely place there were about twenty officers of the army with him: but, as soon as Major-general Morgan came, Marshal Turenne desired all of them to retire, for he had something to communicate to the Major-general. The room was immediately cleared, and Marshal Turenne turned the gentlemen of his chamber out, and shut the door himself. When this was done, he desired the Major-general to sit down by him, and the first news that he spake of, was, 'That he had certain intelligence, that the Prince of Conde and Don John of Austria were at the head of eleven-thousand horse, and four-thousand foot, within three leagues of his camp, and resolved to break through one of our quarters, to relieve the city of Ypres; and therefore he desired Major-general Morgan, to have all the English under their arms every night at sun-set, and the French army should be so likewise.' Major-general Morgan replied, and said, 'That the Prince of Conde and Don John of Austria were great captains; and that they might dodge with Marshal Turenne to fatigue his army.' The Major-general farther said, 'That if he did keep the army three nights to that hard shift, they would not care who did knock them on the head.' Marshal Turenne replied, 'We must do it, and surmount all difficulty.' The Major-general desired to know of his Excellency, 'Whether he was certain the enemy was so near him?' He answered, 'He had two spies came just from them.' Then Major-general Morgan told him, 'His condition was somewhat desperate;' and said, 'That a desperate disease must have a desperate cure.' His Excellency asked, 'What he meant?' Major-general Morgan did offer him, to attempt the counterscarp upon an assault; and so put all things out of doubt with expedition. The Major-general had no sooner said this, but Marshal Turenne joined his hands, and looked up through the boards towards the heavens, and said, 'Did ever my master, the King of France, or the King of Spain, attempt a counterscarp upon an assault, where there were three half-moons covered with cannon, and the ramparts of the town playing point-blank into the counterscarp?' Farther he said, 'What will the King my master think of me, if I expose his army to these hazards?' And he rose up, and fell into a passion, stamping with his feet, and shaking his locks; and grinning with his teeth, he said, 'Major-general Morgan had made him mad.' But, by degrees, he cooled, and asked the Major-general, 'Whether he would stay to dinner with him?' But the Major-general begged his pardon, for he had appointed some of the officers to eat a piece of beef at his tent that day. His Excellency asked him, 'If he would

'meet him at two of the clock, at the opening of the approaches?' The Major-general said, 'He would be punctual; but desired he would bring none of his train with him, (for it was usually a hundred noblemen with their feathers and ribbands,) because, if he did, he would have no opportunity, to take a view of the counterscarp; for the enemy would discover them, and fire incessantly.' His Excellency said, 'He would bring none, but two or three of the lieutenant-generals.' Major-general Morgan was at the place appointed, a quarter of an hour before his Excellency; and then his Excellency came, with eight noblemen, and three lieutenant-generals, and took a place to view the counterscarp. After he had looked a considerable time upon it, he turned about, and looked upon the noblemen and lieutenant-generals, and said, 'I do not know what to say to you; here is Major-general Morgan has put me out of my wits, for he would have me attempt yonder counterscarp upon an assault.' None of the noblemen or lieutenants made any reply to him; but Count Schomberg, saying, 'My Lord, I think Major-general Morgan would offer nothing to your Lordship but what he thinks feasible; and he knows he has good fighting men.' Upon this, Marshal Turenne asked Major-general Morgan, 'How many English he would venture?' The Major-general said, 'That he would venture six-hundred common men, besides officers, and fifty pioneers.' Marshal Turenne said, 'That six-hundred of Monsieur la Ferte's army, and fifty pioneers, and six-hundred of his own army, and fifty pioneers more, would make better than two-thousand men.' Major-general Morgan replied, 'They were abundance to carry it, with God's assistance.' Then his Excellency said, he would acquaint the King and his Eminence, That Major-general Morgan had put him upon that desperate design. Major-general Morgan desired his pardon, 'for it was in his power to attempt it, or not to attempt it.' But in the close, Marshal Turenne said to the Major-general, 'That he must fall into Monsieur la Ferte's approaches; and that he should take the one half of Monsieur la Ferte's men, and that he would take the other half into his own approaches.' Major-general Morgan begged his pardon, and said, 'He desired to fall on with the English entire by themselves, without intermingling them.' Marshal Turenne replied, 'He must fall on, and cut off one of the approaches?' The Major-general replied, 'That he would fall on in the plain, between both approaches.' His Excellency said, 'That he would never be able to endure their firing, but that they would kill half his men, before he could come to the counterscarp.' The Major-general said, 'That he had an invention, that the enemy should not perceive him, till he had his hands upon the stockadoes.' Next, his Excellency said, 'For the signal, there shall be a captain of Monsieur la Ferte's, with twenty firelocks, shall leap upon his point, and cry, *Sa sa, vive le Roy de France*; and, upon that noise, all were to fall on together.' But Major-general Morgan opposed that signal, saying, 'The enemy would thereby be alarmed; and then he should hardly endure their firing.' His Excellency replied then, 'That he would give no signal at all, but the Major-general should give it; and he would not be persuaded otherwise.' Then the Major-general desired his Excellency, 'that he would give orders to them in the approaches, to keep themselves in readiness against sun-set, for, at the shutting of the night, he would fall on.' He likewise desired his Excellency, 'That he would order a major out of his own approaches, and another out of Monsieur la Ferte's approaches, to stand by him; and, when he should be ready to fall on, he would dispatch the two majors into each of the approaches, that they might be ready to leap out, when the Major-general passed between the two approaches, with the commanded English.' Just at sun-set, Marshal Turenne came himself, and told the Major-general, 'He might fall on, when he saw his own time.' The Major-general replied, 'He would fall on just at the setting of the night, and when the dusk of the evening came on.'

The Major-general made the English stand to their arms, and divided them into bodies; a captain at the head of the pioneers, and the Major-general and a colonel, at the head of the two battalions: he ordered the two battalions, and the pioneers, each man to take up a long fascine upon their musquets and pikes, and then they were three small groves of wood. Immediately the Major-general commanded the two majors to go to their approaches; and that they should leap out, so soon as they should see the Major-general

march between their approaches. The Major-general did order the two battalions, when they came within three-score of the stockadoes, to slip their fascines, and fall on. But so it happened, that the French never moved out of their approaches, till such time as Major-general Morgan had overpowered the enemy. When the pioneers came within sight of the stockadoes, they slipped the fascines down, and fell on; the Major-general and the other two battalions were close to them, and when the soldiers began to lay their hands on the stockadoes, they tore them down for the length of six-score, and leaped pell-mell into the counterscarp amongst the enemy: abundance of the enemy were drowned in the moat, and many taken prisoners, with two German princes, and the counterscarp cleared; the French were in their approaches all this time; then the English fell on upon the half-moons, and immediately the red-coats were on the top of them, throwing the enemy into the moat, and turning the cannon upon the town: thus the two half-moons were speedily taken. After the manning of the half-moons, he did rally all the English, with intention to lodge them upon the counterscarp, that he might be free of the enemy's shot the next morning; and they left the other half-moon for Marshal Turenne's party, which was even before their approaches.

Then the French fell on upon the other half-moon, but were beaten off. The Major-general considered, that that half-moon would gall him in the day-time, and therefore did speak to the officers and soldiers, that it was best to give them a little help: the red-coats cried, 'Shall we fall on in order, or happy-go-lucky?' The Major-general said, 'In the name of God, at it happy-go-lucky:' and immediately the redcoats fell on, and were on the top of it, knocking the enemy down, and casting them into the moat. When this work was done, the Major-general lodged the English on the counterscarp. They were no sooner lodged, but Marshal Turenne scrambled over the ditches, to find out the Major-general; and when he met with him, he was much troubled the French did no better, for indeed they did just nothing. Then his Excellency asked the Major-general, to go to his approaches to refresh himself: but the Major-general begged his pardon, and said, 'He would not stir from his post, till he heard a drum beat a parley, and saw a white flag over the walls.' Upon that, Marshal Turenne laughed and smiled, and said, 'They would not be at that pass in six days;' and then went to his approaches, and sent the Major-general three or four dozen bottles of rare wine, with several dishes of cold meats and sweet-meats. Within two hours after sun-rising, a drum beat a parley, and a white flag was seen over the walls. The Major-general ordered a lieutenant with a file of musquetiers, to go and receive the drummer, and to blindfold him, and carry him straight to Marshal Turenne in his approaches. Marshal Turenne came immediately with the drummer's message to the Major-general, and was much troubled he would not receive the message before it came to him. The Major-general replied, 'That that was very improper, his Excellency being upon the place.' The message was to this effect; 'That whereas his Excellency had offered them honourable terms in his summons, they were now willing to accept of them, provided they might have their charter, and the privileges of the city preserved. That they had appointed four of their commissioners, to treat farther with four commissioners from his Excellency.' Marshal Turenne was pleased to ask the Major-general, 'Whether he would be one of the commissioners?' But the Major-general begged his pardon, and desired that he might abide at his post, till such time as the city was surrendered up. Immediately then his Excellency sent for Count Schomberg, and three other commissioners; and gave them instructions how to treat with the four commissioners from the enemy. Just as Marshal Turenne was giving the commissioners instructions, Major-general Morgan, said, 'That the enemy was hungry, so that they would eat any meat they could have:' whereupon his Excellency smiled, and shortened their instructions, and sent them away. Within half an hour, the commissioners had concluded, 'That they should have their city charter preserved, and that they were to receive a French garrison in, and the Prince de Ligny was to march out with all his forces next morning, at nine of the clock, with one piece of cannon, colours flying, bullet in mouth, and a match lighted at both ends; and to have a convoy to conduct him into his own

‘ territories.’ Marshal Turenne was, in the morning betimes, with several noblemen and officers of the army, and Major-general Morgan attending near the gate for the Prince de Ligny’s coming out. The Prince, having notice that Marshal Turenne was there, came out of his coach. Marshal Turenne, being alighted off from his horse, and the Major-general Morgan ; at both their meeting there was a great acclamation, and embracing one another. After a little time, Marshal Turenne told the Prince, ‘ He very much admired, that he would expose his person to a garrison, before a conquering army.’ The Prince de Ligny replied, ‘ That, if Marshal Turenne had left his English in England, he durst have exposed his person into the weakest garrison the King of Spain had in Flanders:’ and so they parted, and his Excellency marched into the town with a French garrison, and the Major-general with him. So soon as the garrison was settled, Marshal Turenne writ his letters to the French King, and his Eminence the Cardinal, ‘ How that the city of Ypres was reduced to the obedience of his Majesty, and that he was possessed of it ; and that Major-general Morgan was instrumental in that service, and that the English did wonders:’ and sent the intendant of the army with his letters to the King and Cardinal. Monsieur Tallon, the intendant, returned back from the King and Cardinal to the army within eight days, and brought a compliment to Major-general Morgan, ‘ That the King and his Eminence the Cardinal did expect to see him at Paris, when he came to his winter quarters, where there would be a cupboard of plate to attend him.’ Major-general Morgan, instead of going for his cupboard of plate, went for England ; and his Majesty of France had never the kindness to send him his cupboard of plate : so that this is the reward that Major-general Morgan hath had from the French King, for all his service in France and Flanders.

Killed at the battle of Dunkirk,

Lieutenant-colonel Fenwick, two captains, one lieutenant, two ensigns, two serjeants, thirty-two soldiers ; and about twenty wounded.

Killed at the storming of Ypres,

One captain, one serjeant, eight private soldiers, about twenty-five officers of thirty-five ; and about six soldiers slightly wounded, after they were lodged upon the counter-scarp ; Sir Thomas Morgan himself slightly hurt, by a shot in the calf of his leg.

An Account of the Original of Writing and Paper, out of a Book, intituled, *La Libreria Vaticana*, written by Mutio Pansa, Keeper of the said Library.

Printed at Rome.

[Quarto, containing Thirty Pages.]

1st, Of the Use of Books, and Invention of Letters.

DISCOURSE I.

THAT the use of books and libraries is very ancient, appears by many authors, both Christian and Heathen, from whom it may in some measure be gathered, that they have been in use ever since the world began ; for we read, that Jude the Apostle, in one

of his epistles, quotes the book of Enoch, which was before the flood. (The words of the Epistle are: 'And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these,' &c. So that here is a prophecy, but nothing expressly of a book of his writing; whence a debate may arise, whether this prophecy was not left by oral tradition, without more positive proof; but to return to our author.) And though authors differ very much concerning the invention of letters, of which afterwards books were composed; yet we take it for granted, that they were invented by Adam, his sons, and grandsons, in the first age of the world, before the flood; and were after preserved by Noah and his progeny, till they came to Abraham, and so to Moses: and of this opinion was St. Augustin, lib. xv. *de Civitate Dei*, and Josephus, a Jewish writer of great credit; who, in the first book of his *Antiquities*, writes, 'That Adam's grandsons, the sons of Seth, erected two pillars, the one of stone and the other of brick, on which they left written, and engraven, all the arts discovered by them;' and he affirms he saw one of these pillars in Syria: from the which, I am of opinion, the Egyptians afterwards learnt the way of writing, and expressing their mysteries with those characters called Hieroglyphicks, on several obelisks, wherein Egypt formerly so much abounded, that some of them are still to be seen in Rome, whither they were transported by the first emperors. This is the more credible, because we read, that Adam was by God created in so great a state of perfection, of knowledge, and of wisdom, that he gave names to all things, according to their nature and qualities; and that none ever so well understood the revolutions of the heavens, the motions of the stars and planets, and so thoroughly knew the nature of herbs, plants, animals, and all other things in the world, as he did. It is therefore to be believed, that he found out the method for preserving the memory hereof to posterity. Pliny, in his *Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. ult.* confirms this opinion; for there, after delivering the sentiments of many concerning the invention of letters, as that some pretend they were invented in Syria by the Assyrians, and others in Egypt by Mercury; that they were brought into Italy by the Pelasgi, and into Greece by the Phœnicians, and Cadmus their leader; that Palamedes, during the Trojan war, added four more; he concludes, it is his opinion, that letters were eternal, which is almost the same, as to say they began with the world. Hence it follows, that their opinion is vain, who say the Egyptians were the inventors of letters and arts, as Diodorus Siculus holds, lib. i. where he says, that Mercury found them out in Egypt; though, in his fourth book, he writes, that others think the Æthiopians had letters before, and the Egyptians from them. Hence we may further infer, that Moses was not the first inventor of letters, (as some Jews and Christians affirm,) because he was antienter than any one of those by whom they are said to have been first found; as Cadmus, who lived in the days when Othniel governed Israel, which was forty-seven years after the written law was given to Moses; and therefore the Egyptians learnt the letters of him, and they communicated them to the Phœnicians, whence Cadmus carried them into Greece. True it is, that Attabanus and Eupolemus, Heathen authors, say, that Moses was by the Egyptians called Mercury, and the same that taught them letters. Thus, we see, the invention of letters was antienter than Philo the Jew believes it, who says, that 'Abraham first found them;' for, as has been said, they were in being even in the days of Adam and his children, and afterwards preserved by Noah, who was a man of learning and letters, and it is to be believed that he saved them with him in the ark; though after the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel, most nations might lose the letters, and the knowledge of them might only remain in the family of Heber, from whom the Hebrews afterwards descended; who lost not their first language, as St. Augustin, Eusebius, and most learned men of our time affirm. Philo and the rest, who thought that Moses had been the inventor of letters, were the more easily deceived, because it is manifest, that the books and history writ by Moses are the antientest in the world, or than the wisdom of the Egyptians, or the philosophy of the Greeks; as is made out by St. Augustin and Josephus writing against Appion the grammarian; as also by Eusebius and Justin Martyr: and that there were letters before Moses is visible, because we find it written, that he learnt in Egypt unto Pharaoh the arts and wisdom of the Egyptians; nor do I know how this

could be, unless they had letters before; though, it is true, we know they had some characters called Hieroglyphicks, by which they taught most of their sciences. Howsoever it was, the invention of letters is certainly *divine*, as being those that preserve and secure all other invention, for without them none can subsist; and they are of such worth, that they make men immortal; rendering those things present which happened a thousand years ago, and joining those which are distant, communicating them, as if they were not asunder. By them are known and learnt all sorts of sciences, teaching those in being all that past ages knew, and preserving for posterity all that those now living found out. In short, the benefit of them is almost infinite and inexpressible, and therefore their invention may deservedly be called rather divine than human. What order was observed in the characters of ancient times, methinks is not to be sought after; as depending on the will and pleasure of the inventor; as we daily see is done by those who frame cyphers or characters, and other sorts of common letters, who observe no order. It is true they were, in process of time, (for the more distinction,) put into that order we now see them: and because many afterwards successively added other letters, or made new characters, therefore many were thought the inventors of them; of whom we shall speak to purpose hereafter, when we come to discourse of the pictures in the Vatican library, among which are those, of all such as were famous in the world for the invention of letters, or for adding any to them.

Of the Paper of the Ancients, of the Papyrus of the Romans, of the several Sorts of it; and of the Paper of our Times.

DISCOURSE II.

HAVING hitherto discoursed of the letters, it will now be convenient to say something of paper, as the matter on which they are made; and, to speak the truth, it is no small difficulty to decide what they writ on in former ages, because we have no account in history what they did write on before the flood; but what we said before, that Adam's grandchildren, the sons of Seth, writ an account of arts on those two pillars abovementioned. After the flood, all authors agree, that men had no paper, but writ on the leaves of palm trees, whence, to this day, those of books are called leaves. Next they writ on the fine bark of trees, and particularly on that sort which slips off easiest; such as the elder, the plane, the ash, and the elm; and these were the inward films, which grow between the bark and the wood, which being curiously taken off, were joined together, and books made of them; and, because this film in Latin is called *liber*, thence the same name was given to a book, though now they are not made of that substance. The wit of man, which still improved, after this found out a way of writing on the thinnest sheets of lead, of which private people made books and pillars. Next, the ancients found the way of writing on linen-cloths slicked and waxed, on which they writ, not with a pen, but with a small cane or reed, as some write to this day. And, as Pliny tells us, we find in Homer, that these waxed cloths were used before the time of the Trojans; and Mutianus, who, as he writes himself, was thrice consul, that when he was president in Lycia, he read there, in a temple, a letter writ on one of these cloths by Sarpedon, King of Lycia, then at Troy, where he assisted Priam in his war against the Greeks, and was at last killed by Patroclus. In process of time, the method was found out of writing on parchment made of sheep-skins, mentioned by Herodotus, *lib. vii.* the invention whereof Varro assigns to the people of Pergamus, a city in Asia, on the banks of the river Caicus, whereof Eumenes was king, and from that city it was called Pergamenum, which we have corrupted to parchment. Pliny says, this Eumenes first sent it to Rome: but Elianus says, it was Attalus, king of the same country, who first sent it. Josephus, the Jew, makes the writing on parchment ancients; and says, the books of the Jews, so much ancients than Eumenes, and the rest of that sort, were writ upon skins;

and relates, that when Eleazer, the high-priest, sent the books of the Holy Scripture to Ptolemy by the Septuagint, to be translated out of Hebrew into Greek, King Ptolemy Philadelphus was much amazed at the fineness of those skins or parchment; so that writing on them was easier and more lasting than the ancients use of barks and leaves of trees: and it is to be believed, this invention was not yet in Egypt, since Ptolemy wondered at it. After this, there was found a sort of paper made of a rush, or plant, called Papyrus, growing in the marshes, about the river Nile; though Pliny says there are some of them in Syria, near the river Euphrates. These rushes bear small leaves betwixt the outward rhind and the pith, which, being neatly opened with the point of a needle, and then prepared with fine flour and other ingredients, served to write on and make paper, the innermost part making the finest, and according to the several sorts it had several names, and was put to sundry uses; being from this rush called Papyrus; which name has continued to our days, and is given to our paper, though made of rags, because this serves for the same uses as that did. I saw one of these rushes at Rome¹, which was shewed me by that worthy gentleman Castor Durante; of happy memory, my master in the college, who told me it came from Egypt; and he had it from Padua, sent him by Signior Cortuso, a man excellently learned in simples, of whom he had got other more strange and rare things, as I have several times seen myself; and particularly a sheet of this papyrus, or paper, made of that rush.

The first invention of making paper of this rush, Varro affirms, was in the days of Alexander the Great, when Alexandria was founded; but Pliny proves it was ancients, by the books which Gn. Tarentinus found in his vineyard in a marble chest on the hill Janiculus, in which were also the bones of Numa Pompilius. These books were of the papyrus, and it is certain that Numa Pompilius was long before Alexander. The Romans had several sorts of this paper; one of them was called Hieratica, as Pliny writes; and only dedicated to religious books, which afterwards, through flattery, took Augustus's name, and was called Augustana; as the second sort from his wife Livia was called Liviana; as among us there is now Imperial and Royal paper. There was another sort called Amphitheatrica, from the place where it was made, being about the Amphitheatre; and the first that began to make this paper in Rome was one Fannius, who brought it to such fineness, that whereas before it was for common use, it became equal with the best and took his name, being called Fanniana; whereas, that which was not so curiously prepared, kept its old name of Amphitheatrica; and these were the best sorts of paper in those days. Afterwards came the Saitica, so named from a city where it was made, where there was great abundance of the papyrus; and this was made of the worst part of it. There was still another sort made of the outward part next the rhind, and called Teniotica, from the place where it was made; which was sold rather by weight than by choice. Lastly, there was the Emporetica, answerable to our brown or wrapping-paper, unfit for writing, and only used to make covers for the other paper, and to wrap up goods; therefore called shop-paper. All these sorts of paper were very different from one another, for the best was thirteen inches broad, the Hieratica two inches less, the Fanniana of ten, and the Amphitheatrica two narrower; the Saitica still less, and the coarse Emporetica not above six. Besides, Augustus's paper was in great esteem for its whiteness, as well as its smoothness, but was so thin, it would scarce bear the pen; besides that, it sunk, and the letters appeared through it; and therefore, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, it lost the first place, and another sort was made, from him called Claudia, which was preferred before all the others, and the Augusta was reserved for writing of imperial letters. The Livian paper kept its rank; having nothing of the first, but in all respects, like the second. This sort of paper, made of papyrus, the Romans used a long time, on which many books were writ; and, as Pliny informs us, there were, in his times, abundance of volumes of Caius, and Tiberius Gracchus, of Cicero, of Augustus, and of Virgil.

That this paper was good and lasting, appears by what was said above of Numa's books,

¹ [Others, in good preservation, may be inspected at the British Museum.]

found in the consulship of P. Cornelius, L. F. Cethegus, M. Balbius, and Q. F. Pamphilius; and, from the reign of Numa till their time, we find there passed five-hundred and thirty-five years, it being wonderful they should last so long without rotting; especially having been all that while buried under ground. Authors differ very much about the number of these books; for some (as Livy) say, they were two, and found by Lucius Petilius; of which opinion are Lactantius and Plutarch, in the Life of Numa. Others say, they were fourteen; seven of the Pontifical Laws, and the other seven of the Precepts of Pythagorean Philosophy; others say they were twelve, as Varro in his Book of Antiquities. Tuditanus, lib. ii. writes, they were thirteen of Numa's Decretals; yet Antia affirms, there were two Latin, one of the Pontifical Rites, and as many Greek of Pythagorean Philosophy, and were therefore burnt by Q. Petilius the pretor. Certain it is, that the invention of paper, made of the rush papyrus, continued long among the Romans; and very many books were writ on it by several authors, as has been said above.

In the last place was found out the paper of our days, a most noble invention, which has afforded the opportunity of writing and publishing a vast quantity of books. It is made of linen rags beaten to atoms; and it is wonderful that so mean a thing should perpetuate and immortalize the memorable actions of men. It is made in all parts of the world, and of several sorts great and small, and so white and curious, that nothing can exceed it. On this, as the most perfect, are printed so many volumes as are daily seen; laying aside the papyrus, the parchment, and all others, which gave occasion to the finding out of this in our forefathers' days.

Political Remarks¹ on the Life and Reign of King William III. First, From his Birth to the Abdication of King James II. Secondly, From his Accession to the Crown of England to his Death.

First. **T**HOUGH fortune might seem a step-mother to this Prince, by depriving him of a father, before scarce a human soul had been breathed into the infant; yet she abundantly made amends for that unkindness, by the prudence and indulgency of his mother, eldest daughter of King Charles the First; who, by means of the blood from whence she sprung, not only conveyed to him a prospect of attaining to three kingdoms; but also, by the care she took of his education, she formed his soul worthy of the crowns he was destined by Providence to wear.

We read a story of Sempronius, that he caught two snakes engendering, and that being surprized at the novelty, he consulted the oracle what the unlucky omen meant. The priests returned an answer, that either himself or his wife must die; and that it was at his election, whether he would submit to death himself, or doom the partner of his bed to that misfortune: that, upon his killing the male snake, it was his turn to die; and that, upon the death of the female, his wife must undergo the same destiny. This generous Roman, unterrified with the apprehensions of another world, caused the snake to die, whose fate was twisted with his; confiding in the known piety and prudence of his lady, and believing her life more necessary to the common good of his family than his own. The

¹ [These Remarks bear the semblance of having been appended to, some Life of William the Third, but whether here first printed from a MS. (as the undated title gives occasion to surmise) Mr. Oldys did not declare, nor has the present Editor been able to ascertain.]

oracle and his uxorious confidence were just; he died according to the prediction of the first, and his family, by the conduct of his widow, found themselves little prejudiced in the loss of so eminent an example of tenderness.

I shall not insist upon the truth of this story; we have some good authors to vouch it: but certainly, if the Prince of Orange, father to the late King William, had been permitted such an unhappy choice, he might, without a blemish to his character, have followed the steps of that illustrious Roman, and spared his lady, whose wisdom, courage, and civility laid the first foundation of that grandeur, which her warlike son, in succeeding ages, attained to.

The States of the Seven Provinces stood his godfathers; nor did his mother, though so nearly allied to the crown of England, think it beneath her quality to implore the protection of persons meanly born, in comparison of her illustrious offspring, nor were the methods she undertook unagreeable to sound policy. The princely widow understood her interest very well; and the godson of those high and mighty potentates received (both in his own person, and in the respect was paid his mother) the greatest arguments of their sincere friendship and esteem.

No blazing star preceded his birth, and with its prophetic beams, presaged his future grandeur. The Dutch astrologers could not see so clearly as the English, who affirmed, that a star of such a nature was seen just before the nativity of King Charles the Second. In this his country-men acted unhandsomely, in depriving his birth of so glorious and remarkable an accident. And it must be acknowledged, as more reasonable in itself, (if those celestial luminaries attend our actions here below,) that the brightest of them should rather have waited on the nativity of King William, who restored the glory of the English; than upon King Charles the Second, who by the supineness of his conduct, had near lost the reputation of his country, and the balance of Europe.

This humility of the Princess of Orange was as much commended by some, as censured by others; but whoever weighs it, must acknowledge it a piece of refined policy, and that her consideration was both just and rational. By this step, and others of the like nature, she entirely rooted out those ideas, and that umbrage, the States had conceived at the greatness of the house of Orange, and shewed herself rather a grand-daughter of King James the First, than a sister of King James the Second.

His education was consistent with the manners of the country where he was educated; the methods, prescribed him by those that had the honour of his tuition, were solid and severe; nothing gay or glittering was seen in his court, or the conversation of those persons who were entrusted with the management of his tender years. His mind adjusted itself to the admonitions of his tutors, and produced a temper serious and thoughtful; quite averse from the usual gallantries practised in the more refined and polite courts (as they styled themselves) of Europe.

He was never a mighty scholar himself, nor did he much affect learning, or the charms of a witty conversation; such as were masters of those happy qualities, were seldom employed by him, unless some of the first in the affairs of the church: and if ever he made use of persons, so distinguished, in his secular concerns, it was rather to please others than himself, and to acquire a reputation to his councils, more than for any pleasure he took in their harangues or conversation; and this may be truly said of him, without injustice to his memory, That he was a much greater king, but nothing so fine a gentleman as his uncle.

Though he was no great friend to polite learning, yet he took care to acquire the French and English languages; which, afterwards, were of the highest importance to his management of several treaties of the last consequence to himself and his allies.

He never had many favourites, and it was well for England that he had no more than two: the first of these was Monsieur Bentinck, now Earl of Portland, who obtained his esteem and friendship by one of the most generous actions imaginable. This young gentleman was page to the Prince of Orange, and much of the same age with his master. It hap-

pened that the Prince was taken ill of the small-pox, which not rising kindly upon him, his physicians judged it necessary that some young person should lie in the same bed with the Prince; imagining, that the natural heat of another would drive out the disease, and expel it from the nobler parts. Nobody of quality could be found in all the court to make this experiment; at last, Monsieur Bentinck, though he had never had the small-pox, resolved to run the risk: he did so, the Prince recovered, his page fell ill; but in a little time, had the happiness to find himself in a healthy condition, and as well as his master. Ever after this action of Monsieur Bentinck's, (which was truly great and noble,) the Prince had an entire affection for so faithful a servant, and particularly trusted him in affairs of the highest consequence. It was my Lord Portland that transacted the peace of Reswick, and the same nobleman managed the negotiations that were set on foot betwixt the then Prince of Orange and the English nobility, who had recourse to his Highness before his accession to these realms. If the favours of the King had stopped here, and his faithful minister had received no other arguments of his master's esteem, than reasonable gifts and honours, perchance the character of the deceased Monarch might have been something greater; but things were pushed too far, and when the parliament put a stop to some concessions intended for my Lord, it was a plain discovery of a weakness which had been better omitted.

Though his Highness commanded the army of the States, very young, when he was scarcely seventeen (an age when some noblemen are hardly exempt from the tuition of a pedant), yet he behaved himself with greater vigilance, prudence, and conduct, than could be reasonably expected of him, at that time of day.

But though his conduct was surprizing, when he entered upon those high employments of Stadt-holder and General, yet he seems rather indebted to chance and the miseries of his country for those posts, than to any personal merit of his own, or the achievements of his ancestors.

The French had near overrun all Holland, their armies had possessed themselves of Utrecht, and most of the rest of the frontier towns belonging to the States had submitted themselves to that invincible deluge, which their troops could not resist, nor their prudence or negotiations avoid. The faction of Barneveldt, well-known by that name in the Low-countries, were then at the helm; and the two brothers, the De Wits, were looked upon as chiefs of a party who opposed the grandeur of the house of Orange. One of these was pensionary (which is principal secretary of state), and was either, in reality, a traitor to his country, or esteemed as such by the boors and common people; whose misfortunes soured their humours, and made them ripe for tumults and rebellions. Upon the constant series of their ill success, the populace arose; tore in pieces the two unhappy brothers, and wrested the government from the hands of those who were averse to the house of Orange. They continued their resentments, and obliged the States to restore his Highness to all the ancient honours of his family. Yet, though this young gentleman was made General by a tumult, yet, once possessed of that high command, he behaved himself not like a tumultuary general; he soon repulsed the French out of their new conquests, with a greater chain of success than ever afterwards attended his military actions.

Though severe and reserved in the cabinet, yet, in the camp, he was fiery to a fault, and often exposed himself, and the cause he defended, with a rashness blameable in an officer of his dignity.

Yet one thing is very observable in his conduct; though he had the spirit and gallantry of a hero, yet he wanted the passion of love to make that character complete; neither before, at the time of his marriage, or afterwards, was he ever noted for any extraordinary tenderness; nor could the beauty of his queen, nor the address of any other lady, raise in him extraordinary transports; his soul was free from these weaknesses, or he had the art to conceal them.

But notwithstanding his whole life was an instance of his prudence in affairs of this nature (one case only excepted), yet he never shewed so great a reservedness, nor indeed, a greater piece of wisdom, than upon his marriage with the Lady Mary, eldest daughter

of the late King James. She was a princess, who, for her beauty, good humour, sense^r and piety, had no equal in Europe². Her zeal for the Protestant religion was surprizing in a lady of her youth, and what did not a little add to her shining qualities, was her being presumptive heiress to three kingdoms. The people of England were infinitely desirous this match should take effect, and King Charles persuaded the world he had the same inclinations; but privately insinuated to the Prince, that his making a peace with France, and his inducing the Spaniards to do the same, upon such terms as his Britannick majesty proposed (which terms, in truth, were too favourable to the French) were the only means his Highness had to obtain the lady. Here was love and glory in opposition to one another; but the Prince, under these extraordinary circumstances, shewed an unchangeable temper, and a mind impregnable against the strongest assaults. He assured the crown of England, that, although he had the highest veneration for the Princess Mary, yet nothing could make him recede from the interest of the allies, and he should always prefer his honour to all other considerations whatsoever. Fortune was just to his virtue; he gained his point both ways, and obtained the best of princesses for himself, and those articles of peace he insisted upon for his confederates.

It seems a wonder if King Charles was a Roman Catholick, or, in reality, inclinable to that interest, he should permit the princesses to be educated in the Protestant faith. Yet there seem so many arguments for this opinion, that I believe few persons stand in doubt of it; but if so, it is plain he preferred the easiness of a crown to his future considerations.

If the Prince was fond of any thing to a degree, it was of hunting and the diversions of the field: he paid his servants well that took care of his pleasures this way, and gave them all reasonable encouragement. Perchance some of these might receive their superfluous pensions, when the army abroad wanted their necessary subsistence.

Some persons are of opinion, that the Prince held predestination; that it was his judgment all balls were commissioned, and had their bounds set them, further than which they were not able to go. It is true, at the fight of Seneff, and the battle of the Boyne, he fought with such a spirit, as generally possesses those who have firmly imbibed a belief of this nature; but, whether his judgment induced him to be of this opinion or not, he countenanced the thought, which he was satisfied made his soldiers regardless of danger, and contributed to their courage and resolution.

During his being at the helm of the Dutch government in Holland, he was sparing of his own money, but yet not tenacious to that degree, but he concluded several alliances with the Protestant powers of Germany, for which he paid dear enough; and it is even said, that the holy father himself entered into an engagement with him against the King of France, that disturber of mankind. Certain it is, he knew how to spare, and how to lay out his money to a good advantage; and if he could have commanded the purse of England, when he was only Prince of Orange, (as he did afterwards, when he was King of England,) in all probability, he had never permitted the growth of a power which grew, in time, to be so formidable to all Europe.

It is no strange thing that the Pope opposed the King of France; interest cements the closest friendship: the head of a most holy church and St. Peter's successor (as he styles himself) joins with a prince of a different faith, in order to protect their common liberties. His most Christian Majesty acts the same part, and confederates with his good friends the Musselmens. The one leagues with a Protestant, the other with an Infidel, each for their separate advantage; and, in this affair, the Pope's dealings must be owned the

² [This high eulogium has the concurring voice of Bishop Burnet in prose, and of Lord Suffolk in poetry, who says in a Monody on the Death of this Princess:

A cheerful sweetness ever did appear
In her mild looks, as sacred fountains clear:
Whene'er she spoke, whene'er Maria sung,
All was divine that issued from her tongue;
From whose blest lips a word ne'er slipt away
But what chaste nuns might at the altar say. *Musarum Deliciae*, 1728.]

juster of the two. His reason for the union was self-defence; and what obliged the King of France to his confederacy, was no other than the dishonest motives of tyranny and ambition.

The Prince of Orange, landing in the west of England, marched from thence to Exeter, of which city he made himself master, and went forward with the success that we all know of. Yet his preparations for this descent were not carried so privately, but the Count de Vaux, ambassador for his most Christian Majesty at the Hague, discovered the whole affair; and gave notice of it to his master, and to the envoy of King James the Second. The King of France immediately caused a memorial to be presented to the States of Holland on this subject, who very fairly denied the matter, and turned the blame of the whole affair on the Prince of Orange. The King of France was satisfied with this answer, and certainly the genius of that empire was then asleep, or so employed about the war going to be made against the house of Austria, that it could not be at leisure to respect the affairs of the Low-countries. If the troops of his most Christian Majesty had fell down into the Spanish Netherlands, instead of marching into Germany; the Dutch had been obliged to have kept that warlike Prince at home, to defend their own territories; England might have justly despaired of a revolution, and Europe of its liberties. But Providence had ordered things otherwise; the court of France committed this unalterable blunder, and the great Lewis, upon this occasion, failed to exert that judgment which he so often convinced the world he was master of, both before and afterwards.

The battle of Mons was an action in which the Prince of Orange acquired a great deal of glory. He beat the Duke of Luxemburgh, who lay incamped before that town, out of his intrenchments, and forced his army to a precipitate flight. This relation, without other circumstances, is indeed extremely honourable to the memory of that monarch; but if it be also true, which tradition acquaints us with, concerning that battle, the Prince deserved no laurels. It is most certain, that a few hours before the fight, a peace was concluded betwixt his most Christian Majesty and the States of Holland; but, whether the Prince had any notice of this pacification, I cannot tell; but if so, to fight with the articles of peace in his pocket, proves him vain-glorious and revengeful.

His enterprize upon England must be allowed very just; that step towards the revolution, there are but few which cavil at: it is true, some persons would have been contented that he had proceeded but little further, and only tied up the hands of his unfortunate predecessor. But these gentlemen argue very little like politicians; King James would have been King James still, and soon, by the violation of the people's liberties, returned to that course from whence the success of the Prince's arms had obliged him to deviate; and, admitting King James to have kept within the bounds of reason and moderation, yet still the Protestant religion, and the liberties of all Europe, must have been betrayed to the ambition of France, by the bare neutrality of England; our island being the only balance to that incredible power which the French has lately assumed: so that King William's taking upon him the regency of this nation, seems rather to have been an act of necessity than ambition. Happy is that prince who finds such an opportunity of mounting a throne, where fate or Providence push upon him that grandeur, which it is the nature of all mankind to be desirous of.

The securing those lords, by the Prince of Orange, which were sent to him on the part of King James, when he fixed his victorious standards at Windsor, carried with it an air of ill-nature and hardship, and looked like a violence upon the law of nations; but they were soon discharged, and were only secured from receiving injuries themselves, and injuring others by their ill-timed errand.

The message which the son-in-law sent to his royal father, a little before the blue guards took their post before White-hall, was looked upon, in these times, by such who had an inclination to their old master, as bitter, undutiful, and wicked; but, certainly, the Prince never shewed his clemency, or indeed his tenderness, for King James, more than upon that occasion. The Prince was under an unavoidable necessity of entering London (the heart and capital of this realm), in order to bring those great designs to a conclusion, on

account of which he had run so many hazards. The troops that he commanded, and would, in all likelihood, have took possession of White-hall, were foreigners, of a different language and religion than King James, and such who might have offered violence to the person of that Monarch, notwithstanding their orders to the contrary. But allowing that King William had detached for that service the Scotch and English, which bore his colours, still the hazards of King James would have been the greater; several of the officers, belonging to those regiments, had served in Ireland under King James, and had been broke of their commissions, purely for being Protestants; others had voluntarily quitted England or Ireland, to find a liberty of their religion abroad, and which they conceived was in danger at home. In the number of these were Major-general Mackay, and several others. Another party were personally disgusted by the late King James; such were Lieutenant-general Talmash, my Lord Cutts, and many more of quality and distinction. To have commanded, therefore, these to guard their old master, against whom they had, or pretended to have, so many causes of dissatisfaction; would have been madness in any person, who intended or designed that Monarch should live, till cut off by the course of nature; which was the visible design of King William in respect to the late King James, as appears by this, and will be made yet further apparent by the subsequent observations. It is true, the honour of General Talmash and my Lord Cutts would have guarded the late King from violence and injuries to their power: but who could answer for the caprice and whimsies of the private sentinels? or, who can say to their humours, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further.'

Thus, we frequently see the best of accounts misinterpreted; we turn the great or little end of perspective suitable to our own inclination or fancy, and the fact bears no colour from itself, but from the false and prejudiced gloss we put upon it.

The Church of England was as forward in soliciting King William to invade England as the Dissenters: the reason of this was evident, because King James invaded the Church, assumed a power to new-model the Universities, silenced Dr. Sharpe, then minister of St. Giles's in the Fields, set up an ecclesiastical court, superior to that of Doctors-Commons, and imprisoned the bishops in the Tower. Yet this very Church of England, I mean some of the clergy (the representatives of the Church) refused to take the oaths to King William, equally dissatisfied with their elective and hereditary King; they forgot the memorials delivered, on their behalf, to the Prince of Orange, their honour, and their misfortunes. But the reason of this uneasiness appeared most plainly; King William had not dishes enough to satisfy all the longings and expectations of his guests; he could not cut out the whole state into deaneries and bishopricks: and, indeed, King William (as politic a prince as he was) had not yet craft enough to humour the clergy; neither, perchance, at that time of day did he think it his interest so to do; believing that, here in England, the tribe of Levi, and their doctrines, always depended on the government, as in Holland.

Sir Charles Sidley, in a speech made to the House of Commons, took the liberty to say, 'That King William, though a prince in years, was but a young king;' insinuating, that Monarch, though a very wise man, was not, by reason of the shortness of his reign, at that time acquainted with several systems of government, necessary to be known by English princes: and, sure, one of the mistakes of that reign appeared, in not managing the various factions of the clergy at first: which if the King had done with address, they had perfectly forgot the notions³ of Sherlock, Sibthorp, or Manwaring.

The Prince made a bridge of gold for King James; he was taken by his own subjects, and, in a sort of confinement, brought back to London. That sun, which was dreaded in the west as bad as death itself, sets in a small town, the scorn and mockery of the rabble; but the unhappy King, however barbarous his subjects were to him, would have had no great cause of complaint, had his government been equal. The KING of kings was

³ of passive obedience.

despised by his friends and relations, and that Monarch (like the suffering Jesus) met with ill usage from those creatures he had made.

Yet the permission allowed King James to retire where he would, was a plain indication that the Prince had no manner of design of injuring his person; nor harboured any sentiments of revenge against a father, whom he conceived endeavoured, by ungentleman-like methods, to deprive him of a throne, and his right, by the birth and merits of his lady, a princess of inimitable piety and virtue.

It was an unaccountable mistake in policy, and an error ill agreeing with the prudence of King William, in not securing and bringing to justice those traitors, who, by their flagitious councils, had near ruined the church and state; I mean those who once disgraced the bench, and from that seat of justice, (forgetting the duty they owed their God, their King, and their country, and as little mindful of their own honour and the public liberty,) gave their opinion, 'That the King might dispense with the penal laws and the Test, those bulwarks of the English franchises.' A just severity upon these people, and a retrospection into their actions, would have given their successors sufficient warning to make them honest; and, though our modern judges have behaved themselves with all the worth and probity imaginable, yet their impartiality must not be esteemed the effects of any terror that was struck into them by a just punishment of their predecessors, but rather springing from their own internal goodness and virtue.

As those gentlemen, which were false to their country, might have easily felt the resentments of the convention, just before the Prince's accession to these realms; so he had an extraordinary opportunity of doing himself and the nation justice, upon such infamous persons, as betrayed both, without exposing himself in the quarrel. An Old-Bailey jury would certainly have measured to them the same mercy, as other supposed criminals had found from their bloody hands; for, by the way, most juries are for the strongest side, and few persons, (as I ever heard or read of,) when indicted for treason, had the good fortune to escape safe and sound from their fiery trial; and all this might have been done without reflection upon the Prince, or calling his nature or mercy into question; if any odium had happened, it would have been charged upon the ferment of the nation.

A scrutiny of this nature, though it had let some ill persons blood, it might have been yet very necessary for the health of the republick; and I believe few persons would have been angry, if the blood of Russel, Sidney, and Cornish, had been sufficiently expiated.

My Lord Chief-justice Herbert, who exercised that office in those times, (perchance a man more innocent than some of his contemporaries, and not inferior to any of his successors in learning,) foresaw such a storm a-coming, and very fairly got away into France, beyond the reach of it: but his prospect was erroneous, and he banished himself to no purpose; yet his flight plainly evinced, what he thought would be the fate, or was the merit of his associates; and, whether the English would have pardoned him or not, it is plain he did not pardon himself.

No wonder then our navy, our councils, and our army were betrayed; no wonder our ships wanted men, and our men victuals; nor is it surprizing that our army had no pay; whilst pay-masters, agents, and clothiers, sucked the blood of the subject, and ham-stringed the sinews of war. All these misfortunes were owing to this piece of indulgence; and it may be justly affirmed, that he who neglects to punish one known traitor, makes a hundred more.

Thus the Prince of Orange, through a thousand difficulties, mounted the imperial throne of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a parliamentary title, rather than by any other. It is true, his lady was next in blood, supposing the pretended Prince of Wales illegitimate. But he never insisted upon that title, so much as upon the election of the people by their representatives, convened in the most solemn manner. Yet such is the wickedness of mankind, and the baseness of their nature, that even when he had enjoyed these realms with the general consent of his people, and they had quietly enough submitted to the government they had made; yet these Pontifens must needs be giving him a new right,

which forsooth was that of conquest. The Dutch at first were well enough pleased with the fancy, and the court itself shewed not much aversion to the ill-grounded chimera: but the parliament soon took up the quarrel, and shewed the vanity of these pretensions, and gave the world to understand, that England never submitted but once (if it did so) in the reign of William the Conqueror. And thus I conclude my observations on the life of the Prince of Orange, now called to the throne of England, on the abdication of King James the Second. So that it remains to remark on the latter part of his life and reign, as was at first proposed. And,

Secondly, I have chosen to divide these political remarks on the life and actions of our late Monarch, into two divisions; because there seems to be a vast variety in the fortune of that Prince, in these several periods of his life.

The first part of his life he struggled with all the difficulties of a crazy state, at a time when his youth and frequent indispositions gave those, who were really in the interest of their country, little hopes from him of bettering their melancholy circumstances; but he equally deceived the expectations of his friends and enemies, asserted the honour and happiness of his country, vindicated its liberties, raised himself and those provinces, which gave him birth, to a degree of grandeur, which neither the house of Orange, nor the United-states of the Netherlands, had before that time been acquainted with.

The faction of Barnevelt, when this Prince first took the helm of the Belgic provinces into his protection, had ingrossed all the chief employments of the state under the specious pretence of liberty; they had deluded the better and wealthier part of the commonwealth, to take part with them, and be at their devotion. The military commands were in their hands, the treasure and all things else in disorder at home, and the King of France's armies at their gates; yet from all these misfortunes the Prince rescued the commonwealth, and by its miseries made himself the happier.

The second part of his life was yet more glorious; he obliged King James to do him justice, asserted his right to the imperial crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, conquered the last, restored the reformed religion to its former vigour in these kingdoms, and suppressed the enemies of himself and the nation he ruled over: he was triumphant at the Boyne and Athlone, gave peace to Scotland, and saw himself master, as far as agrees with our constitution, of a bold and daring people.

But the remainder of his life was nothing so glorious to the state, or fortunate to himself; he lost the memorable battles of Steinkirk and Landen, and though he took Namur, (after an obstinate defence, made by the besieged,) yet he threw away more reputation by that patched-up peace at Reswick, than he gained honour by the acquisition of that important fortress.

King William, upon his taking upon him the government of these realms, found England inclinable to his wishes; some few indeed of the clergy and laity forgot their recent obligations to him, and the late danger of their country; but he soon reconciled their jarring spirits to his government, or made them incapable of injuring him.

Thus far his administration sailed with a successful wind, but his affairs in Scotland soon took another face; the scene was changed there; a few of the noblemen indeed adhered to his interest, the rest in general were dissatisfied, and the worst of it was, that the episcopal clergy, for the most part, struck in with the interest of the late King James. This obliged the kirk of Scotland, which now by the concessions of King William might be called the Church of Scotland, to stand upon their guard; and indeed, fairly speaking, they used the Non-conformists to the new model of religious worship a little hardly. From hence sprung the rebellion of my Lord Dundee, and of several of the Highland clans, many of whom followed his Lordship's fortune for affection or plunder, and some, very few, on the score of religion.

It is most certain, that my Lord Dundee did not originally design to break with King William; he had served under his late Majesty in Flanders, was a Protestant, and it is generally believed had no great inclination to King James; but he was forced upon what

he did, by the haughty carriage of a fine gentleman, and a very good officer⁴, who afterwards lost his life in the quarrel⁵, and who by his own death, and the disservice he did the government, may teach us, that, if it is dangerous to drive a coward, it is much more so, to push a brave man on extremities.

Yet, however cloudy this affair was at the beginning, it ended fortunately enough for King William. My Lord Dundee was killed at the battle of Killcranky, at a time when victory sat upon his helmet, who, had he lived, might have pushed our late Monarch as far as the same shores on which he landed.

But Heaven had decreed it otherwise: that lord received a shot under his arm, or (as some will have it) a thrust by a halbert through his armour; convincing us, that there is no defence against fate, and that Providence regarded more our happiness than the council of Scotland.

Soon after the decease of this gentleman, the Laird of Glencow, with several of his followers and dependents, were put to the sword in their beds, after they had embraced a pardon, which the government condescended to offer. If King William was truly acquainted thoroughly with the matter, and they suffered after their submission by his express order, it was an action contrary to all justice, below the majesty of a king, and beneath the character of his courage, which he had acquired at the peril of his life, in several bloody rencounters⁶.

By viewing this King at the battle of Senef, at the battle of the Boyne, and the fight of Landen, a man would not easily conjecture, that his soul could entertain thoughts of so infamous a nature; but what startles our imagination, and makes us doubtful in this argument is, the authority produced by those who committed these homicides in their own vindication; but what arguments induced the grant of these powers is uncertain: Heaven pardon the authors of so bloody an enterprise!

The siege of Londonderry gave a greater turn to King William's affairs than could be expected; and plainly demonstrates to the unthinking part of mankind, that there is no such thing as certainty in human affairs. King James sent thither the Duke of Berwick, several French generals, and the best of his militia, rather to obtain glory and plunder, according to their several capacities, than to hazard themselves and his army, before a town he conceived naked and defenceless: but what was his success? All his fine troops were ruined or killed; that city and Iniskillin changed the complexion of his conquests, and he never succeeded in one single attempt he made afterwards.

Had this town surrendered to the Catholic forces, the late King James had entirely made himself master of Ireland, and been at leisure to have poured in a numerous army upon Scotland; which he might easily have done, the passage from one kingdom to another being not above four hours sail; and what would have been the consequence it is not hard to judge, when my Lord Dundee was in arms at the same time, and had, if he had lived, over-run all Scotland, and endangered the loss of England into the bargain.

What rewards then were suitable to the merit of those gentlemen, who stopped a deluge, which might have proved fatal to these kingdoms; more than at first blush can be imagined? But, let their deserts be what they will, they starved (as my Lord Haversham expresses himself) with testimonials of their service in their pockets.

The battle of Bantrey-Bay, in which the late Sir Cloudesley Shovel exerted a most remarkable courage, taught King William (as wise a prince as he was) a secret which he was a stranger to; and that was, that the French were no despicable enemies by sea: and, if he was not thoroughly convinced of this truth, in a little time afterwards he knew it by a dear experience.

⁴ Mr. Cleeland, lieutenant-colonel to my Lord Angus.

⁵ At the battle of Killcranky.

⁶ [The affair at Glencoe was one of the most cruel, treacherous, and sanguinary slaughters recorded in the annals of our history, and still remains a mysterious event, as the promoters and perpetrators of it were left unpunished.]

All that were witnesses to Cloudesley's conduct and bravery, upon the occasion I have just mentioned, thought it a piece of extraordinary merit; but our Monarch was obliged to him in a higher degree soon after; for that Admiral, in the sight of King James, and in the presence of his guards, who were drawn up to their relief, burnt or took a man-of-war in Dublin bay, and two or three other ships. The extraordinary merit of the service lay here; a great many officers of the fleet, at the same time, were not sufficiently hearty to the government, and this action was a precedent to the rest, and quite dispirited several persons who were in the interest of the abdicated King.

The King had a great opinion of Duke Schomberg, and indeed that gentleman deserved it; but I am fully persuaded, that there was an English officer, in his dominions, every jot as fit for the high command of captain-general, and time has abundantly declared it.

The camp of Dundalk was fatal to the English; we lost a great many brave men there, amongst whom were Colonel Wharton, Colonel Deering, and several other persons of quality; and it is thought, that if his Grace the Duke of Schomberg had fought the Irish with all their boasted odds, he would hardly, though beaten, have been a greater loser.

But whether King William approved the Duke of Schomberg's managing the army or not, it is plain he acted contrary to his Grace; for no sooner could he reach the Boyne with his troops, but he gave the enemy battle; humouring or approving of the inclinations of the English, whose custom it has been, always to engage at sight, without counting numbers.

What made the King so fiery at the Boyne is uncertain; some attribute it to the rashness of his temper, others, with more justice, believe the precipitation, he then shewed, was occasioned by the ill news he had received from England, that my Lord Torrington had engaged the French fleet off Beachy-head, and was worsted in the combat: he lost the Anne, commanded by Captain Tyrrel, and the Dutch suffered extremely in the engagement; see here the vanity of the English, and the industry of our enemies. We proudly imagined, that a single squadron of ours was a superior match for all the naval power of France, and now we find, that our united fleets give way to the admirals of France.

My Lord Torrington's conduct was mightily blamed; with what reason I shall not determine. At the instance of the Dutch captains, he was tried at a court-martial, and acquitted immediately: thereupon he laid down his commission, and it is yet uncertain, whether we did not sacrifice a brave man, who deserved a better fate, to the ferment of the people, and the fury of their resentments; and it is equally strange, that in such public actions, where so many thousands were witnesses of the fact, the common-wealth should not be capable of knowing whether an officer did his duty, or omitted it.

Had the French staid much longer on our coasts, it is reported King William designed to have commanded his fleet himself, and to have given them battle; but, as the world is malicious, so this Monarch found this design of his ridiculed by some pretended politicians, who imagined that the command of an army at land is very different from the management of a fleet at sea; never considering, that the Dutch had an Opdam, and the English a Monk, and an Ossory, who, though they were no marine officers, yet behaved themselves with as much honour, prudence, and courage, as any who ever ploughed the surface of the ocean.

The reduction of Ireland (some two or three towns excepted) was the consequence of the battle of the Boyne, and King James himself took shipping at Waterford, deserting now this realm, as he had lately done that of England some time before; and indeed, by so precipitate a flight, he made himself unworthy of any other fate than that which he sustained.

King William found himself repulsed at the first siege of Limerick, more by the inclemency of the air, and the badness of the season, than by the valour of the garrison; though the town was commanded by three officers of great experience, and sheltered the remains of the whole Irish army. But there's no fighting against the elements; they were appointed and commanded by a greater King than William the Third; and Canu-

tus, the Danish monarch, might have instructed our royal General in the truth of this maxim, if the latter had given himself the trouble of consulting the English history.

The King quitted Ireland the latter end of this campaign, and left Monsieur Ginkle (afterwards Earl of Athlone) to reduce that part of the kingdom which continued in the interest of King James. It is true, that lord (by the instances of the English commanders, and by the valour of their troops) ventured to fight, and won the battle of Aghrim, and obliged all the enemies of his master to submit themselves to his obedience; yet it is the opinion of our officers, if a general of our own nation had commanded our troops, the matter would as soon have been effected.

Thus far King William had all the success he could in reason desire; but fortune was not always indulgent to his wishes, and the rest of her conduct towards that Monarch shewed, that kings as well as peasants are often mortified by her caprices.

The battle of Steinkirk was glorious to the English, though they smarted severely by the numbers, and continual fire of the French. My Lord Cutts was wounded in the action; the Generals Lanier and Mackay killed, and troops of our bravest officers attended them to the regions of futurity.

The English were exasperated at the cowardice or ill-nature of some Dutch officers, who refused to sustain our battalions, and seemed to make a jest of their ruin. Our soldiers took all opportunities of quarrelling with the officers and soldiers belonging to the States; and the umbrage, we had received from the misfortunes of that skirmish, had like to have been of the worst consequence to both nations.

But the prudence of King William, or (to speak plainly) the influence he had over the superior officers, allayed the ferment our soldiers were in; which, perchance, had he not been King of England, and Stadtholder of the United Provinces, he had never effected.

But vengeance seldom sleeps, and if Count Soames, by his omitting to succour the English, occasioned the death of several brave men, he himself died soon after, being struck with a cannon-ball; and that general, in the hour of his death, so far forgot his honour, as to call to the soldiers to shoot him, in order to be freed from the violent pains he was tormented with.

If our loss at Steinkirk was considerable, it was much more so at Landen; several reasons were given out to colour the shame of our defeat, but nothing could be alleged to vindicate our disgrace, or extenuate the glory of the French.

The intelligence, which the Duke of Bavaria's secretary held with the French, was generally assigned to be the cause of the loss of this battle; whether the correspondence he managed was by the order of his master, is uncertain, but the servant was hanged very fairly, and tried afterwards.

The Elector of Bavaria is reckoned a superstitious prince, brave enough, and very much devoted to his religion; but the execution of this gentleman in so odd a manner, without any examination, trial, or conviction, convinces us of the late Elector's policy, but gave us no great proofs of his piety.

Our horse, excepting two or three regiments, behaved themselves but indifferently, and they declared openly, that they fought as they were paid: but our foot did good service, if not to the English nation, yet to the rest of the confederates; for they stood very firmly, and maintained their ground with all the courage imaginable, and by this means gave the allies an opportunity of running away.

General Talmash and Sir Henry Bellasis continued last upon the field of battle, and one of these had won immortal reputation, if the memory of Vigo and Port St. Mary's did not cancel the glory he acquired in Flanders.

But he survives, and Talmash lies as low as envy or jealousy could desire him; though it is impossible to imagine he was sacrificed to the resentment of a court party, yet it is easy to believe some in the ministry heartily wished his ruin.

He was too brave and too public a spirited man, either to let himself, the parliament, or nation, be imposed on; he loved a soldier, and as he was the readiest to lead his men

to battle, so he took the greatest care to see them rewarded after the combat. His principles of honour and his sense were too good to be bribed or amused, and his personal courage and integrity too great to be forced or threatened into an unworthy silence.

Such qualifications as these were, without dispute, made him obnoxious to such as hated the interest of England; and, at last, they prevailed so far as to have him employed in an attempt, where he must of necessity lose his honour or his life.

But these were not the only losses that afflicted King William; he had the misfortune to see his Queen fall ill of the small-pox, and a few days robbed the English of a princess, a better than whom never mounted a throne, or gave laws to a willing people.

She died as unconcerned as his Majesty her husband fought, and braved the king of terrors with as great a resolution on her bed of sickness⁷, as he did in the field of battle; and certainly that lady's piety or courage was the greater, since (as she said herself to my lord Archbishop of Canterbury) she was always prepared to die, and her royal spouse very often took the sacrament before a battle.

King William (as it is reported) was very much concerned at her death; and if he had expressed a more visible sorrow, the nation would have resented it still more kindly, who sincerely mourned the loss of that princess, and still do upon her memory.

But though the loss of so good a princess afflicted King William very much, yet the peace of Reswick mortified him much more; he was obliged at last, by the murmuring temper of his subjects, to acquiesce in terms very dishonourable to Europe, and not over-glorious to his Majesty. By this treaty of pacification, the French were to retain Luxemburgh and Strasburgh (those bulwarks of Flanders and the Empire), who instead of them were only to have an equivalent; which, in fact, was far from the intrinsic value of those provinces: but, notwithstanding the inequality of these and other articles, the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, and the neutrality in Italy, powerfully persuaded the allies to put an end to the war.

Soon after the peace, the partition-treaty followed, and (by too much precaution) the government involved the nation in a dreadful war, which (to their best thinking) they endeavoured to avoid. The Spaniards, who are a haughty people, so much resented the intended division of their monarchy, that their grandees made a will, or influenced their monarch so to do; by which he devised all his dominions in Italy, Spain, and the West Indies, to the house of Bourbon, in the person of the Duke of Anjou; who (notwithstanding the most dreadful imprecations of his grandfather to the contrary) took possession of those states and provinces, by the assistance of that monarch, who, to prefer his family, despised all sanctions, both divine and human.

It is frequently observable in politicks, that men often lose the substance, by an inquisition after the shadow: old Æsop told us this a great many years ago, and we see it every day's experience, that, greedily desiring the whole, we even lose that part of which we might have securely possessed ourselves. But it fell out quite otherwise, in relation to this partition-treaty: for the house of Austria, not being contented with a part of the Spanish provinces, lost them the whole; and the balance of Europe was turned to the part of France, which they thought would have been at the discretion of the confederates.

When the peace of Reswick was brought to a conclusion, the parliament of England thought it high time to disband some of their national regiments, and all the foreigners in their service. Amongst these last, were the Dutch blue guards, and my Lord Portland's regiment of Dutch horse, who attended his Majesty in all his expeditions, long before and after his accession to the throne of England. His Majesty was much dissatisfied at the proceedings, and made all the interest he possibly could in the house, to disannul the injunctions of his supreme council; but all to no effect: he used entreaties to the parliament, but to no purpose; and upon this occasion behaved himself much different from the haughty character he had all along maintained.

He laid the scheme of the present war we are engaged in, against France and Spain;

⁷ [See Archbishop Tillotson's testimonial of this circumstance, in *Royal Authors*, vol. i.]

and made all the provision the grandeur of such a design required. After the unfortunate accident of breaking his collar-bone, he fell into a fever, which quickly put an end to his reign and glory.

During his sickness, he behaved himself with that great greatness of soul, which he had often shewed in the field; and died with the same bravery, as he had expressed in the heat of action.

Advice to a young Clergyman, how to conduct himself in the common Offices of Life; in a Letter from a late Right Reverend Prelate.

[Octavo, containing Twenty-five Pages.]

The PREFACE.

THIS Letter of Advice to a young Clergyman was written by a very eminent prelate, some years ago, and has remained in private hands ever since.

Though the rules laid down therein were prescribed for private use, probably without any intent to be made public; yet they seem to be so singularly serviceable, as to challenge universal attention and regard, since there are scarce any to whom they may not be advantageous.

Though the great name and reputation of the author would be a sufficient recommendation, if it were judged proper to communicate it, yet I am persuaded it will make its way without it; as all young clergymen will find, the observance of these maxims which were drawn from experience, will highly conduce to the promotion of their spiritual interests. With this view only it is made public, nor will it be the publisher's fault, if it does not answer the end proposed.

Dear SIR,

I RECEIVED your very obliging and respectful letter; by which you inform me, that you are lately entered into holy orders. I am very glad of it; and I pray God to bless you in all things, both in temporal and eternal happiness!

The respect which I bear to your father's memory, and for whom I had, while living, the most entire friendship; accompanied with my best wishes for the welfare of all who stand in any degree of relation towards him; have determined me to give you, what (if rightly accepted and observed) will be, I am fully satisfied, the best present I can possibly make you; I mean, a little good advice for the due regulation of your future conduct in life. Not that I think you stand remarkably in need of it, or that I am over-fond of exercising that authority which my office may peculiarly claim, or that privilege which old age doth often usurp, of documenting our juniors; but only that I may, in the most proper manner I can think of, testify my affection to a son of Dr. N——, and, in some sort, repay my obligations to my dear departed friend; and, in so doing, I shall not touch upon any of the fundamentals of our faith, or of morality; for in all these, I am well persuaded, your father's example, your religious education, and your own learning, and good abilities, will be sufficient at all times to direct you; but my cautions shall at present only regard some smaller incidents, which, though of the greatest importance, seem to be so tri-

vial, that many young men never think of them, till they find themselves entangled in those very circumstances, and, for want of a timely reflection, are greatly embarrassed and perplexed how to proceed; and, for want of proper direction, often act wrong. As to which points, if I can give you a previous admonition, I shall, I believe, do you (what I intended) a real service.

And first, Let me beg you to be very timid and circumspect; never to contract too strict an intimacy with any of those persons who are of the same vocation whereunto we also are called. For although we ought most intimately, and most sincerely, to affect and regard each the other, and to be closely united, not only on a religious principle, (as we are all of us servants of one Master,) but also on a prudential account; because, if we were friends one to another, with something more than a professed sincerity (of which kind only there is no lack) we might, in that case, the better be enabled to make a stand against the common enemies of us and our religion; yet, so unhappy is the state of things among us at present, and, I much fear me, it will continue so, that we are become our own greatest enemies; and not only the laity separates and divides itself from among us, but we also, thus weakened, grow weaker, by subdivisions and unchristian disputings, among ourselves; reducing every affection into self-love, and turning the breath of charity into the blast of envy.

Another reason which may justly be offered in support of this reservedness of behaviour is, that it will be a means to forward your preferment; though it is generally conceived to be a means of frustrating it: the error of which opinion will manifestly appear, if you will but consider, that a friendship with a young clergyman will oft-times, if not always, betray you.—He has the same views, the same expectations and pursuits with yourself; a rivalry cancels every obligation. But he is your friend, you will say? As he is such, then he best knows your interest, can soonest trace the spring it flows from, and easiest direct it into his own channel. Thus your friend, only by being too much so, becomes your competitor; and, if he succeeds, so far will he be from making you amends, or remembering the means of his success, the worldling must of necessity avoid you, that the sight of you may not upbraid him.—It is better far to fear this to be true, than to find it so.

For these reasons, therefore, (and more reasons might be given,) although I would desire you should be courteous and affable to all, I would not have you plunge yourself too deeply into engagements with any; for a friendship with the brotherhood will cause you many disappointments in expecting their assistance, and many difficulties in affording them yours. To be prudent therefore, and to avoid both these inconveniences, keep them under a proper reserve, and at a due distance, for your own sake.

But it is not thus that you are to proceed with regard to the laity; maintain but innocence in your life, and decency in your conduct, you cannot be too open, too unreserved, too cheerful amongst them. There is a most grievous fault, which almost all persons, who have had a University education, fall more or less into, which is pedantry. The young man who has plunged into Greek; and, perhaps, paddled in Hebrew; cannot bear common names for common things. Sublime expressions, which travel hard towards nonsense, are sure always to delight him; and, when he discovers, that those whom his vanity calls the lower classes of mankind (such as mechanicks, and persons bred to trade, who have, perhaps, much more general knowledge, and are at least ten times more useful, than himself) do not understand him, and, of consequence, do not admire him, (for the world is become in these latter ages so refractorily wise, they will not pay an implicit admiration to any thing,) he begins to despise them for what is really no fault at all, or most certainly no fault of theirs; shuns their company, which he ought to seek; and loses their interest, which he ought to preserve.

But is not the dislike mutual? Is not the vain contempt returned? And let us examine fairly, which has the most justification on its side. If a pedant, with an air of pride and superiority (for pride eternally mixes itself with pedantry) comes into company with trades-

men, who are talking nothing better than good sense, and in no better style or language than plain English; when it comes to his turn to speak, or perhaps before (for it is great odds his learning will not be checked by good breeding), he pours forth a torrent of rough sounds, which none but himself (nor perhaps himself) understands; such as my weak head would not be able to bear, which aches but to think of him: and all this violence is committed only to make them gape wide with admiration of his learning. But let the subject be changed; let trade, navigation, commerce, agriculture, mechanism, or manufacture, become the topick; this man of letters is struck dumb, can give no opinion when he is consulted, no satisfactory answer to any question proposed; knows not the situation, climate, produce, or practice of any foreign countries; nor can judge, with any tolerable exactness, of the true interests of his own. So learned he is, he knows not how he came by his own gown and cassock, other than that he paid for it, and wears it; so wise he is, that he is totally at a loss in all the ordinary occurrences of life; and finds that his Greek and Hebrew would have been of much greater use three-thousand years ago, but that he cannot now tell how best to make his way in the world he is to travel through. Yet this is the man who claims a right to have all the discourse to himself, and, with a lazy pride, contemns unlearned industry.—Yet, which of these appears to the most advantage, you shall determine; for I have done with him.

Perhaps you will think me a little too severe in my censure, and say, Is learning then of no use? Learning is undoubtedly and abundantly useful, but it should be properly and cautiously applied; not merely to draw applause from the ignorant, but rather to convey useful instruction.—Now the misfortune is, that when we launch out into life, and come from the University with the reputation of being well read, we are too apt to entertain a mistaken notion, that our studies are quite finished; whereas, on the contrary, we have yet our greatest exercise to go through, the study of mankind; which speculation cannot ever arrive at, and which is attainable only by associating with, and mixing among them. Now this I take to be so far from being blameable, that it is, in my opinion, our indispensable duty; for I have always thought, that our good conduct, and sober and pious behaviour in life, is of more real service to religion, than all wordy exhortations to virtue whatever; and that innocent complacency is highly preferable to a monastic austerity. We do well, when we allure men to the practice of their duty, by making it appear in the most desirable light; but far otherwise do we act, when we banish the practice of religion by masking it with terror. It is not our business to retire from the world, but to live well in it; and labour by example, not by precept only, to reform it. And it is always, without exception, our own fault, if we are not agreeably received by the laity;—our company and conversation courted and desired, and our persons and characters respected and regarded: and, believe me, by cultivating a sincere friendship with them, you shall be overpaid for all the learning they may steal from you, besides temporal advantages.

I hope what I have said on these subjects, will be sufficient to convince you, how necessary it is to act in the manner, in which I have taken the freedom to advise you, with respect to the clergy and laity; I know, for my own part, I have long been convinced of it.

The next point in which I think I ought to caution you more particularly is, with respect to the general choice of your subjects in your discourses from the pulpit; and, in all your sermons, let me request you, at all times, strictly to avoid all manner of political reflections. Do not torture scriptural history (as the fashion is) for modern application. Draw no observations upon government, not even in defence of the administration; and, for the following reasons: it is not part of your duty to do it, and therefore it is your duty not to do it; for you are to keep to the practice of your duty. Secondly, all discourses of such a nature tend to irritate and inflame; whereas our whole study is to be employed in uniting each to the other, in christian charity. Thirdly, it is wrong with regard to your own private interest; for, whichever side you choose, you would do well to remember there is another side, who will call you servile or seditious. And a fourth reason may be offered, which is, that although you should employ your eloquence on that side which is, in the usual phrase, called the safest (I mean, the now prevailing party), yet you know

not of a certainty, that you shall get into good preferment thereby (which I take to be the only motive of all who engage in state-controversy, and must be your motive, should you also engage in it;) and, should you fail therein while their power holds, and the tables turn, (which, from the perpetual fluctuation of human affairs, it is highly probable will happen before you arrive at my time of life,) you will then remain for ever obnoxious to the party which may chance to become uppermost; and that too, perhaps, without any real dislike, either of their principles or practices. Thus it is a great hazard, whether you can rave yourself into good preferment under one administration; and, if you do obtain it for a while, you will be inevitably ship-wrecked in the first storm; such a terrible self-splitter is full-blown zeal.

Another thing, which is peculiarly requisite for your conduct from the pulpit, is the framing and adapting your discourses in such a manner as may best suit with your audience. Measure, as much as may be, the line of their understandings. Do not any more go out of their depth, than beyond your own. Preach not on mysteries to metaphysicians, nor preach metaphysicks to farmers. Nothing has done more real disservice to religion, than an incautious choice of our subjects from the pulpit, and an inaccurate manner of treating them; insomuch that it remains a question, whether persecution has ever done half so much injury to it, as all the various wrong methods made use of to defend it.

But, above all things, let me deter you from too curious an examination of those sacred mysteries which are the objects of our faith, but are not within the narrow limits of our understanding. I have trembled to hear a young preacher (with too much warmth in his head as well as in his heart) state all the objections which infidelity has ever been able, with all its wicked industry, to make against our religion, only to shew his own ingenuity in answering them. But how grievous is his offence, if any of his auditors, who had never heard, till that hour, any one of these objections made, (and, probably, never might have had their peace disturbed by hearing them made,) should not think his answers full and satisfactory! Beware, therefore, I beseech you, in quiet minds, never to raise doubts nor start difficulties, merely for the merit of solving them. Religion can support itself; be you careful not to injure it.

Nor need you be at any great loss to find out proper heads of discourse to enlarge upon, while there are the extensive and important volumes of morality lying at all times open before you. These are the best subjects you can possibly make choice of upon many accounts. They are proper at all times, are well received in all places, are readily understood by all persons, and easily composed by you; so that, by constantly pursuing this method, you will receive more approbation with less pains. The excessive applauses which the most famous preachers of the last century have, from time to time, been rewarded with; have often, if not always, flowed more from a rhetorical display of moral virtue, than from their labours to establish the evidences of our belief. The most admired and most celebrated preacher, now living, owed his rise entirely to a happy and persuasive manner of enforcing our practical duty; for, although he is now arrived at almost the highest degree of dignity in the church, yet has he scarcely ever been remembered to have chosen a subject which was not wholly employed on our moral obligations to each other. These he has always insisted on, as the most certain rule of discharging our duty to God. Want of charity has, indeed, imputed to him a doubt or disbelief of the great mysteries of our faith; but I will not ever harbour in my breast so rash a suspicion, which his whole life is a confutation of; for he is a good man, which he could hardly be, unless he were also, what I am fully persuaded he is, a good Christian. You will forgive me therefore, that I do recommend his practice to your imitation; for I should not deserve to be forgiven, if I were to offer you my own.

I shall close this article in a very few words. If you should be so lucky to rise in the church, (do not wonder that I call it luck; for merit alone will not raise you, though you have as much as any young man I know; but strong interest, fair opportunity, and good recommendation, will juggle all virtues, graces, and accomplishments whatever; should you therefore, I repeat it, by any kind hit, become eminent,) do not, I beseech you, be

(or affect to be) rigidly severe against any sectaries or set of men, merely on account of difference in opinion. If all who fear God, and work righteousness, are accepted of him; do not anathematize or reject those, whom it is our duty to hope, that God hath not rejected. Moreover, although we ought to be steadfast in our faith, yet I cannot but think it a truly religious and highly commendable fear, when we forbear to censure others, only for differing in opinion from us, from an awful apprehension of its being possible they are in the right, and that we ourselves may be mistaken. For, consider a little, we have Revelation, so have they; we have reason, so have they: many things we differ in, yet very few of them are of the essentials to salvation; and those which are so must wait their determination from Infinite Wisdom. Therefore, in the first place, with regard to yourself, be sober, be careful, be vigilant, be not blown about with every wind of doctrine, but labour incessantly to confirm and strengthen those who do well. And, in the next place, with regard to others, be meek, be patient, be merciful; remember, that your adversary is your brother, and be not bitter against him, but at all times avoid that zeal which is not according to knowledge.

I am not now much ashamed to own (especially as it may be for your advantage), that in the two next points in which I am about to caution you, I have often wished for advice at your time of life, and therefore hope, mine may now be of service to you. They are these: what respect you ought prudently to pay to others, and how much respect you may justly claim to yourself.

The respect you are to pay to others, may, in the general, be governed by the degree of respect paid to them by the rest of mankind: for the world doth generally judge right in this particular; and, when I am informed, that merit is without a due reverence paid to it, I must know that merit well, before I can be at all induced to believe it: for, in such a circumstance, I do generally suspect, that mankind have found a sufficient reason to delay paying that debt of respect, which without such a reason, they seem to me to be always ready enough to pay. And, therefore, as on the one side you will be right in not being the last to regard those who have the concurrent good opinion of mankind; although, possibly, you do not know all the footsteps by which they made their way; so, on the other side, do not entertain, of a sudden, too high an opinion of the appearance of infant merit, while it remains under obscurity; lest, when it comes forth into the face of day, there should prove black spots in it, which cannot bear the light, and which, while you stand too near, may throw a shade on your judgment at least, if it does not in some sort darken your integrity. In fine, there is a happy medium: praise no man much, especially if he praises you, lest it should seem like a plot to play one another off to the world; nor censure any man greatly, lest you be thought to envy him.

Another method of forming a judgment, what degree of respect you are to pay to others; is to consider, what degree of good they can do to you. For though they may happen to be under general disesteem, yet, if they can and will do you a particular benefit, they have an undoubted right to your particular regard, nor can you easily, in such a case, shew them too much; for all mankind are but too desirous of receiving homage from each other, though the major part of them are too indolent to exert those good qualities, which are necessary to obtain it. If you pay them no more respect than they deserve, all men will think you pay them too little; but, if you pay them fifty times more than they merit, no man will think you pay him too much. Err, therefore, for their satisfaction, and your own sake, on the right side. Give my Lord his title; or if he likes to have it so, even call him his Grace; and his Lordship's Grace shall, in return, say, 'you have much learning and good sense, and deserve promotion.' Pay him but homage, he shall admire you, without knowing why; yet ought you to know, that he admires you for that homage he receives from you.

You will object, perhaps, that this is an undue method of applying to the passions of men: yet, if you are to deal with men, you must deal with them not as being what they should be, but as they are; creatures hurried away with their passions and vanities; and labour to make them serve to your own interest. All men have their frailties, but an ardent

desire of respect is the great frailty of all men. There is a vein of pride winds itself through all nature: the meanest pant for that homage, which the great ones receive, and are anxious to find out something a degree below themselves, from whom they also may have a right to exact the like. I would be glad to tell you, that nothing of this kind prevails among the clergy, did not every hour's experience prove it otherwise; for I fear me, should you ask the laity concerning all of us in general, or the inferior clergy concerning the dignified brethren in particular, their answers would not excuse us. Would they not say, that we require them to bow to a priest, and kneel to a bishop; nay, perhaps, assert, that we were so watchful for respect from them, as to make it a religious obligation, which they were bound to perform?

But are there no persons who think it a meanness to stoop thus far, and pay mankind more respect than they deserve? Are there none who with an open roughness, and highly to be applauded sincerity, bring men down to the low level of their real merit? Yes, some such there are; but they are those whom success in life, or independency of fortune, have set at liberty, to act as they please; or they are those who rail at seeing others do, what they have themselves done before, in vain. But if you would know better than themselves whether these railers at over-doing respect are truly in earnest, or only actuated by pique and resentment; ply them closely with that very respect they pretend to detest, admire their superior understandings, revere their uprightness, commend their stoic virtue, promise to imitate their example; and I will venture to assert, you shall be well received by them for doing that to them, which they will not permit you to do to others. For the thing is, in applying your respect to himself, every man thinks you apply it right.

But I must say no more on this subject, lest, when I have the favour of a visit from you, you should turn the weapons I have lent you, against myself.

As to the respect which you may justly claim to yourself, it is the hardest thing of all to give advice in: for hardly any one of us thinks he has enough, which is the reason why he has so little. But as you now have a right to require, that I propose some rule for you to go by, let it be this; to demand only so much respect as you really deserve. Now this, you will say, leaves you as it found you, since you cannot easily form a judgment of your own deserts. If that be the case, then let the world form a judgment for you, and it is highly probable it will be a favourable one. Think you deserve no more, or rather less, than you do really receive: for this will be a certain method to raise you that very respect you want to have shewn to you, and will at the same time preserve humility in yourself.—The truth of the fact is really just thus; it is our contending so apparently for so much respect, which very often, if not always, deprives us entirely of it. Men have ceased from worshipping images. Though they revere the priesthood, they abhor priestcraft: they will not, they ought not to regard us merely for our habits, but to enquire what manner of spirit we are of. Nothing can make a proud man more odious, unless it be, that he is a proud priest; and believe me, (from experience I speak it,) if we would have any uncommon deference and regard shewn us from the laity, we must always take it by courtesy, and not as matter of right; for they are at all times ready to give us a proper respect, if we do not insist on it as a debt, which they are obliged to pay us.

It is but too often the case, that instead of the homage we so ardently desire, we are forced to bear raillery, nay even some degree of ridicule itself, especially from our superiors in fortune, on whom we have a dependence or expectation, and to whom it would be the highest imprudence to discover any resentment. Now to be able to sustain this trial with decency and good humour, and to make it seem easy to us, (when it is, perhaps, far otherwise,) though it is very difficult, is a very valuable and profitable accomplishment; and the great secret seems to be this,—by laughing with them, or rather beginning the laugh for them against yourself, which will in a great measure relieve you from being laughed at by them. Whatever is superior to ridicule, will not hurt you. Whatever cannot stand it, deserves it. Then why not laugh? If a young clergyman be too voracious an epicure, bows very awkwardly, behaves very slovenly, or talks most pedantically; may we not join in banter of the man, without any affront to the order? Or is it abso-

lutely necessary to suppose every spiritual person to have no earthly failing? There seems to be, more especially with every young man among us, so strong an attachment to the interests of the church (to give it no worse a construction) that he labours to make us believe, that it receives a wound, when himself is attacked in his own private capacity, on occurrences which no way affect it. His person, his dress, his actions, his errors, are all to be sacred, because he is a divine. Why, what a farce is this? Can we be supposed meek, patient, long-suffering, and ready to bear all kinds of persecution, when we cannot even sustain a little raillery with any tolerable serenity of temper?

Endow yourself therefore, I request you, with so much patience, as to hear the frailties incident to your humanity, without the low subterfuge of sheltering yourself in your divinity; nor ever imagine, that your profession of religion is, or ought to be, a protection for your faults.

I do remember a nobleman, who before a very numerous assembly, told a worthy divine, who was soliciting him for a living then vacant, and in his Lordship's disposal; "No, no, Doctor, talk no more of it; but pr'ythee, man, learn to dance." The Doctor, not at all abashed, smilingly replied, "He should be incorrigible not to improve, with his Lordship for an instructor, who had long taught him to *dance attendance*." "Have I so, Doctor?" (says the Earl.) Then even take the living; and my daughter Sophy shall teach you to turn your toes out." The company laughed; but the Doctor had most reason. I wish you the same self-subduing spirit, and that a like reward may attend it.

Another thing, which I must exhort you to, is this, 'In whatsoever state of life you are, therewith to be content.' Avarice and oppression are the two most shocking crimes, which degenerated nature can be guilty of; yet are they often, and I fear with too much reason, imputed to the clergy. Nor can it at all excuse or extenuate our offence, that it hath been so from time before us, and may be so after us. Every man is undoubtedly under a moral obligation to provide for himself and his family, by all prudent and honest means; for, if we sow unto them spiritual things, it is meet that we partake of their temporal things. But this does not extend so far as to injure, oppress, be rigid, tortious, and violent: and I am most usually inclined to believe, that he among us who litigates for tithes, or duties, must be himself chiefly in fault; for I have proved it myself, that the man who will not pay you sixpence (which he is convinced you have no right to exact) will give you ten times the sum, if you will accept it in the manner he thinks fit to give it you; and will spend forty times as much to keep you from it, if you refuse. Now suppose Christian forbearance laid entirely out of the case; which way, think you, ought human policy to take? Whenever, therefore, you are in this disagreeable circumstance, examine yourself with great strictness, and be always the first to propose the mediation of friends, arbitration, or any other compromise; remembering, that to the spiritual man belongeth peace, and that he ought no more to make use of the law than of a sword, neither of which are justifiable except only for self-defence.

The only thing which remains for me to mention to you, and which necessarily follows Christian forbearance, is Christian charity. I had rather be employed in one act of benevolence, than expound the whole Apocalypse. There is nothing so much mistaken as charity: some confine it to an ostentatious alms-giving, where the act pays itself: some place it in giving all men a good character, which makes their good word of no value to any man, and which seems to me to flow rather from an abject servility of spirit, than from any religious motive. Yet, sure, to part with the superfluities of life, which we know not how otherwise to employ, or to blow off our praises on others, when they cost nothing, and are nothing worth, cannot deserve to wear the name of charity. That virtue rises to a higher pitch; it streams with every bleeding wound, and sighs with every aching heart; is delighted to be employed, and places all its good in procuring happiness to others; had rather remove distress, than build palaces; and says to the unhappy, 'Mine is your misery, for ye are my children.' This is, or this ought to be, the distinguishing characteristic of the servants of Christ; without which, knowledge and learning are a reproach, and all pretences to piety, and solemn austerity, impious and pharisaical.

I have now gone through the whole, in which I thought it might be necessary to give you advice. And although it may seem, that I have not directed you in any important articles, yet I would wish you to keep my letter by you, to refer to occasionally; and I dare venture to say, that in the course of your life you will find the usefulness of it in every particular.

It is not in weightier matters that we are often the most embarrassed; there we are always on our guard, or can have present directions for our conduct, from pious and learned authors: but little inconveniences, by being as little attended to, oftentimes become the most difficult; for he, who despiseth small things, shall perish by little and little.

If this will not amount to a full excuse, let my sincere friendship for you supply the rest; for you may be assured, I would not have written so freely and unreservedly to any person, for whom I had not the most affectionate regard.

I shall be, assure yourself, exceedingly glad to see you at all times at —, where you will be certain of finding me; having taken up a resolution, though not a common one, of spending the remainder of my days in my own diocese.

Nov. 1730.

England's Joy: Or a Relation of the most remarkable Passages, from his Majesty's Arrival at Dover, to his Entrance at White-hall.

London, printed by Tho. Creak, 1660.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

BEING come a-board one of the fairest of those ships, which attended at Sluys, for wafting him over from the Hague in Holland; and, therein having taken leave of his sister the Princess Royal, he set sail for England on Wednesday evening, May 23, 1660. And having, during his abode at sea, given new names to that whole navy (consisting of twenty-six goodly vessels), he arrived at Dover on the Friday following (viz. May the 25th) about two of the clock in the afternoon. Ready on the shore to receive him, stood the Lord-general Monk, as also the Earl of Winchelsea, constable of Dover Castle, with divers persons of quality on the one hand, and the Mayor of Dover, accompanied by his brethren of that corporation on the other, with a rich canopy.

As soon as he had set foot on the shore, the Lord-general, presenting himself before him on his knee, and kissing his royal hand, was embraced by his Majesty; and received divers gracious expressions of the great sense he had of his loyalty, and in being so instrumental in this his restoration.

There also did the Corporation of Dover, and the Earl of Winchelsea, do their duties to him in like sort; all the people making joyful shouts: and the great guns from the ships and castle telling aloud the happy news of this his entrance upon English ground.

From thence, taking coach immediately, with his royal brothers (the Dukes of York and Gloucester), he passed to Barham-down (a great plain lying betwixt Dover and Canterbury), where were drawn up divers gallant troops of horse, consisting of the nobility, knights, and gentlemen of note, clad in very rich apparel, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Oxford, Derby, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Viscount Mordaunt: as also several foot-regiments of the Kentish-men. Being entered the Down on horseback, where multitudes of the country-people stood, making loud shouts, he rode to the head of each troop (they being placed on his left hand, three deep),

who, bowing to him, kissed the hilts of their swords, and then flourished them above their heads, with no less acclamations; the trumpets, in the mean time, also echoing the like to them.

In the suburb at Canterbury stood the Mayor and Aldermen of that ancient city, who received him with loud musick, and presented him with a cup of gold, of two-hundred and fifty pounds value. Whence, after a speech made to him by the Recorder, he passed to the Lord Camden's house, the Mayor carrying the sword before him.

During his stay at Canterbury (which was till Monday morning) he knighted the Lord-general Monk, and gave him the ensigns of the most honourable order of the Garter. And Garter, principal king at arms, sent the like unto the Lord-admiral Montague, then a-board the navy, riding in the Downs. There likewise did he knight Sir William Maurice, a member of the House of Commons, whom he constituted one of his principal secretaries of state.

From Canterbury he came, on Monday, to Rochester, where the people had hung up, over the midst of the streets, as he rode, many beautiful garlands, curiously made up with costly scarfs and ribbands, decked with spoons and bodkins of silver, and small plate of several sorts; and some with gold chains, in like sort as at Canterbury; each striving to outdo others in all expressions of joy.

On Tuesday, May the 29th, (which happily fell out to be the anniversary of his Majesty's birth-day,) he set forth of Rochester in his coach; but afterwards took horse on the farther side of Black-heath, on which spacious plain he found divers great and eminent troops of horse in a most splendid and glorious equipage; and a kind of rural triumph, expressed by the country swains, in a morrice-dance, with the old musick of taber and pipe; which was performed with all agility and cheerfulness imaginable.

And from this heath the troops marched off before him, viz. Major-general Brown's, the Merchant-adventurers, Alderman Robinson's, the Lord Maynard's, the Earls of Norwich, Peterborough, Cleveland, Derby, Duke of Richmond's, and his Majesty's own life-guard.

In this order proceeding towards London, there were placed in Deptford, on his right hand, (as he passed through the town,) above an hundred proper maids, clad all alike, in white garments, with scarfs about them; who, having prepared many flaskets covered with fine linen, and adorned with rich scarfs and ribbands, which flaskets were full of flowers and sweet herbs, strewed the way before him as he rode.

From thence, passing on, he came into St. George's Fields in Southwark, where the Lord-mayor and Aldermen of London, in their scarlet, with the Recorder, and other City Council, waited for him in a large tent, hung with tapestry; in which they had placed a chair of state, with a rich canopy over it. When he came thither, the Lord-mayor presented him with the city-sword, and the Recorder made a speech to him; which being done, he alighted, and went into the tent, where a noble banquet was prepared for him.

From this tent the proceeding was thus ordered, viz. first, the City-marshal to follow in the rear of his Majesty's life-guard: next the Sheriffs' trumpets; then the Sheriffs' men in scarlet cloaks, laced with silver on the capes, carrying javelins in their hands; then divers eminent citizens well mounted, all in black velvet coats, and chains of gold about their necks, and every one his footman, with suit, cassock, and ribbands of the colour of his company; all which were made choice of, out of the several companies in this famous city, and so distinguished; and, at the head of each distinction, the ensign¹ of that company.

After these followed the City Council², by two and two, near the Aldermen; then, certain noblemen and noblemen's sons: then the King's trumpets, then the Heralds at arms.

After them, the Duke of Buckingham; then the Earl of Lindsey, Lord High Chamberlain of England, and the Lord-general Monk; next to them Garter, principal king of arms; the Lord-mayor on his right hand, bearing the city-sword, and a gentleman-usher on his left, and, on each side of them, the Serjeants at arms with their maces.

¹ Or arms of the company painted or embroidered.

² Common-council.

Then the King's Majesty, with his equeries and footmen on each side of him, and at a little distance on each hand, his royal brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester; and after them, divers of the King's servants, who came with him from beyond sea; and, in the rear of all, those gallant troops, viz. The Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Oxford, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Mordaunt; also five regiments of horse belonging to the army.

In this magnificent fashion his Majesty entered the borough of Southwark, about half an hour past three of the clock in the afternoon; and, within an hour after, the city of London at the bridge; where he found the windows and streets exceedingly thronged with people to behold him; and the walls adorned with hangings and carpets of tapestry, and other costly stuff; and in many places sets of loud musick; (all the conduits, as he passed, running claret wine;) and the several companies in their liveries, with the ensigns belonging to them; as also the trained bands of the city standing along the streets as he passed, welcoming him with joyful acclamations.

And, within the rails where Charing-cross formerly was, a stand of six-hundred pikes, consisting of knights and gentlemen, as had been officers of the armies of his late Majesty³ of blessed memory; the truly noble and valiant Sir John Stowell, knight of the honourable order of the Bath, a person famous for his eminent actions and sufferings, being in the head of them.

From which place, the citizens, in velvet coats and gold chains, being drawn up on each hand, and divers companies of foot-soldiers; his Majesty passed betwixt them, and entered White-hall at seven of the clock, the people making loud shouts, and the horse and foot several volleys of shot, at this his happy arrival: where the House of Lords and Commons of Parliament received him, and kissed his royal hand. At the same time likewise, the Reverend Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and Chichester, in their episcopal habits, with divers of the long-oppressed orthodox Clergy, met in that royal chapel of King Henry the Seventh, at Westminster; there also sung *Te Deum*, &c. in praise and thanks to Almighty God, for this his unspeakable mercy, in the deliverance of his Majesty from many dangers, and so happily restoring him to rule these kingdoms, according to his just and undoubted right.

³ King Charles I.

The Orders, Laws, and ancient Customs of Swans. By John Witherings, Esquire; Master and Governor of the Royal Game of Swans and Cygnets throughout England.

London, printed in 1664.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

To the Worshipful John Witherings, Esquire; Chief Master and Governor of the Royal Game of Swans and Cygnets, throughout the Kingdom of England.

SIR,

YOUR deputy, Master Loggins, hearing that I had some ancient notes of the customs and orders concerning Swans, desired me, that you might have a sight of them; which

I have sent you, together with certain precedents, or forms of commissions for keeping Swan-herds courts, and copies of ancient patents, which I received of a very honest gentleman, master Edward Clerke, of Lincoln's-inn, Esquire; father to Sir Edward Clerke, one of the masters of the Chancery. These he delivered me, about eighteen years since; at which time Sir Lawrence Tanfeeld, late Lord-chief Baron, and myself, had a deputation from Sir William Andrews, of that walk, which Master Loggins now hath from you. Master Clerke was before me; but, as I remember, he told me he had his deputation from my Lord of Buckhurst, and not from Sir James Mervin. Howsoever, the titles are truly by me transcribed, as I received them written with his own hand. There are orders also printed, and yet somewhat differing from these; which orders were made at one particular court, long ago: and, at a court holden at Burford, in the county of Oxon, about fifteen years since, by the said Sir Lawrence Tanfeeld and others, some new orders were made, which Sir Lawrence Tanfeeld said, were warrantable by the commission, and lawful to be made, where and when they were fit and necessary for the preservation of Swans; yet so, that those particular orders may be altered, upon occasion; but the ancient customs, contained under the name of Orders, may not. There hath been so little care taken, for preserving and publishing these ancient customs, that they are not of all gamesters known; and your deputies commonly send their servants among us, who, as they are more or less covetous, so do they impose more or less upon us; and, when we, that are the ancient gamesters, oppose them, we have some contention. You shall, therefore, Sir, do well, if (comparing these with your other notes) you find them to serve generally for England, as well as for our river of Thames, That you give to all your deputies, and to all commissioners, copies, that so all gamesters may know the certain customs, which are to be kept. And so I bid you heartily farewell.

From Alborne in Wiltshire,
this 26th of January, 1631.

Your loving Friend,
JOHN D'OYLY.

The Laws, Orders, and Customs of Swans; taken out of a Book, which the Lord of Buckhurst delivered to Edward Clerke, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq. to peruse, ann. Eliz. 26. On the back-side of which book, it was thus intituled: 'Taken out of an ancient Book, remaining with Master Hambden, sometime 'Master of the Swans.'

FIRST, if any person doth possess any game of Swans, that may not dispend five marks a year of freehold, (except the son of the King,) the Swans of every such person are forfeited to the King; 22 Edw. IV.

2. If any person possess any game of Swans, and hath not paid his fine for the same, his game of Swans is to be seized for the King, till his fine be paid; which fine is six shillings and eight pence; and no man is to pay it more than once, during his life.

3. But, if any person, having no mark allowed him, have one or more Swans given him, or have any land-bird sign-marked, he may keep them in the common river till the next upping-time without fine; paying the commons and other charges for the upping.

4. If any person, having Swans, either within franchises or without, be attainted; his Swans are forfeited to the King only, and not to any other persons whatsoever.

5. Also all Swans, that are clear of bill, without mark or sign-mark, are the King's only; whether they be pinioned, or flying Swans.

6. Also all stray Swans, which no man can challenge by his mark, those are the King's only; and they are to be seized for the King, and marked on the leg, but are not to be carried away the first year.

7. In all common streams, and private waters, when Cygnets are taken up; the owner of the cob must choose the first Cygnet, and the pen the next, and so in order: but, if there be three, then the owner of the grass, where they breed, must have the third for the spoil of his grass, and pay to the King twelve pence for the same land-bird; saving in such places, where, of ancient, custom they pay less or more.

8. If any airy be led with one Swan only, the half of those Cygnets shall be seized for the King, till proof be made, whose the Swan was, that is away; but are not to be carried away that year.

9. The master of the game, or his deputy, shall yearly come, at the usual days of marking Swans in that stream, on pain of losing his fees during his absence; and he shall keep a roll, or standard-book, containing all the usual marks of that stream. He shall also keep a register-book of the number of every man's Swans, and the place where they are upped; and shall likewise bring the book of the last year; for which every gamester is to give him, yearly, four pence.

10. Also the master of the game, or his deputy, is to have a penny for upping every white Swan, and two pence for every Cygnet; and shall have his dinner and supper, and hay or grass for his horse, discharged by the gamesters every upping-day; except in such streams, where, by ancient custom, other composition is used.

11. If any man desire the master of the game to enter any note in his book, other than the notes due to be written, as aforesaid, or to take any note out of his book under his hand, he is to pay four pence.

12. If any marked Swan be unpinioned, and thereby do fly, the owner of that Swan is to pay four pence; and, if any man take any flying Swan, or Cygnet, he must bring the same to the master of the game, or his deputy, and take for his pains eight pence, on pain of forty shillings.

13. It is ordained, that no person shall lay leaps, set any nets, or drags within the common streams or rivers, upon the day-time, from the feast of the Invention of the Cross, unto the feast of Lammas; upon pain, so often as they be found so offending, to forfeit twenty shillings.

14. If any Swan be found double-marked, embezzled, or by unskilfulness put out of the right mark, the master of the game is to choose five gamesters (such as are indifferent) to judge who hath right to that Swan; and he, to whom the Swan shall be adjudged, shall pay four pence for registering the said embezzled or wrong mark: but, if these five, or the greater number of them, do not adjudge the said Swan to one of the gamesters, then the Swan is due to the King.

15. The usual days for upping of Swans are not to be altered without consent of the greater number of gamesters of that stream, and that by proclamation made in all market-towns near the said stream.

16. No person shall go on marking, without the master of the game, or his deputy, be present, upon pain to forfeit forty shillings. But, if by sickness, or other occasion, he be absent at the usual upping-days, the company may go on; so that some sworn gamester keep the register-book, and receive all the dues, and deliver them to him, at his coming.

17. If any person do embezzle, rase, or alter the mark of any Swan, to the loss or hindering of any man's game; he shall suffer one year's imprisonment, and be fined three pounds six shillings and eight pence, and for ever be disabled to be a gamester.

18. And, to the end that, in upping-time, no Swan be embezzled; it is ordained, that no man draw blood of any Swan, till the master of the game, or his deputy, have viewed the said Swan, and declared whose the Swan is.

19. No Swan, other than clear-billed, is to be marked for the King on the beak, but only on the leg; for two marks on the beak are unlawful.

20. The master of the game may presently sell, or carry away, all Swans that are clear-billed, embezzled, as aforesaid; and all Swans forfeited for want of freehold, or by attainder of the owner.

21. And yet neither the master of the game, nor any other gamester, may take away any Swan, which is in brood with any other man's, or which is coupled, and hath a walk, without the other's consent for breaking the brood.

22. It is ordained, that commons (that is to say, dinner and supper) is to be paid daily by every banker or commoner, whether he be present, or absent; but, if he be absent, the master of the game is to lay it out for him (as likewise all other dues) till the next meeting, or upping: but the said commons shall not exceed above twelve pence a man, and if the company will spend more, they are to pay the overplus by the poll.

23. To the end that diet may be had at a reasonable rate, and likewise lodging, the place of taking both is to be chosen by the greater number of the commoners.

24. If any person be found carrying a swan-hook, within forty lugs of any stream, saving on the upping-days, and not accompanied with two Swan-herds, he shall forfeit one pound ten shillings and four pence. But upon the upping-days, every gamester that carrieth not a hook (except such gentlemen as, for pleasure, go to see their own game) shall forfeit eight pence a day; the one half to be for the master of the game, the other half for the company.

25. No person shall take up any Swan or Cygnet, marked or unmarked, unless it be done in the presence of two other Swan-herds; and that by allowance of the master of the game, or his deputy; for which allowance he is to pay four pence, upon pain to forfeit forty shillings.

26. If any Swan-herd depart before he have made even with the master of the game for all dues, he is to forfeit twelve pence; for which, as for all dues, the master of the game, or his deputy, may distrain the game, and, at the next upping, may pay himself by distraining and sale of the game, rendering to the party the overplus.

27. If there be any person or persons, that have Swans, that do airy upon any of their rivers, or several waters, and afterward come to the common water or river, they shall pay a land-bird to the King, and be obedient to all Swan-laws; for divers such persons do use collusion, to defraud the King of his right.

28. If any person shall take away the egg or eggs of any Swan, every such offender shall be imprisoned a year and a day, and shall pay thirteen shillings and four pence for every egg so taken away; whereof half to the King, and half to the owner of the Swan; 11 Hen. VII.

29. If any person do drive away any Swan breeding, or providing to breed, (be it on his own ground, or on any other man's,) he shall be fined thirteen shillings and four pence, and shall suffer one year's imprisonment; 11 Hen. VII.

30. If any dog shall drive any Swan away from her nest, the owner of such dog shall forfeit thirty shillings and four pence; but, if any dog shall kill any old Swan, the owner of such dog shall forfeit to the King forty shillings, whether he be there, or not.

31. If any person shall hunt any ducks, or any other chace in the water, with any dog or dogs, in fence-time (that is, from the feast of Easter till Lammas-eve), he shall pay, for every offence, six shillings and eight pence.

32. It is ordained, that, if any person doth set any snares, or any manner of nets, lime, or engines, to take Bitterns, or Swans, from the feast of Easter, to the Sunday after Lammas-day; he or they to forfeit to the King's Majesty, for every time so setting, six shillings and eight pence.

33. If there be any weirs upon the rivers, not having grates before them, whereby the Swans and Cygnets may be defended from drowning, the owner of such weir shall forfeit to the King thirteen shillings and four pence.

34. All fishermen are to assist the master of the game, or his deputy, in the execution of their office, on the upping-days, with their boats at the upper end of their several waters, upon pain of twenty shillings for every default; for which service the master of the game shall cause the accustomed fees to be paid to the said fishermen.

35. Lastly, If there be any other misdemeanour or offence committed, or done by any owner of any game, Swan-herd, or other person whatsoever, contrary to any law, ancient

custom, or usage heretofore used and allowed, and not before herein particularly mentioned or expressed, you shall present the same offence, that reformation may be had, and the offenders punished, according to the quantity and quality of the several offences.

These Orders, according to master D'Oyly's directions, I have examined, and compared with some other orders, which are now in print, and have been observed and used in some parts of this kingdom; but I find anciently used these laws, customs, and orders, in most parts of this kingdom, and not much differing from those orders now printed, in matter of substance, but only in form. As also I find a commission, used for the preservation of the royal game of Swans and Cygnets, directed to noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, for the inquiring of abuses committed contrary to these laudable orders and customs, and the offences to punish, according to their several qualities; and have caused these orders to be printed, that thereby better knowledge may be taken of them by every deputy-master of the game.

JOHN WITHERINGS.

God's Warning to his People of England, by the great Overflowing of the Waters or Floudes, lately hapned in South-Wales, and many other Places. Wherein is described the great Losses, and wonderfull Damages, that hapned thereby; by the Drowning of many Townes and Villages, to the utter Undoing of many Thousandes of People.

Printed at London, for W. Barley and Jo. Bayly; and are to be solde in Gracious-street. 1607.

[Quarto, Black-letter, containing Twelve Pages.]

This tract being requested by N. P. as a great curiosity, and containing several particulars, not to be found in the English history; and serving to illustrate and account for several things, that are, or may be published in the Natural Histories of those parts, where this dreadful inundation happened; we have taken this first opportunity to oblige him and the publick with so extraordinary a relation, which otherwise, in a very short time, might perchance have been entirely lost.

MANY are the dombe warninges of distruction, which the Almighty God hath lately scourged this our kingdome with; and many more are the threatenng tokens of his heavy wrath extended towards us; all which, in bleeding hearts, may inforce us to put on the true garment of repentance, and, like unto the Ninivits, unfainedly sollicite the sweet mercies of our most loving God. Therefore, let us now call to remembraunce the late grievous and most lamentable plague of pestilence, wherein the wrath of God tooke from us so many thousandes of our friendes, kindred, and acquaintance. Let us also call to remembraunce the most wicked and pretended malice of the late papisticall conspiracie of traytors; that with powder, practised the subversion of this beautifull kingdome. And, lastly, let us fix our eyes upon theise late swellinges of the outragious waters, which, of

late, now hapned in divers partes of this realme, together with the over-flowing of the seas in divers and sundry places thereof; whose fruitfull valeys (being now overwhelmed and drowned with theise most unfortunate and unseasonable salt waters) doe fore-shew great barrennes and famin to ensue after it, unlesse the Almighty God, of his great infinit mercy and goodnesse, doe prevent it. But now, oh England! be not overcome with thine owne folly, be not blinded with the overmuch securitie of thy selfe, neyther sinke thou thy selfe in thine own sinne; for, since the generall dissolution of the whole world by water, in the time of Noah, never the like inundation or watry punishment then hapned, now here related, to the great grieve of all Christian hearers, as, by this sequell, it shall heare appeare.

Upon Tuesday, being the twentieth of January last past, 1607, in divers places, aswell in the westerne partes of England, as also in divers other places of this realme, there hapned such an overflowing of waters, such a violent swelling of the seas, and such forcible breaches made into the firme land, namely, into the bosomes of these countries following, that is to say, in the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, together with the countries of Munmouth, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and divers and sundry other places of South-Wales; the like never, in the memory of man, hath ever bin seene or heard of. The suddayne terror whereof strooke such an amazed feare into the hearts of al the inhabitants of those partes, that every one prepared him selfe ready to entertayne the last period of his live's destruction; deeming it altogether to be a second deluge, or an universal punishment by water.

For upon the Tuesday, being the twentieth of January last, as aforesaid, about nine of the clocke in the morning, the sunne being most fayrely and brightly spred, many of the inhabitantes of those countreys before mencioned, prepared themselves to their assayres, some to one busines, some to an other, every man according to his calling. As the plowmen setting forth their cattle to their labours; the shepherdes feeding of their flockes; the farmers over-seeing of their grounds, and looking to their cattle feeding therein; and so every one imploid in his busines, as occasion required. Then they might see and perceive a-far of, as it were in the element, huge and mighty hilles of water, tombling one over another, in such sort, as if the greatest mountaines in the world had over-whelmed the lowe valeyes or marshy grounds. Sometimes it so dazled the eyes of many of the spectators, that they immagined it had bin some fogge or miste, comming with great swiftness towards them, and with such a smoke, as if mountaeyns were all on fire; and, to the view of some, it seemed as if myllyons of thousandes of arrowes had bin shot forth all at one time, which came in such swiftness, as (it was verily thought) that the fowls of the ayre could scarce fly so fast; such was the threatning furies thereof.

But assoone as the people of those countries perceived that it was the violence of the waters of the raging seas, and that they began to exceede the compasse of their accustomed boundes, and making so furiously towards them: happy were they that could make the best and most speed away; many of them leaving all their goods and substance to the merciles waters, being glad to escape away with life themselves. But so violent and swift were the outrageous waves, that pursued one an other with such vehemencie, and the waters multiplying so much in so short a time, that, in less than five hours space, most part of these countreys (and especially the places which lay lowe) were all overflowen; and many hundreds of people, both men, women, and children, were then quite devoured by these outrageous waters: such was the furie of the waves of the seas, the one of them dryving the other forwardes, with such force and swiftness, that it is almost incredible for any to beleeve the same, except such as tasted of the smart thereof, and such as behelde the same with their eyes. Nay more, the farmers, husbandmen, and shepherds, might beholde their goodly flockes of sheepe swimming upon the waters dead, which could by no meanes be recovered.

Many gentlemen, yeomen, and others, had great losses of cattle; as oxen, kine, bullockes, horses, colts, sheepe, swine; nay, not so much as their poultry about their houses, but all were overwhelmed and drowned by these merciles waters. Many men, that were rich in the morning, when they rose out of their beds, were made poore before noone the same day. Such are the judgements of the Almighty God, who is the gever of all good

things; who can, and will dispose of them agayne at all times, according to his good will and pleasure, whensoever it shall seeme best unto him!

Many others, likewise, had their habitations or dwelling-houses all carryed away in a short time, and had not a place left them, so much as to shrowde themselves in. Moreover, many that had great store of corne and grayne in their barnes and garners in the morning, had not, within five houres space afterwarde, so much as one grayne to make them bread withall; neither had they so much left as a locke of hay or straw, to feede their cattell which were left: such was the great misery they susteyned by the fury of this watry element; from which like, good Lord, I beseech him, of his infinite mercy and goodness, to deliver us al!

The names of some of the townes and villages, which suffered great harmes and losses hereby, were these, viz.

Bristoll and Aust: this Aust is a village or town some eight miles distant from Bristoll, upon the Seaverne side, where all people are ferryed over, that come out of Wales into those partes of Gloucester and Sommersetshire.

All the countreyes along on both the sides of the river of Seaverne, from Gloucester to Bristoll, which is about some twenty miles, was all overflowne; in some places six miles over, in some places more, in some lesse.

Moreover, al or the most parte of the bridges, betweene Gloucester and Bristoll, were all forcibly carryed away with the waters; besides many goodly buildings there abouts much defaced, and many of them carryed quite away; besides many other great losses of al kinde of corne, and grayne, and cattle, that were then lost.

At Aust, many passengers that are ferryed over there now, are faine to be guided by guides all along the causies, where the water still remayneth, for the space of three or four miles, or else they will be in great daunger of drowning; the water lyeth; as yet, so deepe there.

Many dead carkasses, both there, and in many other places of the countrey, are dayly found floating upon the waters, and as yet cannot be knowne who they are, or what number of persons are drowned, by reason of the same waters, which as yet, in many places, remaine very deepe; so great was the spoyle that thiese mercilesse elements there wrought and made.

In Bristoll was much harme done, by the overflowing of the waters, but not so much as in other places; many cellars and ware-houses, where great store of merchandize was in, as wine, salt, hops, spices, and other such like ware, were all spoyled: and the people of the towne were inforced to be carryed in boates, up and downe the said citie, about their busines in the fayre time there.

Upon the other side of the river of Seaverne, towards a town called Chepstow, upon the lower grounds, was much harme done, by the vyolence of the water.

There was, in Chepstow, a woman drowned in her bed, and also a gyrl, by the like misfortune.

Also, all along the same coastes, up to Gold-clift, Matherne, Calicot-Moores, Redrift, Newport, Cardiffe, Cowbridge, Swansey, Laugherne, Llanstephan, and divers other places of Glamorgan-shire, Munmouth-shire, Carmarthen-shire, and Cardigan-shire; many great harmes were there done, and the waters raged so furiously, and with such great vehemencie, that it is supposed that in those partes, there cannot be so few persons drowned as five hundred, both men, women, and children; besides the losse of abundance of all kinde of corne and grayne, together with their hay and other provision, which they had made for their cattle.

Moreover, there were, in the places afore mentioned, many thousands of cattle, which were feeding in the lowe valeys, drowned and overwhelmed with the violence of the furious waters; as oxen, kine, young beastes, horses, sheepe, swine, and such like; the number is deemed infinit: yea, and not so much as turkies, hens, geese, duckes, and other poultry about their houses could once escape away, the waves of the sea so over-whelmed them.

And that which is more straunge, there are not now founde onely floating upon the waters still remayning, the dead carkasses of many men, women, and children, but also an abundance of all kinde of wilde beastes, as foxes, hares, conies, rats, moules, and such like; some of them swimming one upon another's backe, thinking to have saved themselves thereby: but all was in vaine, such was the force of the waters that over-pressed them.

In a place in Munmouthshire, there was a maide went to milke her kine in the morning, but, before she had fully ended her busines, the vehemencie of the waters increased, and so suddenly environed her about, that she could not escape thence, but was enforced to make shift up to the top of an high banke to save her selfe, which she did with much adoe, where she was constrained to abide all that day and night, untill eight of the clocke in the next morning, in great distresse; what with the coldnes of the ayre and waters, and what with other accidents that there hapned unto her, she had bin like there to have perished, had not the Almighty God, of his infinit mercy and goodnes, preserved her from such great perills and daungers, which were likely there to ensue unto her.

But there placing herselfe for safeguard of her life, as aforesaid, having none other refuge to fly unto; the waters in such violent sort had pursued her, that there was but a small distance of ground left uncovered with waters, for her to abide upon. There she remayned most pittifully lamenting the great daunger of life that she was then in, expecting, every minute of an houre, to be overwhelmed with those mercylesse waters: but the Almighty God (who is the Creator of al good things), when he thought meete, sent his holy angell to commaund the waters to cease their fury, and returne into their accustomed bounds againe, wherby, according to his most blessed will and pleasure, she was then preserved.

In the meane space, during the continuance of her abode there, divers of her friends practised al the means they could to recover her, but could not; the waters were of such a deepnes about her, and boates they had none, in al those partes, to succour her; such was their want in this distresse, that many perished through the want thereof.

There was a gentleman of worth, dwelling neere unto the place where she was, who caused a goodly gelding to be saddled, and set a man upon the backe of him, thinking to have fetcht her away; but such were the deepnes of the waters, that he durst not adventure the same, but retired.

At last, some of her friends devised a devise, and tyed two broad troughes the one to the other (such as, in these countreys, they use to salt bacon in), and put therein two lustie strong men, who, with long powles (stirring these troughes together, as if they had bin boates) made great shift to come to her; and so, by this meanes, through God's good helpe, she was then saved.

But now, gentle reader, marke what befell at this time, of the straungeness of other creatures; whom the waters had violently oppressed: for the two men, which tooke upon them to fetch away the maide from the top of the banke, can truly witness the same, as well as herselfe, to be true, for they beheld the same with their eyes.

The hill or bank, where the maid abode al that space, was al so covered over with wild beastes and vermin, that came thither to seeke for succour, that she had much adoe to save herselfe from taking of hurt by them; and much adoe she had to keepe them from creeping upon and about her; she was not so much in daunger of the water, on the one side, as she was troubled with these vermin, on the other side.

The beastes and vermin that were there were these, viz. dogs, cats, moules, foxes, hares, conyes, yea, and not so much as mice and rats, but were there in abundance: and that which is more straunge, the one of them never once offred to annoy the other; although they were deadly enemies by nature the one to an other. Yet, in this daunger of life, they not once offred to expresse their naturall envie; but in a gentle sort, they freely enjoyed the liberty of life, which, in mine opinion, was a most wonderful worke in nature.

But now let us leave this matter, touching the maide, besides the other accidents before rehearsed, and let us returne againe to these watry miseries. The counties of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and Cardigan, and many other places in South-Wales, have likewise borne

the heavy burden of God's wrath herein; and many were the lives of them that were lost through this watery destruction.

Many there were which fled into the tops of high trees, and there were inforced to abide some three daies, some more, and some lesse, without any victuals at all, there suffering much colde, besides many other calamities; and some of them in such sort, that through over-much hunger and cold, some of them fell down againe out of the trees, and so were like to perish for want of succour; other some, sate in the tops of high trees, as aforesaid, beholding their wives, children, and servants swimming (remediles of al succour) in the waters.

Other some, sitting in the tops of trees, might behold their houses overflowne with the waters; some their houses carried quite away; and no signe or token left there of them.

Many of them might see, as they stood upon the tops of high hilles, their cattle perish, and could not tell how to succour them; and their barnes, with all their store of corne and graine, quite consumed; which was no small grieve unto them.

Many people and cattle, in divers places of these countreys, might have beene saved in time, if that the countreys had beene any thing like furnished with boates, or other provision fit for such a sudden accident as this was; which, as God himselfe knoweth, was little expected of them to have fallen so suddenly upon them.

But, seeing the countreys were so unfurnished with boates, much harme was done, to the utter undoing of many thousandes.

Some fled into the tops of churches and steeples to save themselves, from whence they might beholde themselves deprived aswell of al their substance, as also of al their joys, which they had before received in their wives and children; whole reekes of pease, beanes, oates, and other graine were seen a-far of, to float upon the water too and fro, in the countreys, as if they had bin ships upon the seas.

The foundations of many churches and houses were in a manner decayed, and some carryed quite away; as in Cardiffe, in the countie of Glamorgan, there was a great part of the church next the water-side beaten downe, with the water: many houses and gardens there, which were neere the water-side, were all overflowne, and much harme done.

Divers other churches lie hidden in the waters, and some of them the tops are to be seene; and other some, nothing at all to be seene, but the very tops of the steeples, and of some of them nothing at al, neyther steeple nor nothing else. Also many schooles of young schollers, in many places of those countreys, stood in great perplexitie; some of them, adventuring home to their parents, were drowned by the way; other some, staying behinde in the churches, did climbe up to the tops of steeples, where they were very neere starved to death for want of foode and fire. Many, by the help of boards and planks of wood, swam to dry land, and so were preserved from untimely death. Many had boates brought them, some ten miles, some fifteen, some twenty; where there was never seene any boates before.

Thus God suffred many of them to escape his yrefull wrath, in hope of their amendment of life. Some men, that were riding on the highways, were overtaken with these mercilesse waters, and were drowned.

And againe, many have bin most straungely preserved.

As for example: there was, in the countie of Glamorgan, a man both blind, and did ride¹, and one which had not bin able to stand upon his legs in ten yeares before; he had his poore cottage broken downe by the force of the waters, and himselfe, bed and al, carryed into the open fields; where, being ready to sinke, and at the point to seeke a resting-place two fathoms deepe under the waters, his hand by chaunce catcht holde of the rafter of an house, swimming by the fiercenesse of the windes, then blowing easternely, he was driven safely to the land, and so escaped.

Also in an other place, there was a man child, of the age of five or six yeares, which was kept swimming for the space of two houres, above the waters; by reason that his long

¹ [Probably *bed-rid*, from the context.]

coates lay spread upon the tops of the waters; and beeing at last at the very poynt to sinke, there came by chaunce by (floating upon the tops of the waters) a fat weather that was dead, very full of wooll: the poore distressed child, perceiving this good meanes of recoverie, caught fast hold on the weather's wool, and likewise (with the winde) he was driven to dry land, and so saved.

There was also, in the countie of Carmarthen, a young woman, who had foure small children, and not one of them able to helpe it selfe; and the mother then seeing the furies of the waters to be so violent to ceaze upon her, threatening the destruction of her selfe and her small children, (and as a woman's wit is ever ready in extremities) she tooke a long trough, wherein she was wont to make her bread in, and therein placed her selfe and her foure children; and so, putting themselves to the mercies of the waters, they were al, by that meanes, driven to the dry land, and by God's good Providence thereby they were al saved.

Many more there were, that through the handy-workes of God, were preserved from this violent death of drowning; some on the backes of dead cattle, some uppon wooden planks; some by clyming of trees, some by remaining in the tops of high steeples and churches; other some, by making of speed away with swift horses, and some by the meanes of boates, sent out by their friendes to succour them; but there were not so many so straungely saved, but their were as many in number as straungely drowned.

The lowe marshes and fenny groundes neere Barnstable, in the countie of Devon, were overflowne so farre out, and in such outrageous sort, that the countrey all along to Bridgewater was greatly distressed thereby, and much hurt there done. It is a most pittifull sight to beholde what numbers of fat oxen there were drowned; what flockes of sheepe, what heades of kine have their bin lost, and drowned in these outrageous waters. There is little now remaining there to be seene, but huge waters, like to the maine ocean. The tops of churches and steeples like to the tops of rockes in the sea; great reekes of fodder for cattle are floating like ships upon the waters, and dead beastes swimming thereon, now past feeding on the same, through the rigour of this element of water. The tops of trees a man may beholde remaining above the waters, upon whose braunches multitudes of al kinde of turkies, hens, and other such like poultry, were faine to fly up into the trees to save their lives, where many of them perished to death, for want of reliefe, not being able to fly to dry land for succour, by reason of their weaknes.

This mercyllesse water, breaking into the bosome of the firme land, hath proved a fearefull punishment, as well to all other living creatures, as also to al mankinde; which, if it had not bin for the mercyfull promise of God, at the last dissolution of the world, by water, by the signe of the rainebowe, which is still shewed us; we might have verily beleeved, this time had bin the very houre of Christ his comming. From which element of water, extended towards us in this fearefull manner, good Lord deliver us al! Amen.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes, sent abroad in the World; first printed in Spaine in the Spanish Tongue, and translated out of the Originall. Now ripped up, unfolded, and, by just Examination, condemned, as conteyning false, corrupt, and detestable Wares, worthy to be damned and burned. 'Thou shalt destroy them that speak Lyes; the Lord will abhorre the bloody and deceitfull Man.' Psal. v. ver. 6.

Imprinted at London, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queene's most excellent Majestie. 1588.

[Quarto, in Black-letter, containing Thirteen Pages.]

This curious pamphlet is an ancient specimen of those indirect means, which an ambitious court takes to support its drooping credit with the publick. How far such practices are now in vogue, every reader knows; and these are now published, to oblige that judicious gentleman Mr. R. Z. who apprehends, by so doing, we shall also gratify all our subscribers. This is the eleventh in the catalogue, published with this Collection; and contains the artifices made use of by the Spanish court, to keep up the spirits of the people, at the time that the King of Spain attempted, in 1588, to invade England with his invincible Armada, and dethrone Queen Elizabeth; because, the fleet being beaten, dispersed, and gone north about, and almost entirely destroyed by tempest, &c. they began to doubt of its success. (See Vol. I. p. 119, where you have a true and full account of this expedition in 1588.)

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

1. **T**HE true relation of the succes of the Catholike armie¹ against their enemies, by letters of the post-master of Logrono of the fourth of September, and by letters from Roan of the one-and-thirtieth of August, and by letters² from Paris of the King's embassadour there; wherein he declareth the imprisonment of Francis Drake,

1. **I**T is wel known to all the worlde, how false all this relation is, and either falsly coloured by the letters remembred; or els both the post-master of Logrono, and the writers from Roan, ought to be waged as intelligencers for the devill, the father of lyes, whom they have herein trulye served; and if they so continue, in

¹ The Invincible Armada in 1588.

² The letters from the King's embassadour, whose name is Mendoza, agreeable to their master's name, being the reporter of *mendacia mendacissima*; and considering that he hath written, that 'Francis Drake is imprisoned, and many nobles of England;' if Mendoza will stand to his letters, so as he would gage, and, by his hande-writtinge, assure but his worst jennet and his belles, he shall be answered for the said Sir Francis Drake's person, or any nobleman, gentleman, or page, so taken in the fight betweene the two armies, for the ransom of every of the said prisoners fortie-thousande crownes in the Royal Exchange of London. But the trueth is, Sir Francis Drake was so farre off to be a prisoner, that he was the taker; for he tooke Pedro de Valdez, and four-hundred more Spanish prisoners, at one time. And, to prove this to be true, Mendoza shall have, if he will require it, Pedro Valdez' owne hande, to shewe that he is prisoner to Sir Francis Drake, and four-hundred more taken with him, and not one Englishman taken in that service.

and other great nobles of England, and how the Queene is in the fieelde with an armie³, and of a certain mutinie, which was amongst the Queene's armie, with the successe of the said Catholike armie since they entred in the Groyne, till they came on the coast of England, with two ballets, compounded by Christover Bravo, a⁴ blinde man of Cordowa; printed, with lycence, by Gabriel Ramos Beiarano, printer.

' mayntenance thereof against the knowen
' trueth, their damnation is certaine, and
' hell is open for them.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

By a Letter of Diego Peres, chiefe Postmaster of Logrono, dated the second of September, 1588.

2. **T**HE newes of England is confirmed here, by a letter of the governour of Roan. He writeth, he hath in his power the chiefe pilote of Captaine Drake, and that he knoweth that all the English armie remained overthrowen, having sunke two and twentie shippes, and taken fourtie⁵, and imprisoned Francis Drake; having given them chase almost as hie as⁶ Abspurge, and slaine many by the sword; and likewise sayeth, that there was found, in Captaine Drake's shippe, a piece of ordinance of five-and-twentie foote long, which discharged a shotte of a hundreth weight at once, made of purpose, with one onely shot, to sinke our Spanish Admirall;

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

2. **T**HE governour of Roan is accompted a worthy noble man, and therefore he shall do wel to make this report of him to be knowen for a lye; for so surely he knoweth it to be, that there was never either a chiefe pilote, or the value of a boy of Captaine Drake's, taken and brought to him as a prisoner.

' The governours of Bollen and Calleis
' can informe the governour of Roane how
' false a report it was, "That the English
' armie remained overthrowen afore Calleis."
' The English armie fought with the Spanish;
' chased the Spanish, as a brace of grey-
' hounds would a herde of deere; the Spa-

³ It is so false, that there was any ' mutinie in the Queene's armie,' that she her selfe was there, with the greatest honour, love, and applause, received, that could be imagined for a lady and a queene. She rode rounde about her armie, and passed through every part thereof, to their inestimable comfort; she lodged and did eat in the campe, as quietly as ever she did in her owne chamber. In the armie was never any fray or discord; exercise of armes was daily used and shewed before her, to her great honour; yea, and with an universall extolling of God's name every day, morning and evening, in loude prayers and psalmes; and the like song, in her owne hearing, against all tyrannie by invasion of God's enemies; and this every man may judge to be farre from any colour of mutinie.

⁴ It was a meete occupation for a blinde man, to put lyes into songs; and, if he knewe how false his verses were, when he published them, it were to be wished that he had his eyes restored to see his lyes, and then his tongue cutte out that uttered them, and his eyes cleane plucked out of his head, that he should never see any more written lyes. As for his eares, it were good to have them open, to heare men call him justly, a notable blinde liar.

⁵ If Drake's shippe were taken, if there was such a piece of ordinance of such a length; In what port is that shippe? In whose possession is that piece? Drake is returned with honour; his shippe, called the Revenge, is in harborow, ready for a revenge by a newe service; no shippe lost, no ordinance missing.

⁶ The foolish liar maketh mention of *Abspurge* in Scotland. In all Scotland is no such place; in Germanie is a countrey called *Habsburg*, but any wager may be layd, that none of the Spanish came ever thither. Every line, or every sentence, containeth a lye.

The Duke himselfe is returned, let him confirme this untrueth, that he overthrewe the English armie; it can not be imagined, that he, being a person of so great honour, will allow so notorious a lye to be taken for a trueth; for if he had such a victorie, Why did he not land to conquere England? Why did he never enter into any part of England? Why did he never cary any ensigne of England into Spaine to shew; as very many of the Spanish were brought into England?

and it pleased God, although she was somewhat battered, yet was she repaired againe, and overthrewe the English armie.

‘ niards’ ships were beaten, spoyled, burnt, sunke, some in the maine seas, afore Dun-
 ‘ kirke, some afore Flushing, and the rest
 ‘ chased away ; so as they fledde continually
 ‘ afore the English navie in their best order
 ‘ for strength, without daring to abide any
 ‘ fight : yea, some one of the English shippes
 ‘ fought with three of their galleasses ; the
 ‘ Spaniards never attempting to board any
 ‘ English, but as many of them, as could saile
 ‘ away, fled with all their sailes, and were
 ‘ followed by the English, until they were
 ‘ chased out of all the English seas, and
 ‘ forced then to runne a violent course
 ‘ about Scotland, and so to Ireland, where
 ‘ a great number of their ships are drowned,
 ‘ their men taken, and many killed by the
 ‘ savage people for their spoyle ; and the
 ‘ English navie, upon good consideration,
 ‘ left them, when they sawe them so hastily
 ‘ to flie desperatly into the Northern daun-
 ‘ gerous seas, where the English navie did
 ‘ very certainly know, that there would
 ‘ be no safety for them to follow the Spanish.
 ‘ Why durst any report that twenty-two
 ‘ English shippes were sunke, and fortie
 ‘ were taken ; when, in trueth, there was not
 ‘ any one of the English shippes sunke or
 ‘ taken ? A strange disposition, to forge
 ‘ such great lyes, whereof there was no
 ‘ ground nor colour. If any one or two of
 ‘ the English had bene sunke, a lyar might
 ‘ have put the number of twenty for two,
 ‘ and excused the lye by error of figuring ;
 ‘ but, of none in number, no number can
 ‘ be made, but by falshood. The gover-
 ‘ nour of Roan, being a man of great honour
 ‘ and vertue, ought to revenge this shamefull
 ‘ lye made upon him ; for Lucian never did,
 ‘ in all his lyes, use more impudencie, then
 ‘ these Spanish lyars doe report of him.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Copie of a Letter that John Gamarra wrote
 from Roan the Thirty-first of August, of
 the same Yeere.

3. **T**HE English have lost above fortie ships
 in one encounter, where they could not

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

3. **A**LL this is likewise as full of lyes, as
 lines. John Gamarra may be what he is :

flie, which was in ⁷Luxaten, a haven in Scotland; to the which place, since the departure of the Spanish armies from Calleis, the English armie followed; and, supposing they went to take that haven, they got before ours to defend the entrance.

We, seeing them so neere the English fleete, and that they coulde not retire (as they alwayes did, when they pleased) to the English havens; they set upon them so valiantly, that they sunke twenty of their shippes, and they tooke twenty-six whole and sound; and the rest, seeing their destruction, fled away with great losse of men, and their shippes very much battered: and with this, they say, the Spanish armie tooke the haven, where they are very well lodged, as every one affirmeth, and so the newes is here; I pray God give them good successe! We understande, by the post come from Calleis, that in England it is forbidden, upon paine of death and losse of goods, that no body doe write newes from thence to any place; which confirmeth the newes above.

‘ but if there be such a man, and that he
‘ wrote as is mentioned, except he be a
‘ professed member of the devill to forge
‘ lyes, he knoweth that he wrote falsly.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Coppie of a Letter that Pedro de Alva did write from Roan, the First of September, of the same Yeere.

4. **I** DO not write newes of the Spanish armie, because they are divers, and woulde gladly write the very trueth. Nowe by the newes which runneth from divers places, as Calleis, Deepe, and Hollande, and presumptions from England, and other places; it is holden for certaine, that they have fought with the English, and broken their heads, having sunke many of their shippes, and taken others; and the rest, which they say were twenty-seven shippes, returned, very much battered, to the river of London, which are all those that coulde escape. There goeth with this post another post of Iorge Seguin of Calles, which saith, that certaine masters and mariners of Zeland did

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

4. **T**HIS Pedro Alva coulde be content to send lyes, but he is more warie in the avowing of them; he reporteth lyes, as he saith, that came from other places. But, of all other places, none coulde make a truer report then Calleis, where the governor, and all the inhabitants, saw the Spanish armie mightily beaten by the English; and it was affirmed, by men there of great judgement, that never was seene, by any man living, such a battery, so great for number, so furious, and of so long continuance, as the English made against the Spanish. Calleis sawe the Spanish armie first driven from their ankers with fire; they sawe the greatest

⁷ He noteth also a haven in Scotland, called *Luxaten*: none such was ever knowen there. In Utopia there may be such a one; no Spaniard can saye they tooke any haven in Scotland; it is altogether vaine otherwise to reprove this: but all that is reported are lye; and so let Gamarra repent, or follow the devill, his master, the father of malicious lyes.

affirme to the governour of Calleis, (Moun-
sier de Gorden,) that our fleete is in a ha-
ven, or river, in Scotland, called^s Trifla,
where they say there may ride two-thou-
sand shippes; this is that which commonly
is currant here.

galliasse of the Spanish, whereof was com-
mander that worthy noble man Moncada,
spoyled, and himselfe slaine in the gal-
liasse by the English. Calleis did see, the
next day, that the English navie fought,
and did beate the Spanish armada from
eight of the clocke in the morning untill
four in the afternone, without any ceas-
ing. Calleis sawe the Spanish hoyse up
all their sayles, and flie as fast as winde
could drive, and the English to follow
and pursue them; and yet Calleis saw a
sufficient navie of England left afore Dun-
kirke, able to master all the shipping that
the Duke of Parma had provided.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Advise from London, which the Embassa-
dour of our Sovereigne Lord the King,
resident in Paris, had from thence.

5. **BY** newes from London, of the twenty-
sixth of August, it is knowen for most cer-
taine, from persons of credit, that the
Queene's admirall-generall was arrived in the
river of London with twenty-five ships onely,
without his admirall shippe⁹, which was
taken by our admirall Saint John; and it is
well knowen in England, that, to hide the
losse of their admirall shippe, they say he
put himselfe in a smaller shippe, the better
to follow our armie; and it is knowen for
certaintie that he saved himself in a boat,
when he lost his shippe; that Drake, for
certaintie, is taken or slaine. The same is
confirmed by the way of Holland, by a pin-
nasse of theirs. And from Austerland, that
the Queene commanded, upon paine of
death, that no body shoulde speake of her
fleete; and that there was great sorrow in
those parts of England; and that the Queene
had in the field thirty thousand raw sould-
diers, betwixt Dover and Margate; and that

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

5. **H**ERE followeth the mountaine of
lies. It is reason, that if there were
lyars in London, they should send them
to Mendoza; for so *mendacia* are of more
price with him then true reportes, and so
was he accustomed when he was embas-
sador in England, to buye more lies,
because he liked them better then trueths.
If one should make a section, or ana-
tomie of this mountaine and bodye of lies.
there is no piece, nor joynt, to be found
sound.

^s The last part of this report is a like lye to the other: there is no such port in Scotland, called *Trifla*; neither did any of the Spaniards take succour in any haven, nor yet could have done, by reason of the contrary windes.

⁹ The admirall shippe, which was called the *Arke-royall*, was safely brought home by the Lord Admirall of England, Lord Howard; he never changed her; she is (thanked be God!) safe with other the Queene's royall shippes; she is able, with the Lord Admirall, to match in fight with the Duke of Medina, or any prince of Christendome, in any shippe that the King of Spaine hath. This is not spoken for ostentation; but God's favour is assured to England, in the justice of the quarrel against any invadour.

the Catholikes¹⁰, understanding that al their fleete was dispersed, moved a certaine mutinie, which forced the Queene to go herselfe into the fielde; and for certaine it is knowen, that there is not brought in to England neither ship nor boat of ours, more then the ship of Don Pedro Valdez; and that our fleete was gone in to Scotland, and arrived in a haven called¹¹ *Trapena Euxaten*.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

By a Letter of the chiefe Post-master of Bourdeaux, written to the French Embassador, the Second of September, 1588.

6. **AFTER** that I had written this, here is arrived a Scottishman, which saith, that all the Spanish fleete is arrived in Scotland, and that the Scottishmen have taken armes against the English.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

6. **THIS** Scottishman, I thinke, hath no name: a manifest lye it was, that Scottishmen had taken armes against the English. Such a lye did Mendoza publish some yeeres past, that the King of Scots had besieged and wonne Barwicke. I trust he remembreth now, how false a lye it was; but yet he hath no grace, as it seemeth, to forbear from forging of lyes, for his chollerike appetite. But a manifest trueth it is, that the King of Scots (at the tyme meant) made a generall proclamation, that no Scottishman should victuall any Spaniard; for that the King did knowe they came to have conquered both England and Scotland. And on the other side, the King by proclamation commaunded, that all succours should be given to the armie of England; as being the armie of his sister and confederate, and the Prince whom he knew to be invaded most unjustly. Many Scottishmen might, at Bourdeaux, have reported this for a trueth.

¹⁰ If there were a mutinie of Catholikes, they should have bene hanged or punished: but it was not knownen that one Catholike did stir this summer, with hand or tongue, to moove offence; neither was any one imprisoned, or otherwise punished.

¹¹ The last line is a lye, with like error as the former: for there is no haven in Scotland called *Trapena Euxaten*. This Mendoza was very curious to forge a strange name, as it appeareth he had read of some such in Peru, or in New-Spaine.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Relation of that which hath passed till this Day, the Fifth of September, 1588, till Three of the Clocke in the After-noone, knowne by the Relations and Advise, come to his Majestie from the happie Fleete, whereof is Generall the Duke of Medina, in the Conquest of England.

7. **T**HAT, upon the thirtieth of July, without seeing any sayle of the enemies in the sea, he came to the channell, sixe leagues from Plimmouth; where understanding the enemies were, he gathered together and set in order all the fleete; and, sayling, the first of August there was discovered some sayles of the enemies; the which, the second day, were nombred to be lx. sayle; of which the Duke tooke the wind, and passed without any fight, although he presented the same to them. Howbeit, they began to shoot at the rereward; but the Duke, in the galleon S. Martin, set the prow of his shippe against the biggest of the enemies, the which, being succoured by twenty others, fled away. Of this fight and first encounter, there was sunke three galleasses¹², and foure mighty galleons of the Queene's; there was burnt of ours (by negligence of a gunner) the Admirall of Oquendo; and the enemies took the chiefe ship of Don Pedro Valdez, which being entangled with some others under his charge, was left without tackle, and so neere the enemies, that she could not be succoured by others.

With this, our fleete seeing that the enemy, in every point, did flie from giving battell, they sailed with some calme weather, and the enemies after them, shooting alwayes at the rereward, until the seventh, that our fleet anchored in the roade of S. John, betwixt Calleis and Bollin, nine

A Condemnation of Spanish Lyes.

From England.

7. **A**L these untrue newes are sayde to have come from the Spanish fleete to the King's Majestie. By this tyme is it sure, that the Duke of Medina can tell the King his master some other contrary matters; for else he had no cause to flie about Scotland and Ireland.

¹² He also will not say, That eyther three galleasses, and foure galleons of England were sunk; or that ever he could see one shippe, or one boate of England sunk. He can tell the King, with great grieve, that he never had fortunate day, from his comming from the Groine, till he returned with the losse of as many shippes, men, victuals, treasure, and ordinance, as might have made a good armie by sea. And great pittie it is for Christendome, that both that which is lost, and that which remaineth, had not beene used by the King Catholike against the Infidels; and not, with ambition, to imploy such kinde of forces to invade Christian countreys therewith; who, if he would live in peace with them, would be readye to joine their forces with his, to dilate the fines of Christendome, and forbear spending of Christian blood amongst Christians.

leagues from Dunkerke; and the enemies did the like, the neerest they could to England.

The night being approched, the enemies got up their ankers to get the wind, and not to suffer our shippes to goe out of the roade to sea, because they had trimmed viii. shippes of fire, which (with the corrent of the water) should have put them selves amongst our shippes, to have burnt them. But my Lord the Duke, foreseeing the danger, prevented them; with commandement, that the shippes that were neerest should cut their cables, and to take up the others with a readinesse incredible; and with this the enemies' pretence was hindered; and so got the sea most bravely, and with such good fortune, that if he had not done it, our armie should have ben in evil case; for, in the very place, which we left, there was shotte off by them, out of those fierie shippes, such fires, and other engins, that were sufficient to burne the sea, much more shippes, which are made of wood and pitch.

In this departure, the captaine of the galleasses had a great mischance; for, getting up her anker, a cable fel foule of her helme, that she could not follow the rest; which caused one of her sides to lie so hie, that her ordinance could not play, and so xxv. pin-nases came and battered her; and withall this, if the mariners, souldiers, and rowers, that were in her, had not cast them selves into the sea, it is holden for certain, that¹³ Don Hugo de Moncada had defended her, as he did untill she came into Calleis, where, at the entrance thereof, he was killed of two caliver-shot. The people on shore defended the galleasse, and all that was in her, and delivered the same to our Soveraigne Lord the King's ministers.

At this time, the Duke had a very franke wind, and the like had the Queene's fleete; and so they both passed by the sight of Dunkerke, insomuch as they on land knew the galleon S. Martin, and others, that went fighting with the English armie: and in this order they went till the twelfth.

Afterwards they write, That there came into Calleis a shippe, which saith, that the

¹³ This noble man was killed with a smal shot in the galleasse, where, in very trueth, he remayned in defence of the galleasse, and sought not to flie away, as a great number did.

¹⁴ xii. day, they did see the two fleetes together in sight. An other, which came afterwarde, said he had seene some shippes spoiled and torne, and from them they threw out¹⁵ their baggage, which they saved in boates: which argueth they were shippes of the enemies; for that our men had no place to save them selves, nor there were none of them arrived into Flanders, which was their place of returne.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

8. **O**UT of Englande was advise given, That, on the xiii, arrived fiftene of the Queene's ships; and they sayd, that the galleon Saint Martin, wherein my Lorde the Duke is (whom God preserve!) had encountered with Drake, and had grapled his ship, and captived his person, and other noble English men, and taken other fiftene ships, beside others that were distressed; and the Duke, with his fleete, followed his way to Scotland, because the winde was not come about.

With these newes his Majestie resteth verie much contented, and caused them to be sent to the Empresse, by the hands of Francisco Ydiaquez, his secretarie of estate.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

8. **T**HIS, that is sayd of the Duke's grapling with Drake's ship, and taking of him captive, and many other noble men of England, is like all the rest of the lies.

' The Duke, after he went from Calleis towards Scotland, never came neere to offer fight with any English ship; never turned backe to the English that followed him; but fledde away, as winde and sayle could serve him.

' If he had this fortune thus falsely reported, it is sure that he would have brought both Drake, and some of the noble men home with him into Spaine, to have beene presented to the King, and not have gone home to his owne house, without sight of the King. But, in truth, there was not one noble man, or gentleman of any marke, that went to the sea, that was either slaine, or taken; all are living, and are as willing (by God's favour) to adventure their lives, as ever they were, against any of the Queene's enemies, when she shal command them.

' And where these newes did much content the King, it is likely, that if he thought them true, he was glad thereof; for so had his Majestie cause; but he is thought too wise to have thought, that after he understoode, that the Duke and all his armie had fled from the coast of Flanders and England, that ever they were like to have any victorie of the English.

¹⁴ If it be meant, the xii. of August, the untruth is apparant; for there was never fight after that afore Calleis, which was the xix. of Julie, *Novo Stilo*; or the xxix, *Stilo Antiquo*.

¹⁵ It is very true, that the Spaniards' ships, to make themselves light to flie, did cast away their boates, and threw their moiles and horses into the seas.

‘ No, contrariwise; the King and all his
 ‘ wise counsellours had cause to lament the
 ‘ dangers, whereunto of necessitie his Ar-
 ‘ mada should fall; by passing the dan-
 ‘ gerous coastes, ilandes, and monstrous
 ‘ rockes of Scotland and Ireland; of more
 ‘ danger for his navie to passe, then to have
 ‘ passed from Lisborne to the Moluccas,
 ‘ and home againe.

‘ It is to be thought, that if the Empresse
 ‘ gave the secretarie, Ydiaquez, any re-
 ‘ warde, for the newes, (as it is likely she
 ‘ did,) she may justly require it againe
 ‘ from him, and give him charge, not to
 ‘ bring her Majestie, nor the King his mas-
 ‘ ter, any such notorious lyes hereafter; for,
 ‘ if he use it often, he is unworthie to be
 ‘ secretarie to so great a King.’

Imprinted in Sevil, in the house of Cosmo
 de Lara, printer of bookes, by lycence
 of the Counte of Orgaz, assistant in Sevil.

Imprinted at London, by the deputies of
 Christopher Barker, printer to the
 Queene's most excellent Majestie. 1588.

JOAN. viii. 44.

‘ Ye are of your father the devil, and the
 ‘ lustes of your father ye will doe. He
 ‘ hath bene a murtherer from the begin-
 ‘ ning, and abode not in the trueth, be-
 ‘ cause there is no trueth in him. When
 ‘ he speaketh a lye, then speaketh he of
 ‘ his owne; for he is a lyer, and the
 ‘ father thereof.’

ZACH. viii. 26.

‘ These are the things that ye shall doe:
 ‘ Speake ye every man the trueth unto
 ‘ his neighbour.’

EPHES. iv. 25.

‘ Wherefore cast off lying, and speake
 ‘ every man trueth unto his neighbour;
 ‘ for we are members one of another.’

England's Way to win Wealth, and to employ Ships and Mariners: Or, a plain Description what great Profit it will bring unto the Commonwealth of England, by the erecting, building, and adventuring of Busses to Sea a-Fishing. With a true Relation of the inestimable Wealth that is yearly taken out of his Majesty's Seas by the Hollanders, by their great Numbers of Busses, Pinks, and Line-boats: And also a Discourse of the Sea-coast Towns of England; and the most fit and commodious Places and Harbours that we have for Busses; and of the small Number of our Fishermen: And also the true Valuation, and whole Charge of building, and furnishing to Sea, Busses and Pinks, after the Holland Manner. By Tobias Gentleman, Fisherman and Mariner.

Printed at London for Nathaniel Butter, 1614.

[Quarto, containing Fifty Pages, exclusive of the Dedication.]

This pamphlet, with the other, intituled, 'The Royal Fishery revived,' are published at the request of a subscriber.

The occasion of their first writing and publication, was a complaint, which the nation still has occasion to continue, from the Dutch usurpation on our fishery; which, if duly considered, may be thought worth the regard of the legislature, as the best nursery for mariners, and the best employment for the poor of this nation: all which is so well ascertained by this author, that it needs no further recommendation from the publisher. I shall only therefore advertise the reader, that he, being a fisherman, has rather endeavoured to make himself understood, in terms proper to explain his design, than to polish his description with art and a laboured style.

To the Right Noble, Learned, and truly Honourable Henry, Lord Howard, Earl of Northampton¹, Baron of Marnhill, Constable of the Castle of Dover, Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, Lord Privy-Seal, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council.

Right Honourable;

SEEING that by nature our country challengeth a greater interest in us, than our parents, friends, or children can; and that we ought, for preservation thereof, to oppose our lives unto the greatest dangers: it is the part of every native to endeavour something to the

¹ [Second son of the celebrated Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. He was one of the most learned among the nobility, and the most gross of court-sycophants. He appears to have acted as pander to the Countess of Essex, for the purpose of conciliating the favour of Carr, Viscount Rochester, which implicated him in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.—See Brydges' Memoirs of the Peers of England, *temp. Jac. I.*]

advancement and profit thereof, and not to affect it for that we possess in it, but to love it for itself, as being the common mother and nourisher of us all. For my own part, albeit my short fathom can compass no such great design as I desire, yet from a willing mind (as he that offered his hands full of water to great Artaxerxes) I am bold enough to present this project of my honest and homely labours; beseeching your Lordship, whose virtues have truly ennobled you, to take the same into your protection: and prefer it to the view of our most royal Sovereign, recommending the good effecting thereof to his gracious favour and furtherance. Doubtless, your actions and endeavours, having all been full of virtue and goodness, are not the least prevailing motives whereby his Majesty hath so endeared you unto him. In this, then, you shall not think yourself disparaged; the matter being both honest and commendable, and in true value of as great substance, as the offer of Sebastian Cabot, to King Henry the Seventh, for the discovery of the West-Indies.

Humbly,

At your Lordship's commandment,

TOBIAS GENTLEMAN,

NOBLE BRITONS, forasmuch as it hath pleased the Almighty God to make us a happy nation, by blessing and enriching this noble kingdom with the sweet dew of his heavenly word, truly and plentifully preached amongst us; and also in situating our country in a most wholesome climate, and stored with many rich and pleasant treasures for our benefit; which also yieldeth, in abundance, all things necessary; so that we do not only excel other nations in strength and courage, but also all other kingdoms, far remote, are, by our English commodities, relieved and cherished: it seemeth that the wisdom of our gracious God hath reserved us, as some precious gem, unto himself in environing our country with the plenteous ocean sea, and dividing of us from the whole continent of the rest of the inferior world, by our rich and commodious element of water, which, in due seasons, yieldeth to us in abundance. For, although our champion soil, by the diligence of the husbandman, be plentiful unto us, yet do these watery regions and dominions yield yearly great variety of all kinds of most wholesome and dainty fishes; so that it may seem strange and disputable, and hard to determine, which of his Majesty's dominions, of the lands or seas, be richest. Myself being the most unworthy of all, in that I am no scholar, but born a fisherman's son by the sea-side, and spending my youthful time at sea about fisher-affairs; whereby, now I am more skilful in nets, lines, and hooks, than in rhetorick, logick, or learned books; yet, in those few which I have read, besides the instinct of nature, which maketh me to know, that every one should endeavour himself, the best he is able, to be beneficial and profitable to the kingdom and commonwealth wherein he is born; which was a forcible motive to incite me to think of this present discourse, the penning whereof was thus occasioned.

It was my fortune, some two years past, to be sent for into the company of one master John Keymour, who is a man very well deserving of his country; and he, knowing me to have experience in fisher-affairs, demanded of me the charge both of busses and line-boats, after the Hollanders' fashion; and shewed unto me some few notes that he had gathered and gotten from other men of my trade, which he seemed greatly to esteem; for that himself was altogether unexperienced in such business. And further, I delivered to him certain principal notes, which he seemed greatly to esteem; for that he said, that he did mind to shew them unto the right honourable Council; whereupon I entered into the cogitation of writing this true relation, out of my own experience and knowledge, touching the inestimable sums of money taken yearly, for fish and herrings, out of his Majesty's seas by strangers, whereby they have not only maintained their wars many years against the Spaniard, both by land and sea, he being one of the great monarchs of the world; and, at length, they have not only wearied him in the wars, and brought him to good terms and reasonable composition; but also it is most apparent, notwithstanding the huge charge of their wars so long continued, which would have made any other nation poor and beggarly, they,

on the contrary, are grown exceeding rich and strong in fortified towns and beautiful buildings, in plenty of money and gold, in trade and traffick with all other nations; and have so increased and multiplied their shipping and mariners, that all other nations and countries in the world do admire them.

Moreover, whereas one haven in one of their towns did, in former times, contain their ships and shipping with infinite cost, now they have cut out two havens more to a town; and, at this present, are all three havens scarce sufficient with room enough to contain their ships and shipping; and, by reason of their industrious fisher-trade, not one of their people are idle, nor none seen to beg amongst them, except they be some of our own English nation.

And what their chiefest trade is, or their principal gold-mine, is well known to all merchants, that have used those parts, and to myself and all fishermen; namely, that his Majesty's seas is their chiefest, principal, and only rich treasury, whereby they have so long maintained their wars, and have so greatly prospered and enriched themselves.

If their little country of the United Provinces can do this, (as it is most manifest before our eyes, they do,) then what may we, his Majesty's subjects, do, if this trade of fishing were once erected among us, we having, in our own countries, sufficient store of all necessaries to accomplish the like business? For the Hollanders have nothing growing in their own land for that business, but they are compelled to fetch all their wood, timber, and plank, wherewith they build and make all their ships of, out of divers countries; and their iron out of other places; their hemp and cordage out of the Eastern countries; their hoops and barrel-boards out of Norway and Sprucia; their bread-corn out of Poland, and the East parts; their malt, barley, and best double drink, from England; and also all their fish and chiefest wealth out of his Majesty's seas.

The which they do transport unto the foresaid countries, and return, for the produce of fish and herrings, the forenamed commodities; whereby their ships and mariners are set on work, and continually multiplied, and into their countries is plentiful store of money and gold daily brought, only for the sale of fish and herrings.

And their country being, as it were, a small plot of ground, in comparison of Great-Britain; for two of his Majesty's counties, Suffolk and Norfolk, do equal, if not exceed, in spaciousness, all their provinces; and yet it is manifest, that, for shipping and sea-faring men, all England, Scotland, France, and Spain, for quantity of shipping and fishermen, cannot make so great a number.

Howsoever this may seem strange unto many that do not know it, yet I do assure myself, that a great number, besides myself, know I affirm nothing herein but the truth.

Wherefore, seeing the great benefit that this business by the busses, bonadventures, or fisher-ships, by erecting of this profitable and new trade, which will bring plenty unto his Majesty's kingdoms, and be for the general good of the commonwealth, in setting of many thousands of poor people on work, which now know not how to live; and also for the increasing of ships and fishermen, which shall be employed about the taking of fish and herrings out of his Majesty's own streams, as also for the employing of ships and increasing of mariners; for the strengthening of the kingdom against all foreign invasions, and for the enriching of merchants with transportation of fish and herrings into other countries; and also for the bringing in of gold and money, which now is grown but scarce, by reason that the Dutch and Hollanders have so long time been suffered to carry away our money and best gold, for fish and herrings, taken out of his Majesty's own streams, which his Majesty's own subjects do want (and still are like to do) if they be not forbidden for bringing us of fish and herrings. And this worthy commonwealth's business of busses, fostered and furthered by his Majesty's honourable council, and the worshipful and wealthy subjects, by putting too of their helping adventures now at the first; for that those that be now the fishermen, of themselves, be not able to begin.

Those poor boats and sorry nets, that our fishermen of England now have, are all their chiefest wealths; but, were their ability better, they would soon be employing themselves: for that it is certain, that all the fishermen of England do rejoice now at the very name and news of building of busses, with a most joyful applause, praying to God to further it.

For what great profit and pleasure it will bring they do well understand, and I will hereafter declare.

First, I shall not need to prove that it is lawful for us, that are his Majesty's own subjects, to take, with all diligence, the blessings that Almighty God doth yearly send unto us, at their due times and seasons; and which do offer themselves freely and abundantly to us, in our own seas, and nigh our own shores.

Secondly, to prove that it is feasible for us; for what can be more plain than that we see daily done before our eyes by the Hollanders, that have nothing that they use, growing in their own land, but are constrained to fetch all out of other countries; whereas we have all things, that shall be used about that business, growing at home in our own land, pitch and tar only excepted.

Thirdly, to prove it will be profitable, no man need to doubt; for that we see the Hollanders have long maintained their wars, and are nevertheless grown exceeding rich; which are things to be admired, insomuch that themselves do call it, 'their chiefest trade, and principal gold-mine, whereby many thousands of their people, of trades and occupations, be set on work, well maintained, and do prosper.' These be the Hollanders' own words, in a Dutch proclamation, and translated into English, and the copy of that proclamation is here annexed unto the end of my book.

And shall we neglect so great blessings, O slothful England, and careless countrymen! Look but on these fellows, that we call the plump Hollanders; behold their diligence in fishing, and our own careless negligence!

In the midst of the month of May, do the industrious Hollanders begin to make ready their busses and fisher-fleets; and, by the first of their June, are they yearly ready, and seen to sail out of the Maeze, the Texel, and the Uly, a thousand sail together, for to catch herrings in the North-seas.

Six-hundred of these fisher-ships, and more, are great busses; some six-score tons, most of them a hundred tons, and the rest three-score and fifty tons; the biggest of them having four-and-twenty men, some twenty men, and some eighteen and sixteen men a-piece; so that there cannot be, in this fleet, of people, no less than twenty-thousand sailors.

These, having with them bread, butter, and Holland-cheese, for their provision; do daily get their other diet out of his Majesty's seas, besides the lading of this fleet three times a-piece, commonly before St. Andrew², with herrings, which being sold by them, but at the rate of ten pounds the last, amounteth unto much more, than the sum of one million of pounds sterling, only by this fleet of busses yearly: no king, upon the earth, did yet ever see such a fleet of his own subjects at any time; and yet this fleet is there, and then, yearly to be seen. A most worthy sight it were, if they were my own countrymen; yet have I taken pleasure in being amongst them, to behold the neatness of their ships and fishermen, how every man knoweth his own place, and all labouring merrily together, whereby the poorest sort of themselves, their wives and children, be well maintained, and no want seen amongst them.

And thus north-west and by north hence along they steer, then being the very heart of summer, and the very yolk of all the year, sailing until they do come unto the isle of Shetland³, which is his Majesty's dominions; and with this gallant fleet of busses, there have been seen twenty, thirty, and forty ships of war, to waft and guard them from being pillaged and taken by their enemies, and Dunkirkers⁴; but, now the wars⁵ be ended, they do save that great charge, for they have not now above four or six to look unto them, for being spoiled by rovers and pirates.

Now if that it happen, that they have so good a wind to be at Shetland before the fourteenth day of their June⁶, (as most commonly they have,) then they do put all into

² The thirtieth of November.

³ Shetland is the greatest isle of all the Orcades, and lieth in the height of sixty degrees of northerly latitude.

⁴ Privateers from Dunkirk.

⁵ Between Spain and the Dutch.

⁶ Which is eleven days before our account of time.

Shetland, nigh Swinborn-head, into a sound called Bracy's Sound; and there they frolick it on land, until that they have sucked out all the marrow of the malt and good Scotch-ale, which is the best liquor that the island doth afford. But, the fourteenth day of June being once come, then away all of them go; for that is the first day, by their own law; before which time they must not lay a net, for until then the herrings be not in season, nor fit to be taken to be salted.

From this place, being nigh two-hundred leagues from Yarmouth, do they now first begin to fish; and they do never lose the shoals of herrings, but come along amongst them, following the herrings as they do come, five-hundred miles in length; and lading their ships twice or thrice before they come to Yarmouth, with the principal and best herrings, and sending them away by the merchant-ships that come unto them, that bring them victuals, barrels, and more salt, and nets, if that they do need any; the which ships, that buy their herrings, they do call Herring-Yagers, and these yagers carry them and sell them in the East countries; some to Revell, and to Rie, and some so far as the Narva, and Russia, Stockholm in Sweden, Queensborough, Dantzick, and Elving; and all Poland, Prussia, and Pomerania, Letto, Burnt-holm, Stetin, Lubeck, Jutland, and Denmark: returning with hemp, flax, cordage, cables, and iron, corn, soap-ashes, wax, wainscot, clapholt, pitch, tar, masts, and spruce-deals, and hoops, and barrel-boards, and plenty of silver and gold, only for their produce of herrings.

Now, besides this great fleet of the busses, the Hollanders have a huge number more of smaller burthen, only for to take herrings also; and these are of the burthen, from fifty tons unto thirty tons, and twenty tons; the greatest of them having twelve men a-piece, and the smallest eight and nine men a-piece; and these are vessels of divers fashions, and not like unto the busses, yet go they only for herrings in the season; and they are called, some of them, Sword-pinks, Flat-bottoms, Holland-toads, Crabskuits, and Yeuers; and all these, or the most part, do go to Shetland; but these have no yagers come unto them, but they go themselves home, when they be laden, or else unto the best market. There have been seen, and numbered, of busses, and these in braces sound, and going out to sea, and at sea, in sight, at one time, two-thousand sail; besides them that were at sea, without sight, which could not be numbered.

It is Bartholomew-tide, yearly, before that they be come from Shetland, with the herrings, so high as Yarmouth; and all those herrings that they do catch in Yarmouth seas, from Bartholomew-tide until St. Andrew, the worst, that be the rope-sick herrings, that will not serve to make barrelled herrings, by their own law, they must not bring home into Holland; wherefore they do sell them for ready money, or gold, unto the Yarmouth-men, that be no fisher-men, but merchants, and engrossers of great quantities of herrings, if that by any means they can get them; so that the Hollanders are very welcome guests unto the Yarmothian herring-buyers; and the Hollanders do call them their Hosts, and they do yearly carry away from Yarmouth many a thousand pound, as it is well known; but these Hollanders, with their lading of the best, which they make their best brand-herrings to serve for Lenten-store, they send some for Bourdeaux, some for Rochelle, Nantes, Morlaix, and St. Maloes; Caen in Normandy, Roan, Paris, Amiens, and all Picardy, and Calais; and they do return from these places with wines, salt, feathers, rosin, wood, Normandy-canvas, and dowlas-cloth, and money, and French crowns. But out of all the Arch-duke's countries, they return nothing from thence but ready money, in my own knowledge; and their ready payment was all double Jacobuses, English twenty-shilling pieces. I have seen more there in one day, than ever I did in London at any time; for, at Ostend, Newport, and Dunkirk, where and when the Holland pinks come in, there daily the merchants, that be but women (but not such women as the fishwives of Billingsgate; for these Netherland women do lade many waggons with fresh fish daily, some for Bruges, and some for Brussels, Ypres, Dixmuyde, and Rissels, and at Sasse by Gant.) I have seen these women-merchants, I say, have their aprons full of nothing but English Jacobuses, to make all their payment of; and such heaps and budget-fulls in the counting-houses of the fish-brokers, which made me much to wonder how they should

come by them; and also I know, that capons are not so dearly sold by the poulterers in Gracechurch-street in London, as fresh fish is sold by the Hollanders, in all those Roman-Catholic and Papistical countries⁷.

And, whereas I have made but a true relation of their fleets of busses, and only the herring-fishermen, that are on his Majesty's seas, from June until November; I will here also set down the fishermen, that all the year long, in the seasons, do fish for cod and lings continually, going and returning laden with barrelled fish.

And these be pinks and well-boats, of the burthen of forty tons, and the smallest thirty tons, and these have some twelve men a-piece, one with another; and there is of this sort of fisher-boats, beginning at Flushing, Camfere, Surwick-sea, the Maeze, the Texel, and the Fly, and the other sandy islands, about five-hundred or six-hundred sail, which all the year long are fishing for cod, whereof they do make their barrelled fish, which they do transport, in summer, into the East parts; but, in winter, all France is served by them, and all the Arch-duke's countries before spoken of, both of barrelled fish, and fresh fish, which they, of purpose, do keep alive in their boats in wells; and to us here in England (for love of our strong beer) they bring us barrelled fish in winter, and carry away our money and gold every day in great quantities.

Besides all these pinks and well-boats, the Hollanders have continually, in the season, another fleet of fishermen, at the north-east head of Shetland, which are of another quality; and there are more than two-hundred of these; and these be called Fly-boats, and these do ride at anchor all the season at Shetland, in the fishing-grounds; and they have small boats within them, which be like unto cobs, the which they do put out to lay and hale their lines and hooks, whereby they do take great store of lings, the which they do not barrel, but split them, and salt them in the ship's bulk; and these they sell commonly for four and five pounds the hundred, and these go by the name of Holland-lings, but they are taken out of his Majesty's seas, and were Shetland-lings, before they took them there; and for these lings they do carry away abundance of England's best money daily.

Now having declared (according unto truth) the numbers of their fishermen of Holland, for herrings upon his Majesty's seas, and also of their pinks and well-boats, and their courses for taking and venting, and selling of their barrelled fish, and fresh fish, and also of their fly-boats at the north-east head of Shetland, for Shetland-lings; I think it now best, truly to shew the true number of our English fishermen, and how they do employ themselves all the year long; first beginning at Colchester, nigh the mouth of the Thames, and so proceed northward.

I can scarce afford these men of that water the name of fishermen, for that their chiefest trade is dragging of oysters; yet have they, in the summer, some eight or ten boats in the North-seas for cods, which, if that they happen to spend all their salt, and to speed well, they may get some twenty pounds in a summer clear. But, here by the way, I will make known a great abuse that is offered to the commonwealth, and especially to all the herring-fishermen of England, only by those men of Colchester water.

For these men, from St. Andrew until Candlemas, and sometimes longer, do set forth stale-boats, amongst the sands, in the Thames-mouth, for to take sprats, with great stale-nets, with a great poke; and, they standing in the Swin, or the King's Channel, on the back of the Gunfleet; they do there take, instead of sprats, infinite thousands of young herrings, smaller than sprats, and not good to be eaten: for one sprat is better worth than twenty of those bleaks or young herrings; but, because they do fill the bushel at Billingsgate, there they do sell them for sprats, the which, if that they were let live, would be at Midsummer a fat summer-full herring; and a peck is sometimes there sold for two pence, which number of herrings at Midsummer would make a barrel of summer herrings, worth twenty or thirty shillings.

If that they could take the sprats, it were good, for they be good victuals for the city; but, for every cart-load or bushel of sprats, they take a hundred cart-loads or bushels of

⁷ I have seen a small haddock sold there for two shillings and six-pence, and a turbot for a Jacobus.

these young herrings, which are the very spawn of the shoals of the herrings that come from Scotland every summer; and, when as they come in Yarmouth seas yearly about St. Luke, (and sometimes before, if that it do blow a hard easterly wind,) do always at that season become rope-sick, and do spawn and become shotten, betwixt Wintertonness and Orfordness; and those fry of that spawn, those young little creatures, by the wisdom of the great Creator, seek into the shore and shallow places, there to be nourished; and also into the Thames mouth, into the sweetest waters; for that the water nigh the shore, and in the Thames mouth, is not so brine salt as it is farther off into the deep water, where these bleaks yearly seeking to be nourished, they are always at that season taken and destroyed; but, if that these men will needs use their stale-boats and nets, let them go where the good sprats be; they must then stand at Orfordness, and in Donwiche-bay, where there be excellent sprats; and, for the good of all the herring fishermen of England, I wish that they might be prohibited to sell that which is not wholesome to be eaten, which is as much as to sell hemlock for parsnips.

The next to Colchester is Harwich-water, a royal harbour, and a proper town, fit for the use of busses, no place in all Holland comparable; for there is both land and strand, and dry beach enough for four-hundred sail: but the chiefest trade of the inhabitants of this place, is with carvels for Newcastle-coals; but they have three or four ships yearly that they do send to Iceland for cod and lings, from March until September, and some years they get, and sometimes lose; but, if that they had but once the trade of busses, this would soon be a fine place; but those carvels and ships, which they now have, are all their chiefest wealth.

Six miles up Harwich-water stands Ipswich, which is a gallant town, and rich; this town is such a place for the busses, as in all England and Holland I know no place so convenient. First, it is the best place in all England for the building of busses, both for the plenty of timber and plank, and excellent workmen for making of ships; there are more there, than there is in six of the best towns in all England. Secondly, it is a principal place for good housewives, for spinning of yarn, for the making of pouldavis, for there is the best that is made; which town, with the use of making of twine, will soon be the best place of all England for to provide nets for the busses.

It is also a most convenient place for the wintering of the busses; for that all the shores of that river are altogether oozy and soft ground, fit for them to lie on in winter.

Also the Ipswich^e men are the chief merchant-adventurers of all England for all the east-lands, for the Suffolk cloths; and they have their factors lying all the year long in all those places where the Hollanders do vent their herrings, and where the best price and sale is continually. And although that yet there be no fishermen, yet have they store of sea-faring men; and for masters of the busses, they may have enough from Yarmouth and Sowld, and the sea-coast towns down their river: from Nacton and Chinton, Holbroke, Shotly, and Cowlnes, they may get men that will soon be good fishermen, with but a little use; for understand thus much, that there is a kind of emulation in Holland, between the fishermen that go to sea in pinks and line-boats, winter and summer, and those fishermen that go in the busses; for they in the pinks make a scorn of them in the busses, and do call them Koe-milkens, or cow-milkers; for indeed the most part of them be men of occupations in winter, or else countrymen, and do milk the cows themselves, and make all the Holland cheese, when they be at home.

This place is also most convenient for the erecting of salt-pans, for the making of salt upon salt; for that the harbour is so good, that at all times ships may come up unto them with salt from Mayo, or Spanish salt to make the brine or pickle; and also the carvels from Newcastle with coals, for the boiling of it at the cheapest rates, at any time, may come thither.

To the north-east of this place, three or four leagues, is Orford-haven, and the towns

^e This town is a most fit and convenient place to make a staple town for corn for all England, for the return and sale of the busses herrings from Dantzick and Poland.

of Orford and Alborough especially; where are many good fishermen; and there are belonging to those towns some forty or fifty North-sea boats, that yearly go to sea, having seven men a-piece, and ten or twelve Iceland barks, which sometimes get something, and sometimes little or nothing: if that these men's wealth were in busses and nets, and had but once the trade, they would put down the Hollanders; for they are great pliers of any voyage that they do undertake.

About three leagues to the northward is Swold-haven, and in the towns of Swold, Donw⁹ich, and Walderswicke, is a very good breed of fishermen; and there are belonging unto those three towns, of North-sea boats, some twenty sail, and of Iceland barks some fifty sail, which yearly they send for cod and lings to Iceland. This town of Swold, of a sea-coast town, is the most beneficial unto his Majesty of all the towns in England, by reason all their trade is unto Iceland for lings; and his Majesty's serjeant-cater hath yearly *gratis*, out of every ship and bark, one hundred of the choicest and fairest lings, which are worth more than ten pounds the hundred, and they call them composition-fish¹⁰. But these men of this place are greatly hindered, and in a manner undone, by reason their haven is so bad, and in a manner often stopped up with beach and chingle-stone, that the wind, and the tide, and the sea, do beat thither; so that, many times in the season, when they be ready to go to sea, they cannot get out, when time is to go to sea; neither can they get in when they return from sea, but oftentimes do cast away their goods and themselves. This haven, if that it had but a south pier, built of timber, would be a far better haven than Yarmouth-haven, with one-quarter of the cost that hath been bestowed on Yarmouth-haven. They are now suiters unto his Majesty; God grant they may speed! for it is pitiful the trouble and damage, that all the men of these three towns do daily sustain, by their naughty harbour.

To the northward of Swold-haven, three leagues, are Kirkley and Layestof, decayed towns; they have six or seven North-sea boats, but they of Layestof make benefit yearly of buying herrings of the Hollanders; for likewise these Hollanders are hosted with the Layestof-men, as they be with the Yarmothians.

To the northward, two leagues, is the town of Great-Yarmouth¹¹, very beautifully built, upon a very pleasant and sandy plain, of three miles in length. This town is a place of great resort of all the herring fishermen of England: for thither do resort all the fishermen of the Cinque-ports, and all the rest of the West-countrymen of England, as far as Bridport and Lime in Dorsetshire; and those herrings, that they do take, they do not barrel, because their boats are but small things, but they sell all unto the Yarmouth herring-buyers for ready money; and also the fishermen of the North-countries beyond Scarborough, and Robin Hood's-bay, and some, as far as the bishoprick of Durham, do thither resort yearly, in poor little boats, called Five-men-cobbles; and all the herrings, that they take, they sell fresh unto the Yarmouth-men to make red-herrings. Also to Yarmouth do daily come into the haven up to the key, all, or the most part, of the great fleet of Hollanders, which before I made relation of; that go in the sword-pinks, Holland-toads, crab-skuits, walnut-shells, and great and small yeures, one-hundred and two-hundred sail at a time together; and all their herrings that they do bring in, they sell them all for ready money to the Yarmouth-men. And also the Frenchmen of Picardy and Normandy, some hundred sail of them at a time, do come thither, and all the herrings they catch they sell fresh unto these herring-mongers of Yarmouth for ready gold; so that it amounteth unto a great sum of money, that the Hollanders and Frenchmen do carry away from Yarmouth yearly into Holland and France, which money doth never come again into England. This town is very well governed by wise and civil magistrates, and good orders are carefully observed

⁹ Donw⁹ich, in ancient times, hath been the seat of the kings of the East-Angles, but now all ruined.

¹⁰ My father lived in this town until he was ninety-eight years of age, and gave these composition-lings seventy-years, unto four princes; viz. King Edward, Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, and until the sixth year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign [James I.] which cometh to much more than one-thousand pounds, for one man of that town.

¹¹ In all his Majesty's kingdoms there is not any town comparable unto it for brave buildings.

for the maintenance of their haven and corporation; and this town, by reason of the situation, and the fresh rivers that belong to it; one up to the city of Norwich, and another that runneth far up into Suffolk (a butter and cheese country) about Bungay and Beckels; and a third that runneth far up into Flegg (a corn country); by reason whereof, I say, this town of Yarmouth is always well served with all kinds of provision at all times plentifully, at good and cheap rates, whereby they of the town do relieve the strangers, and also do benefit themselves. To this town belong some twenty Iceland-barks, which yearly they do send for cods and lings, and some hundred and fifty sail of North-sea boats; they make a shift to live; but, if that they had the use of busses, and also barrel-fish, they would excel all England and Holland, for they be the only fishermen for the North-seas, and also the best for the handling of their fish that are in all this land.

The herring-buyers of Yarmouth do profit more than do the fishermen of Yarmouth, by reason of the resort of the Hollanders; for that they are suffered to sell all their rope-sick herrings at Yarmouth, to the merchants there; and also the barrel-fish, that the Flemings do bring in winter to London, do also gale them; but because that our fishermen¹² may, if they please, make barrel-fish themselves; and therefore I will not mone them.

The merchant herring-buyer of Yarmouth, that hath a stock of his own, so long as he can make his gains so certain, with the buying of rope-sick herrings of the Hollanders, will never lay out his money to build or set forth busses; and the fishermen are now so poor, by reason that they only do bear the whole charge of that costly haven¹³, the merchant herring-buyers being not at any charge thereof, but all that great cost cometh out of the fishermen's labours, for the maintenance of that wooden haven, which amounteth to some five-hundred pounds a-year, and some years more; so that, though they be willing, yet their ability will not suffer them to do it, neither can they forbear their money for to adventure their herrings into the East-countries, where the best sales always be.

To the northward of Yarmouth, eight leagues, are the towns of Blackney and Wells, good harbours, and fit for busses; and they have good store of fishermen; and these towns have some twenty sail of barks, that they do yearly send unto Iceland: but these towns are greatly decayed, to that they have been in the times past; the which places, if that they had but twenty busses belonging to them, would grow rich towns in a short time.

Then is there Lynn, a proper gallant town for sea-faring men, and for men for Iceland; this is a rich town, and they have some twenty sail of Iceland ships, that they yearly send for cods and lings; and I am in hopes to see them fall to the use of busses as soon as any men.

To the northward is Boston, a proper town, and like unto Holland soil for low grounds, and sands coming in; but yet there are but few fishermen; but it is a most fit place for busses; if that they had but once the taste of them, they would soon find good liking.

Next to Boston, some twenty leagues to the northward, is the great river of Humber, wherein there is Hull; a very proper town for sailors and shipping, but there are but few fishermen; yet it is a most convenient place for to adventure busses.

There are also Grimsbey, Paul, and Patrington. In all these places now there is great store of poor and idle people, that know not how to live; and the most of all these places are decayed, and the best of them all grow worse and worse, which, with the use of busses, would soon grow rich merchant-towns, as are in Holland. For to these places would be transported out of the East-lands, all manner of commodities, for the use of busses, and houses and work-yards erected for coopers, and rope-makers, and great numbers of net-makers; and with the recourse of the ships that shall bring salt and other commodities, and ships that shall lade away their herrings and fish; these places will soon become populous, and money stir plentifully in these places, returned for the produce of fish and herrings; which places now are exceeding poor and beggarly.

¹² Of Ipswich, Lynn, and Hull.

¹³ Yarmouth haven is the only refuge in distress of weather, for all the fishermen of the Cinque-ports, and all others that do fish in those seas; and it is built all of timber, against the violence of the main-sea. It is now in great danger to run to ruin, if it have not help in time.

In all these fisher-towns that I have before named, as Colchester, Harwich, Orford, Alborough, Donwich, Walderswick, Swold, Yarmouth, Blackney, Wells, Lynn, Boston, and Hull. These are all the chiefest towns, and to all that use the North-seas in summer, all these towns, it is well known, are ruined.

In all these towns, I know to be 0---0 Iceland barks, and 0---0 North-sea boats, and all these, fishermen having 0---0 men a-piece, amount to the sum of 0---0. But, admit that there is in all the West-country of England, of fisher-boats, tag and rag, that bring home all fresh fish, which seldom or never use any salt: say that they have 0---0 men a-piece, which make the sum of 0---0 in all England; but, in all these, I have not reckoned the fishermen, mackerel-catchers, nor the cobble-men of the North-country, which, having 0---0 men a-piece, come to so many men in all England¹⁴.

But so many in all England: and I have truly shewed before, that the Hollander hath, in one fleet of busses, twenty-thousand fishermen; besides all them that go in the sword-pinks, flat-bottoms, crab-skuits, walnut-shells, and great yeuers, wherein there are not less than twelve-thousand more; and all these are only for to catch herrings in the North-seas.

Besides all them that go in the fly-boats, for Scotland lings, and the pinks for barrelled fish, and trammel-boats, which come unto five-thousand more.

So that it is most true, that as they have the sum of 0---0 fishermen more than there is in all this land; and by reason of their busses and pinks, and fishermen that set their merchant-ships on work, as that they have 0---0 fishermen more than we have, so have they 0---0 and 0---0 ships and mariners more than we.

Now, in our sum of 0---0 fishermen, let us see what vent we have for our fish into other countries, and what commodities and coin are brought into this kingdom, and what ships are set on work by them, whereby mariners are bred; or employed:---not one. It is pitiful.

For when our fishermen come home, the first voyage from the North-seas, they go either to London, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynn, Hull, or Scarborough, and there they do sell at good rates, the first voyage; but the second voyage, because that they, which be now the fishermen, have not yet the right use of making barrelled fish wherewith they might serve France as do the Hollanders, they are now constrained to sell in England; for that it is staple fish, and not being barrelled, the French will not buy it.

But, if that our fishermen had but once the use of pinks and line-boats, and barrelled fish; then they might serve France as well as the Hollanders: which by this new trade of busses being once erected, and pinks and line-boats, after the Holland manner; there will be fishermen enough to manage the pinks, for barrelled fish, from November unto the beginning of May, only the most part of those men that shall be maintained by the busses; for that when the busses do leave work in the winter, their men shall have employment by the pinks, for barrelled fish, which men now do little or nothing: for this last winter at Yarmouth, there were three-hundred idle men that could get nothing to do; living very poor for lack of employment, which most gladly would have gone to sea in pinks, if there had been any for them to go in.

And whereas I before said, that there was not one ship set on work by our fishermen, there may be objected against me this:

That there do every year commonly lade, at Yarmouth, four or five London ships for the Streights, which is sometimes true; and the Yarmouth men themselves do yearly send two or three ships to Bourdeaux, and two or three boats laden with herrings to Roan, or to Nantz, or St. Maloes; whereby there is returned salt, wines, Normandy canvas, whereby the King hath some custom; but there is no money returned into England for these herrings, which cost the Yarmothians ready gold, before that they had them of the Hollanders, and Frenchmen, to lade these ships; and, therefore, I may boldly say, not one.

And this last year now, the Hollanders themselves have also gotten that trade; for there did lade twelve sails of Holland ships with red-herrings at Yarmouth, for Civita Vecchia, Leghorn, Genoa, Marseilles, and Toulon, most of them being laden by the English mer-

¹⁴ I crave pardon, for that I omit the particular numbers and total sum, which I could here set down, if I were commanded.

chants; so that, if this be suffered, the English owners of ships shall have but small employment for theirs¹⁵.

Now to shew truly, what the whole charge of a buss will be, with all her furniture, as masts, sails, anchors, cables, and with her fisher's implements and appurtenances, at the first provided all new, is a great charge; she, being between thirty or forty lasts, will cost some five-hundred pounds.

By the grace of God, the ship or buss will continue twenty years with small cost and reparations; but the yearly slite and wear of her tackle, and war ropes, and nets, will cost some eighty pounds.

And the whole charge for the keeping of her at sea for the whole summer, or three voyages, for the filling of a hundred lasts of casks, or barrels:

	<i>l.</i>
For one-hundred last of barrels	72
For salt four months	88
For beer four months	42
For bread four months	21
For bacon and butter	18
For pease four months	03
For billet four months	03
For men's wages four months	88

335

A hundred lasts of barrels, filled and sold at ten¹⁶ pounds the last, come to one-thousand pounds.

Herrings	1000 <i>l.</i>
The whole charge	335
Gotten	0665

Here plainly appeareth, that there is gotten six-hundred and sixty-five pounds in one summer; whereout, if that you do deduct one hundred pounds for the wear of the ship, and the reparations of her nets against the next summer, yet still there is five-hundred and sixty-five pounds remaining for clear gains, by one buss, in one year.

The Hollanders do make the profit of their busses so certain, that they do lay out their own children's money, given them by their deceased friends, in adventuring in the busses. And also, there is in Holland a treasury for orphans, opened and laid out in adventuring in the busses.

The Hollanders do make both a profitable, and a pleasant trade of this summer-fishing; for there was one of them, that having a gallant great new buss of his own, and he having a daughter married unto one, which was his mate in the buss; and the owner, that was master of this buss, did take his wife with him abroad, and his mate his wife, and so they did set sail for the North-seas, with the two women with them, the mother and the daughter; where having a fair wind, and being fishing in the North-seas, they had soon filled their buss with herrings, and a herring-yager cometh unto them, and brings them gold and fresh supplies, and copeth with them, and taketh in their herrings for ready money, and delivereth them more barrels and salt, and away goeth the yager for the first market into Sprucia, and still is the buss fishing at sea, and soon after again was fully laden borne home; but then another yager cometh unto him, as did the former, and delivering them

¹⁵ Note here, how the Hollanders employ themselves and their ships, first in taking of the herrings quick, and yet are not content, but catch them again after they be dead, and do set both their ships and mariners on work, and English ships lie up a-rotting.

¹⁶ I have rated the herrings but at ten pounds the last, which is with the least; for they be commonly sold, by the Hollanders at Dantzick, for fifteen and twenty pounds the last.

more provision of barrels and salt, and ready money, and bid them farewell; and still lieth at sea with the mother and daughter so long; and not very long, before they had again all their barrels full, and then they sailed home into Holland, with the two women, and the buss laden with herrings, and a thousand pounds ready money.

If that any man should make any question of the truth of this, it will be very credibly proved, by divers of good credit, that are now in the city of London.

Now to shew the charge of a pink of eighteen or twenty lasts, the pink being built new, and all things new unto her, will not cost two-hundred and sixty pounds, with all her lines, hooks, and all her fisher appurtenances.

	<i>l.</i>
And fifteen lasts of barrels will cost	10
Five weighs of salt upon salt	15
For beer and casks	07
For bread	03
For butter	01
For the petty-tally	01
For men's wages for two more months,	} 20
and all together	
	57

Fifteen lasts of barrelled fish, at fourteen pounds and eight shillings the last, which is but twenty-four shillings the barrel, amount unto two-hundred and sixteen pounds; whereout, if you do deduct fifty-seven pounds, for the charge of setting her to sea, there is still resting one-hundred and fifty-eight pounds, clear gains, by one pink, with fifteen lasts of fish, for two months.

Wherefore, seeing the profit so plainly, and (by the grace of God) so certain, both by the busses and line-boats, whereby the Hollanders have so long gained; let all noble, worshipful, and wealthy subjects, put to their adventuring and helping hands, for the speedy launching and floating forward of this great and good commonwealth-business, for the strengthening of his Majesty's dominions with two principal pillars, which is, with plenty of coin brought in for fish, and herrings, from other nations; and also for the increasing of mariners against all foreign invasions; and also for the bettering of trades and occupations, and setting of thousands of poor and idle people on work, which now know not how to live, which by this trade of the busses shall be employed, as daily we see is done before our eyes by the Hollanders. And as always it hath been seen, that those that are now the fishermen of England, have been always found to be sufficient to serve his Majesty's ships in former time, when there has been employment; which fellows, by this new trade of building, and setting forth busses, will be greatly multiplied and increased in this land; which fellows (as we see the Hollanders) being well fed in fisher-affairs, and strong and lustier than the sailors, that use the long Southern voyages, that sometimes are greatly surfeited, and hunger-pined: but these courageous, young, lusty, strong-fed yonkers, that shall be bred in the busses, when his Majesty shall have occasion for their service in war against the enemy, will be fellows for the nonce; and will shew themselves right English, and will put more strength to an iron crow, at a piece of great ordnance in traversing of a cannon, or culvering, with the direction of the experienced master-gunner, than two or three of the fore-named surfeited¹⁷ sailors; and in distress of wind, grown-sea, and foul winter's weather, for flying forward to their labour, for pulling in a top-sail or a sprit-sail, or shaking of a bonnet in a dark night: for wet and cold cannot make them shrink, nor stain, whom the North-seas, and the busses and pinks, have dyed in grain for such purposes.

And whosoever shall go to sea, for captain to command in martial-affairs, or take charge

¹⁷ Drunken and debauched.

for master in trade of merchandise (as in times past I have done both) will make choice of these fellows; for I have seen their resolution, in the face of their enemy, when they have been *legramenta*¹⁸, and frolic, and as forward as about their ordinary labours or business.

And when his Majesty shall have occasion and employment for the furnishing of his navy, there will be no want of masters, pilots, commanders, and sufficient directors of a course, and keeping of computation; but now there is a pitiful want of sufficient good men¹⁹ to do the offices and labours before spoken of; all which these men of the busses and pinks will worthily supply.

And to the art of sailing they may happily attain; for hitherto it hath been commonly seen, that those men that have been brought up in their youth, in fishery, have deserved as well as any in the land for artificial sailing; for at this time are practised all the projections of circular and mathematical scales, and arithmetical sailing, by divers of the young men of the sea-coast towns, even as commonly amongst them, as amongst the Thamesers²⁰.

Besides all the Hollanders before spoken of, the Frenchmen of Picardy have also a hundred sail of fishermen, only for herrings, on his Majesty's seas every year, in the summer-season²¹; and they are almost like unto the busses; but they have not any yagers that come unto them, but they do lade themselves, and return home twice every year, and find great profit by their making but of two voyages every summer-season.

And it is much to be lamented, that we having such a plentiful country, and such store of able and idle people, that not one of his Majesty's subjects are there to be seen, all the whole summer, to fish, or to take one herring: but only the North-sea boats of the sea-coast towns, that go to take cods, they do take so many, as they need to bait their hooks, and no more²².

We are daily scorned by the Hollanders, for being so negligent of our profit, and careless of our fishing; and they do daily flout us that be the poor fishermen of England, to our faces at sea, calling to us, and saying, "Ya English, ya zall or oud scoue dragien;" which in English is this: 'You English, we will make you glad for to wear our old shoes.'

And likewise the Frenchmen say we are apish, for that we do still imitate them in all needless and fantastical jags and fashions: as it is most true, indeed: for that they have no fashion amongst them in apparel, nor lace, points, gloves, hilts, nor garters, even from the spangled shoe-latchet unto the spangled hat and hat-band, be it never so idle and costly, but, after that we do once get it, it is far bettered by our nation.

Wherefore, seeing that we can excel all other nations, wastefully, to spend money; let us, in one thing, learn of other nations, to get thousands out of his Majesty's seas, and to make a general profit of the benefits that Almighty God doth yearly send unto us, in far greater abundance than the fruit of our trees; which, although they be more chargeable in the gathering together, yet is the profit far greater unto this kingdom and commonwealth of all his Majesty's subjects, increasing the wealth of the adventurers; as also, for the enriching of merchants, and maintaining of trades, occupations, and employing of ships, and increasing of mariners, which now do but little or nothing; as also, for the setting of poor and idle people on work, which now know not how to live; and to teach many a tall fellow to know the proper names of the ropes in a ship, and to hale the bow-line, that now, for lack of employment, many such, by the inconvenience of idle living, are compelled to end their days with a rope, by an untimely death²³; which, by the employment of the busses, might be well avoided, and they, in time, become right honest, serviceable, and trusty subjects.

¹⁸ [Or *allegamente*, cheerful, gay.]

¹⁹ It is not unknown, that this last year, there was a general press along the coast of England, from Hull in Yorkshire, unto St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, only for sailors to furnish but seven ships, for the wafting over the Count Palatine and his most noble Princess, but twenty-eight leagues.

²⁰ The navigators in the river Thames.

²¹ Some of these are three and four-score tons the burthen.

²² The Hollanders do yearly take so many, as they do make more than two-millions of pounds sterling: and we, his Majesty's subjects, do take no more than to bait our hooks.

²³ The sailor's proverb: 'Thesea and the gallows refuse none.'

Here, since my book came to the press, I have been credibly certified, by²⁴ men of good worth (being fishmongers) that since Christmas last, unto this day²⁵, there hath been paid to the Hollanders here in London, only for barrelled fish and Holland lings, the sum of twelve-thousand pounds.

And, last of all, if that there be any of the worshipful adventurers, that would have any directions for the building of these busses, or fisher-ships; because I know that the ship-carpenters of England are not yet skilful in this matter: wherefore, if that any shall be pleased to repair to me, I will be willing to give them directions, and plain projections, and geometrical demonstrations, for the right building of them, both for length, breadth, and depth; and also for their mould under water; and also for the contriving of their rooms, and the laying of their gear²⁶, according to the Hollanders' fashion.

The States' Proclamation; translated out of Dutch.

THE States-general of the United Provinces of the Low-countries, unto all those that shall see or hear these presents, greeting: We let to weet, that whereas it is well known, that the great fishing, and catching of herrings, is the chiefest trade, and principal gold-mine of these United-countries, whereby many thousands of households, families, handicrafts, trades, and occupations, are set on work, well maintained, and prosper; especially the sailing and navigation, as well within, as without these countries, is kept in great estimation: Moreover, many returns of money, with the increase of the means, convoys, customs, and revenues of these countries, are augmented thereby and prosper; and, forasmuch as there are made, from time to time, many good orders concerning the catching, salting, and beneficial uttering of the said herrings, to the end to preserve and maintain the said chief trade, in the United Provinces; which trade, by divers encounters, of some that seek their own gain, is envied, in respect of the great good it bringeth to the United-countries: And we are informed, that a new device is put in practice, to the prejudice of the trade, to transport out of the United-countries, into other countries, staves for herring-barrels made here, and half herring-barrels, put into other barrels, and nets, to cross the good orders and policy here intended to them of these countries, for the catching, salting, and selling the herrings, dressed in other countries, after the order of these countries, whereby this chief trade should be decayed here, and the inhabitants of these countries damnified, if that we make no provision in time against such practices: Therefore we, after mature judgment and deliberation, have forbidden and interdicted, and by these presents do forbid and interdict, all and every one (as well home-born and inhabitants, as strangers frequenting these parts) to take up any herring-barrels, or half ones prepared, or any kind of nets, in any ship, town, or haven, of the United Provinces, to be sent into other countries, or places, upon pain of confiscation of the same, and the ship also wherein they shall be found, besides the penalty of two-hundred of Netherlandish silver royals, for the first time; and for the second time (above confiscation of ship and goods) four-hundred of the said royals of silver; and for the third time (above confiscation of ship and goods, and six-hundred of the said royals of silver) corporal punishment. All which confiscations and penalties shall be distributed, one third part to the profit of the plaintiff, one third part to the poor, and one third part to the officers, where the said confiscation shall be demanded. And not only they shall incur this penalty, which after shall be taken in the deed; but they also, that within one year after the deed shall be convicted; and that none may pretend ignorance, and that this order may be in all places duly observed, and the offenders punished according to justice; we will and require our dear and well-beloved estates, governors, deputies of the council, and the estates of the respective provinces of Guelderland, and the county of

²⁴ Mr. William Snelling, Mr. Stephen Topley, and divers others of the company of Fishmongers.

²⁵ 18 Feb. 1641.

²⁶ And for providing of their cordage and nets, after the neatest and cheapest rates.

‘ Satfill in Holland, West-Friezland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friezland, Merizel, the town of Groyning, and the circumjacent places, and to all justices and officers; that they cause to be published in all places, and proclaimed, where the usual proclamation and publication is made: We do charge also the chancellors, and provincial council, and the council of the admiralty, the advocatistical, and the procurators-general, and all other officers, judges, and justices of these United Provinces, and to all general colonies, admirals, and vice-admirals, captains, officers, and commanders, to perform, and cause to be performed, this order and commandment; and to proceed, and cause to be proceeded, against the offenders, without grace, favour, dissimulation, or composition: because we have found it necessary, for the good and benefit of the said United Provinces. Dated in Hague, this 19th of July.’

The Royal-Fishing Revived. Wherein is demonstrated, from what Causes the Dutch have upon the Matter ingrossed the Fishing-Trade in his Majesty's Seas, wherein the Principles of all the Trades they drive in the World are chiefly founded: As also from what Causes the English have lost the Fishing-Trade, to the Endangering the small Remainder of the Trades they yet enjoy. Together with Expedients by which the Fishing-Trade may be redeemed by the English; and Proposals for carrying on so great a Work. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the King and Parliament.

London, printed by Thomas Ratcliffe for the Author, 1670.

[Quarto, containing Twelve Pages.]

Here we are presented with the state of the Fishery in the British seas, when King Charles II. seemed inclined to maintain the right of his subjects, and to protect them in the employment of that valuable branch of trade. It is but short, but it methodically and rationally gives us the advantages which the Dutch gain by that trade, with the reason of those advantages; the hindrances, which obstruct the English in the prosecution thereof; the means whereby the English may redeem the fishing trade: and so concludes with proposals for carrying on this great work.

A DVANTAGES the Dutch have in the fishing trade, with the reasons of them; viz.

1. Multitudes of men, above any other nation.
2. Cheapness of building all sorts of ships for this trade, above any other place.
3. Their convenient building ships for this trade, above any other place.
4. Greatness of vent in foreign trade for all sorts of commodities, returned in barter for their fish, above any other place.

5. Their excellency in packing and curing all sorts of fish (except red-herrings) above any other place.

The Reasons.

First, Their multitudes of mariners and fishermen proceed not from the conveniency of their coasts, for all the fish they take are generally upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and the Orcades; and so might be more conveniently caught by us: nor from the conveniency of their harbours; ours in number and excellency far exceeding theirs: but from the freedom that they give people of all nations, above any other place; whereby those people enjoying what they desire, and being kept in constant employment, are no way subject to sedition or murmur against the state; to the incomparable strengthening as well as enriching thereof.

Secondly, The cheapness of their building ships for this trade proceeds: 1. From the great quantities and cheapness of timber they have down the Rhine and Maeze, as also out of Norway, and the Baltick sea; in return of the fish and other commodities vented there by them. 2. Cheapness of pitch, tar, hemp, and iron, &c. above any other place, which are in great measures returned upon the product of their fish. 3. Lowness for interest of money, above any other place.

Thirdly, Their convenient building of ships for this trade, is from the encouragement and freedom they give to all sorts of builders of all nations, whereby ingenuity and industry is improved, as also the builders, above any other place.

Fourthly, The greatness of vent of all sorts of commodities, returned in product of the fish, is from the lowness of their customs for the same, and lowness of interest-money; conveniency and cheapness of shipping, above any other place.

Fifthly, The excellency and reputation of curing and packing their fish, proceeds from the careful inspection of the States of the United Netherlands, above any other place; and their curing on ship-board, and then repacking.

These advantages have been in process of time so well improved by the Dutch, that they have not only gained to themselves almost the sole fishing in his Majesty's seas; but principally upon this account have very near beat us out of all our other most profitable trades in all parts of the world. Nor have the English any reason to hope to retain the residue of those trades, which they yet enjoy, unless they may be relieved in the fishing trade, from these disadvantages and inconveniencies following; which are,

First, Scarcity of people: although the coast of England, with a limitation of five miles from it, will maintain more people than all the United Netherlands.

Secondly, Dearness of building ships for this trade; so that a Dutch ship, of equal dimension, is built for half the price.

Thirdly, Inconvenient building of shipping; so as a Dutch ship, of equal bigness, is sailed with half the hands.

Fourthly, Want of vent for all sorts of commodities, returned in barter for the fish in foreign trade.

Fifthly, The negligent and corrupt curing of fish by the English (except red-herrings) whereby their reputation is far less than those that are cured by the Dutch.

The Reasons.

First, Scarcity of people upon the coast of England, is occasioned by our peopling the American plantations, the re-peopling Ireland, since the great massacre there, the late great plague in the year 1665, and the law against naturalization, which permits no foreigner to partake equal freedom with the English in this trade; and corporations, which restrain the freedom of this trade, to the very few freemen of them.

Secondly, Dearness of shipping for this trade proceeds: 1. From the dearness and scarcity of timber in England. 2. From the act of Navigation, which not only restrains the importation of timber, pitch, tar, hemp, and iron, to these dear-built ships,

and the ships of the natives of the places, from whence they are had, whether they have ships or not, but also it gives freedom to the Dutch to import all sorts of manufactories made of these growths, which they acquire for half the price the English can ; whereby the English nation have wholly lost the trade for fitting up ships, for this or any other trade.

Thirdly, The inconvenient building of ships for this trade, is from restraining the building of ships to the English only, who are very few, and know no other way.

Fourthly, The want of vent for all sorts of commodities, returned in barter for fish, proceeds: 1. From the greatness of the customs upon those commodities, which are twenty times more than in the United Netherlands. 2. The dearness of the ships in which they must be vented. 3. The inconveniency of those ships, compared with the Dutch, for any foreign trade with those commodities. 4. The height of interest of money here in England, above the United Netherlands; so as, besides the height of customs, those ships of the English being twice so dear, and sailed with double the hands that those of the United Netherlands are, and paying above one-third interest more; the English merchant is here necessarily incumbent to a three-fold charge, more than the Dutch merchant.

Fifthly, The negligent and corrupt curing of fish, caught by the English, proceeds from the want of a constant council of trade, which may inspect and govern the fishing-trade.

The Expedients whereby the English may redeem the Fishing-Trade.

FIRST, For a supply of men, upon all occasions, to carry on this great work; it is proposed, that it may be free for all sorts of foreigners to partake and enjoy equal freedom, with the natural subjects of England, in their persons and estates, in the fishing-trade; and that all possible security and encouragement be given to all sorts of foreigners who shall assist us therein.

Secondly, That all restraints by the freedom of corporations be taken away, and no person excluded in this trade.

Thirdly, That all sorts of begging persons, and all other poor people (not sick, or impotent) may be employed therein.

Fourthly, That all people, condemned for less crimes than blood, be compelled to redeem their crimes, and in some measure to make compensation by extraordinary labour in this trade.

Fifthly, That all persons in prison for debt, and not able to pay, may be employed therein.

Sixthly, That the act of Navigation be repealed, whereby all sorts of foreign ships may be employed in this trade: and that it be free to import pitch, tar, hemp, iron, and timber, whereby the English may be enabled to employ all those hands in fitting up ships for this trade, as well as the Dutch.

Seventhly, That all customs for commodities, returned for [the fish vented in foreign parts, be taken off, and an equal excise to be imposed in lieu thereof; so that, as multitudes and concourse of people increase, and by consequence a greater consumption, his Majesty's revenue will thereby be proportionably increased, without any great prejudice to this trade.

Eighthly, That the statute, *de Donis Conditionalibus*, may stand in force; so that fines shall be no bar to the heirs in tail, nor recoveries to those in remainder; whereby a stock, as well in this trade as others, of all those monies which are spent in buying and mortgaging land, will generate into a common bank of trade; and those numerous companies of other bankers, usurers, scriveners, and solicitors, will be necessitated to seek better means of living, and thereby the vanity of luxurious persons restrained to the bounds of their estates. As also the interest of money will become as low here, as in the United Netherlands.

Ninthly, Yet, for encouraging foreigners to inhabit and plant, as well as trade with us, it may be lawful for all foreigners to purchase lands here, to them and their heirs; where-

by the nation would be enriched as well as peopled; and whereby vast sums of money, which are now employed by the Dutch at interest, to the impoverishing the nation, might be converted to the enriching of it.

Tenthly, That all possible encouragement be given as well to foreigners as natives, for building ships for this trade, in Ireland, Virginia, and New-England.

Eleventhly, That a constant council of trade be erected by parliament, which may inspect this trade; and during the intervals, with his Majesty's approbation, may make by-laws until the next session of parliament.

Proposals for carrying on this great Work.

FIRST, That commissioners be empowered by act of parliament to enquire into all abuses and deceits in the management and government of hospitals, and of all concealments and mis-conversions of any part of the revenues thereof; and that care be taken for the future to improve the revenues of the said hospitals to the best advantage; and that all such monies, concealed or mis-employed, together with the improvements and overplus (over and above what shall be necessarily laid out for the maintenance and repairs of the said hospitals, &c.) may be brought into his Majesty's bank for carrying on the royal fishing.

Secondly, That the said commissioners enquire what sums of monies at any time have been given to charitable uses and are concealed, or have been mis-employed by any persons to whose trust the same were committed: and that all such monies may be brought into the bank, for carrying on the royal fishing.

Thirdly, That one year's value of the annual assessments to the poor, may be advanced by the respective parishes of England, to be employed in buying and building convenient houses, and for a stock in setting the poor at work, to carry on the royal fishing: by means whereof the charge of maintaining the poor, in all parishes, will proportionally lessen, to the universal easement and benefit of the whole nation.

Fourthly, That some reasons for altering or repealing the statute of 43 Eliz. c. 2. intituled, 'Who shall be Overseers for the Poor, their Office, Duty, and Accounts,' may be considered, for the benefit of the royal fishing.

Fifthly, That the children of all lazy and idle persons, living upon forests, wastes, and chaces, may be employed in the royal fishing; and that those wastes may be improved for a public good, and the revenue arising thereby, employed for carrying on the royal fishing.

Sixthly, That all victuallers, higlers, badgers, &c. formerly licensed by mayors and justices of the peace, &c. may be hereafter licensed by commissioners empowered by act of parliament; and the fees and profits, arising thereby, be likewise employed for carrying on the royal fishing.

Seventhly, Whereas there was obtained, beyond sea, a grant from his Majesty for thirty-one years, of the home-vent of coals from the river of Tyne, upon pretence of five-hundred pounds fine, and 1838 pounds 12 shillings annual rent; when as the same might have been leased out by his Majesty for near 10,000 pounds, *per annum*, if his Majesty had been rightly informed of the value thereof: wherefore, it is proposed, that, by his Majesty's permission, the said grant may be vacated in parliament; and his Majesty be at liberty to let it for the best advantage. And that his Majesty will be graciously pleased, that the improvement of the rent thereof may go towards the support of the royal fishing.

Eighthly, That like duties may be imposed upon the vent of coals from Sunderland, as are at Newcastle, to be employed in the royal fishing.

Ninthly, That all such sum or sums of money, which since his Majesty's restoration have been raised and collected upon subscriptions and benevolences for the use of the fishery; and do still remain in the hands of the collectors, treasurers, and others, who ought to account for the same; may be forthwith reduced into his Majesty's bank, for carrying on the royal fishing.

Tenthly, That his Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant, that all discoveries within

his Majesty's gift, not yet discovered nor granted away by his Majesty (after a reasonable and fitting reward secured to the discoverer or discoverers out of the same) shall go towards the support of the royal fishing.

Eleventhly, That all houses built upon new foundations within the city and suburbs of London, since the year 1657, except such houses as have been consumed by fire, may pay a fine to the value of one year's rent, to be employed towards the carrying on the royal fishing.

Twelfthly, That his Majesty will be pleased to grant, that all fines and forfeitures not already granted away by his Majesty, may go towards the carrying on the royal fishing.

It is humbly desired, that these proposals may be examined and debated, and if all or any of them may be found useful for carrying on this great and profitable work, further means shall be humbly offered for promoting the same.

**Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis, Mantenaris of the
Kingis Graces Authoritie. M. G. B.**

Imprentit at Striviling be Robert Lekprevick. Anno Dom. 1571.

[Octavo, containing Thirty Pages; in the Scottish Tongue.]

This pamphlet came out at a time, when Scotland was in the greatest fermentation: religion was then just reforming, and the Queen-Regent was not only a prisoner in England, but there was a secret faction ready to join with every designing male-content to destroy the reigning family.

The author, who, I apprehend, was the learned and truly Protestant Buchanan¹, that wrote the "Detection" of Mary Queen of Scots, was very well apprised of the danger of his country; to which it was liable, not only from foreign, but especially from the policy of domestic foes; and, in a true regard to the real welfare of the same, writes these particulars, addresses them to the governing part of the nation, and by way of caution, as well as proof of what he advanceth, plainly shews the origin of all their present troubles, and future dangers, to be owing to the ambition of the Hamilton-family, who, tired of subjection, were not content to share the government, but aspired to the crown of Scotland: and, perhaps, contains a piece of the best and most secret history of those times.

IT may seme to your Lordschippis, that I, mellyng² with heigh materis of governing of commoun welthis, do pas myne estait, beyng of sa meane qualitie; and forgettis my dewtie, gevyng counsall to the wysest of this realme. Not the les, seying the miserie sa greit apperyng, and the calamitie sa neir appochyng, I thocht it les fault to incur the crime of surmountyng my private estate, then the blame of neglecting the publik danger: thairfor I chesid rather to underly the opinion of presumptioun in speiking, then of treson in silence; and specially of sic thingis, as evin seme presently to redound to the perpetuall schame of your Lordschippis, destruction of this royall estate, and ruyne of the hole commoun-welth of Scotland. On this consideratioun I have takin in hand, at this tyme, to

¹ [Buchanan was the undisputed author of this tract, which seems to have been written with an earnest desire of ensuring protection to his royal pupil, and to the children of the regent Murray; by admonishing all the loyal peers of Scotland to guard against the machinations of the house of Hamilton.]

² [Meddling.]

advertise your honours of sic thingis, as I thocht to appertene, baith to your Lordschippis, in speciall; and in generall, to the hole communitie of this realme; in punitioun of tratouris, pacificatioun of troublis amongis your selfis, and continuatioun of peace with our nighbouris. Of the quhilk I have takin the travell to write, and do remit the judgement to your discretioun; hopyng, at leist, that although my wit and foresight shall not satisfie yow, yit my gud will shall not displeis yow, of quhilk advertisement the summe is this.

First, To consider how godly the actioun is quhilk yow have in hand; to wit, the defence of your King³, an innocent pupill, the stablisching of religioun, punitioun of thievis and tratouris, and mantenance of peace and quietnes amongis your selfis, and with forrane natiounis.

Item, Remember how yow have vindicat this realme from the thraldome of strangeris, out of domestik-tyrannie, and out of a publik dishonour, in the sight of all forrane natiounis; we beyng altogidder estemid a pepill-murtherars of kingis, and impacient of lawis and ingrait, in respect of the murther of the late King Henry⁴, within the wallis of the principall towne, the greatest of the nobilitie beyng present with the Quene for the tyme. And by your power, one part of the chief tratouris tried from amongis the trew subjectis; quhairby strangers wer constranid afterwart as mekle to praise your justice, as of befoire they wrangfully condempnid your injustice.

Item, Remember how far, in doing the same, ye have obliged your selfis befoir the hole world, to continew in the same vertew of justice; and quhat blame ye shall incur, if ye be inconstant. For all men can belief na utherwise, if the tyme following be not conforme to the tyme past, that nouthur honour nor commoun-welth stirrid yow up then, but rather sum particulair tending to your private commoditie.

Also remember, how many gentill and honest meanis yow have socht, in tymes past, to caus the King be acknowledged, and the countrie put at rest; and how unprofitabill hath been your honestie in treityng; your vailyeant curage in werr; your mercifulnes in victorie; your clemencie in punisching, and facilitie in reconsiliatioun.

Quhilk thingis witnessis sufficiently, that ye estemit na man enemie that wald live in peace, under the Kingis autoritie; that ye wer never desirous of blude, geir, nor honour of sic as wald not, rather, in making of troubill and seditioun, declair thame selfis enemeis to God, and the Kingis Majestie, than live in concord and amitie with thair nighbouris under the correctioun of justice.

And sen ye can nouthur bow thair obstinate hight with pacience, nor mease⁵ thair stubburne hartis with gentilnes, nor satisfie thair inordinate desyris, utherwyse then with the Kingis blude and youris, the destructioun of religioun, banisching of justice, and fre permissioun of crueltie and misordour; your wisdomes may easily consider quhat kind of medicine is not only mete, but alsua necessair, for mending of sic a maladie.

And, to the effect that ye may the better consider this necessitie of medicine, remember quhat kynd of pepill they ar, that professis thame selfis in deid, and dissemblis in worde, to be enemeis to God, to justice, and to yow, becaus ye maintene the Kingis actioun.

Sum of them ar counseillaris of the King his fatheris slauchter, sum conveyaris of him to the schambles, that slew his grandschir, banisched his father; and, not satisfyd to have slayne him selfe, murtherit the Kingis Regent⁶, and now seikes his awin blude, that thay

³ [James the Sixth of Scotland, to whom Buchanan was appointed one of the preceptors, by an act of privy-council.]

⁴ [Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, who was murdered, Feb. 10, 1567, by the supposed contrivance of Bothwell. The particulars may be seen in Birrell's Diary, printed at Edinburgh in 1798.]

⁵ [Soften, mollify.]

⁶ [James Stewart, natural son to James the Fifth, and Earl of Murray, who was shot in the street of Linlithgow, Jan. 23, 1570, by Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, whom his clemency had formerly rescued from an ignominious death. To the Earl of Murray, Buchanan was strongly attached. His indignation therefore was naturally roused against the Hamiltons, and he had sufficient cause to suspect that their purposes were not yet completely effected. See Irving's Memoirs of Geo. Buchanan, p. 163.]

may fullill thair crueltie and avarice, being Kingis, quhilk they begonne to exercise, the tyme of thair governing.

Uthers ar, that being alliat nor neir of kyn to the Hamiltounis, thinkis to be participant of all thair prosperitie and succes.

Uthers, being gyltie of King Henryis death, in the first parliament halden in the Kingis regne that now is, could well accord, that the Quene should have bene put to deith also.

And, seing they could not obtene that point, the next schift of thair impietie was, to put downe the King, that he should not rest to revenge his fatheris deith; quhilk, thay thocht, could not be mair easilie done, then by bringing hame the Quene with sic a husband, that other for auld haitred, or for new covatice, wald desire the first degre of succession to be of his awin blude.

Sum uthers ar practisid in casting of courtis, and revolving of estatis, by raising of civile werr, and ar becum richer than ever thay hopid; and, becaus thay have found the practise sa gude in tyme past, now thay seik all wayis to continew it; and, having ones gustid how gude fisching it is in drumly⁷ waters, they can, by no maner, leave the craft.

Uthers of that faction ar, sum Papistis, sum feined Protestantis, that hes na God bot geir; and desiris agane the Papistrie, not for luif they beir to it (for they ar scornors of all religioun) but hoping to have promotioun of idle belleis to benefices; and lamentis the present estait, ' quhair (as they say) ministeris gettis all, and leifis nathing to gude fellowis; and to this intent thay wald set up the Quenis authoritie, say thay.

Sum thair be also, that under colour of seiking the Quenis authoritie, thinkis to eschaip the punischement of auld faultis, and have licence, in tyme to cum, to oppres thair nichbouris that be febillier then they.

Now have I to schew yow, by conjecture, quhat frute is to be hopid of an assembly of sic men, as for the maist pairt ar of insatiabill gredines, intollerabill arrogance, without faith in promeis, measure in covatice, pietie to the inferiour, obedience to the superiour, in peace desirous of troubill, in werr thirstie of blude, nuryshers of theft, raisers of rebelloun, counsallours of tritouris, inventers of tressoun, with hand reddie to murther, mynd to deceive, hart voyde of treuth and full of felonie, tounge trampid⁸ in dissait, and worde tending to fals practise without veritie; by quhilk properteis, and many uthers thairunto joynid, as is knawin to all men, ye, that understandis thair beginning, progres and hole lyfe, may easilie remember, to quhome thys general speiking appertenis in speciall; and it is not unknowin to sic as knawis the personis, how they ar mellid⁹ with godles persons, Papistes, harlot Protestantis, commoun brybouris, holy in worde, hypocrites in hart, proude contempners or Machiavill-mockers of all religioun and vertew, bludie boucheris, and open oppressouris, fortifieris of theiffis, and manteneris of tratouris.

It is also necessarie to your Lordschippis to understand thair pretence, that if it be a thing quhilk may stand with the tranquillitie of the commoun-welth, your Lordschippis may, in sum pairt, rather condescend to thair inordinate lust, then put the hole estate in jeopardie of battell.

First, It is not honour, riches, nor authoritie, that they desire; for thay have had, and als¹⁰ have presentlie, and may have, in tyme to cum, sic pairt of all thay thingis, as a privait man may have in this realme, not being chargeabil to the countrie, or not suspectit to ane King, as unassurit of his awin estait.

It is not the delyverance of the Quene that thay seik, as thair doingis contrair to thair worde testifeis manifestlie; for, if they wald have her deliverit, they wald have procurit, by all menis possibill, the Quene of Inglandis favour and support, in quhais power the hole recoverance stode only, and not offendid hir sa heichly as thay have done, and daylie dois, in participatioun of the conspirit tressoun, to put hir Majestie, not only out of hir stait, bot out of this lyfe present; nor in receiting and mantening of hir rebellis, contrair to promeis and solempne contract of pacificatioun betuix this two realmes; nouthier yet

⁷ [Muddy, troubled.]

⁸ [Travelled.]

[Mingled.]

¹⁰ [Also.]

have houndit¹¹ furth proude and uncircumspect young men, to hery¹², burne, and slay, and take presoneris in her realme, and use all misordour and crueltie, not only used in werr, but detestabill to all barbar and vile Tartaris, in slaying of presoneris; and, contrair to all humanitie and justice, keip na promeis to miserabill catives, received once to thair mercy: and all this was done by commandiment of sic as sayis, thay seik the Quenes deliverance, and reprochit to thame, by the doaris of the mischeifis, saying, That they enterit thame in danger, and supportit thame, not in mister¹³, so mekle as to cum to lawder and luik from thame; in quhilk deserting of thair collegis, thay schew crueltie joyned with falsheid, and maist heich tressoun against the Quene; pretending, in worde, hir delyverance; and stopping, in warke, hir recoverance: the quhilk (as every man may cleirly se) thay socht, as he that socht his wyfe drowned in the river againis the streime.

It is not the Quenis authoritie that thay wald set up, in hir absence; for, if that war thair intentioun, quhome can they place in it mair friendly to hir then hir onlie sone? or quhat governour may they put to him, les suspect, than sic men as have na pretence of succession to the crowne, or any hoip of proffeit to cum to tham after his deith; or thay that ever have bene trew servandis to kingis before him, should thay not be preferrit to his paternall enemeis; yea, and slayeris of his father, and sollicitaris of strangeris to seik his innocent blude?

Quhat then shall we think that these men seikis, under pretence of the Queenis authoritie, seing they can not bring hame the Quene to set up hir, nor will not suffer the King lawfully inaugurat and confirmed, by decreit of parliament, to bruik it, with sa many of his tutoris chosin by his mother, as ar not to be suspectit to will him harme? I traist it is not uneasie to perceive, by thair hole progres, now presently, and in tyme by past, that they desire na other thing but the deith of the King and Quene of Scotland, to set up the Hamiltounis in authoritie; to the quhilk they have aspyrit, by craftie meanis, these fyftie yeires ago. And, seing thair purpos succedit not by craftie and secreit meanis, now thay follow the same traide, conjoynnyng to falsheid opin wickitnes.

And, that ye may see quhat meanis they have usid, thir fyftie yeiris by past, to set up by craft this authoritie, quhilk now they seik by violence, force, and tresoun; I will call to your memorie sum of their practisis, quhilk many of you may remember asweill as I.

First, After the deith of King James the Fourth, John, Duke of Albany, chosin by the nobilitie to governe in the Kingis les age¹⁴, the Hamiltounis, thinking that he had been als wicked as thay, and should, to his awin advancement, put downe the King, being of tender age, for the tyme, and by the deceis of his brother left alone; and that thay wald easilie get thair hand beyond the Duke, being an stranger, and without successioun of his body; held thame quyete for a season, thinking that uther men's actioun should be thair promotioun: but seing that the Duke, as a prince baith wyse and verteous, to bring him selfe out of sic suspitioun, put four lordis estemid of the maist trew and verteous in Scotland, in that tyme, to attend on the Kingis Grace; to wit, the Erle Merchell, the Lordis Erskyn, Ruthven, and Borthick; the Hamiltounis being out of hope of the Kingis putting doune, by the Duke of Albany, and out of credeit to do him any harme by thame selfis, maid one conspiracie, with certane lordis, to put the sayd Duke out of authoritie, and take it on thame selfis; that all thinges put in thair power, thay might use the King and the realme at thair awn plesure. To that effect thay tuik the castell of Glasgow, and there maid an assembly of thair factioun, the quhilk was dissolvit by the haistie cummyng of the Duke of Albany, with an armie; for feir of the quhilk, the Erle of Arrane, chief of that company, fled to his wifis brother, the Lord Hume, being then out of court.

The second conspiracie was, after the Dukis last departyng, (the foresayd Lordis separate from attending on the King) devysit be Schir James Hamiltoun, bastard-sone to the sayd Erle of Arrane, quha conspyrit the Kingis deith, then being in his hous, in the ab-

¹¹ [Hunted.]

¹² [To pillage or despoil.]

¹³ [Perhaps mystery, or craft.]

¹⁴ [Non-age, minority. See Jamieson's Etym. Dict.]

bay of Halyruidhous; quhilk conspiracie, after mony yeiris, reveillit¹⁵, the said Schir James sufferit deith for it. This conspiracie not beyng execute, Schir James perseverid in his evill intentioun; and, by secreit meanis in court, soght alwais that the King should not mary, that, for lack of his successioun, the Hamiltounis might cum to thair intentis. For the King was young, lusty, and redy to aventure his persoun to all hasardis, baith by sea and land, in doune putting of theifis, and upsetting of justice. The Hamiltounis luiked on, quhen seiknes; throw excesse of travell, or sum uther rakles¹⁶ aventure, should cut him of without children: and, destitute of this hope, first he stoppid the Kingis metyng with his uncle the King of Ingland, quha, at that tyme, having but one doughter, was willing to haif marryid with the King of Scotland, and maid him King of the hole ile after him; and to have enterid him, at that present tyme, in possession of the duchy of Yorke: but the said Schir James (ever having eye to his awn scope) hinderid this purpois by sum of the Kingis familiaris, that he had practised with by giftis, and speciallie by the Bischop of Sanctandros, James Betoun, uncle to the Erle of Arranis mother, and greit-uncle to Schir James' wyfe, and raised sic suspitioun betvix the twa Kingis, that broght baith the realmes in greit besynes.

This purpois, as sayd, is put abak; the King, seing that his ambassadouris furtherit not at his plesure, delivered him selfe in persoun to ga be sey in France; and Schir James Hamiltoun, persevering in his former intentioun, went with him to hinder his mariage, by all meanis that he might: and, to that effect, the King sleiping in the schip, without any necessitie of wynde and wedder, Schir James causid the marineris to turn saill of the west coist of Ingland bakwart, and land in Galloway; quhair the King was verray discontent with Schir James and maister David Panter, principall causeris of his returnyng, as divers that was in the schip, yit livyng, can report. And, fra that time furth, the King, having tryid out his pretence, and persaving his unfaithfull dealing, ever disfavoured him; and, to his greit displeasure, favoured opinlie the Erl of Lennox and his friendis in his absence; the quhilk Erle pretended a right and tytill to the hole erledome of Arrane, the present Erle for that tyme being knawin to be a bastard: as also, it was in men's recent memorie how Schir James Hamiltoun had cruellie slayne the Erle of Lennox at Linlythgow, evin to the greit displeasure of the Erle of Arrane, father to Schir James, and uncle to the Erle of Lennox, cumming by the Kingis commandiment to Linlythgow. Sa the King, as said is, understanding the private practick of Schir James, in keeping him unmaryid, haistit him the mair eirnestlie to mary; to the effect that his successioun might put the Hamiltounis out of hope of thair intent, and him out of danger by the Hamiltounis. And albeit that Schir James, to make him selfe clene of that suspitioun, soght many diveris wayis to the distructioun of the Erle of Arrane his brother; yit he could never conqueis¹⁷ the Kingis favour, untill finallie he was executid for tresoun, and tooke ane miserabill end, conforme to his ungodly lyfe.

The King at last deceissit; and leving a doughter of sex dayis auld, the Hamiltounis thought all to be thairis. For then the Erle of Arrane (a young man of small wit and greit inconstancie) was set up by sum of the nobilitie, and sum familiar servandis of the Kingis, lately deceissit; for thay thought him mair tollerabill then the Cardinall Beton, quha by ane fals instrument, had takin the supreme autoritie to him selfe.

The Erle of Arrane namid governour, by a privait factioun, and favoured by sa many as professit the trew religioun of Christ, becaus he was beleift then to be of the same; howbeit he was gentill of nature; yit his friendis, for the maist pairt, wer gredie baith of geir and blude, and gevin to injustice quhair gayne followid. Thair was, in his tyme, nothing ellis but werr, oppressioun, and brybing of his callid brother, the Bischop of Sanctandrois, sa that all the estatis wer werie of hym, and dischargid hym of hys office, and charged with it an woman strangear.

In the begynnyng of his government, the Quene and hir mother wer keipit by hym, rather lyke presoneris then princessis; but yit that incommoditie was caus of preservyng

¹⁵ [Revealed.]¹⁶ [Reckless, heedless.]¹⁷ [Acquire, or obtain.]

of the Quenis lyfe, he beleifing to mary hir on his sone. But after the Erle of Lennox had delyverid tham out of hys handis, and the nobilitie had refusid to mary hir on hys sone, howbeit he left hys ferme friendis, and come to the Quene, abjurid hys religioun in the Grayfreiris of Striviling, yit he could never cum agane to hys pretendid clymming to the crowne, quhilk he had lang soght; partly by favour of sic of the nobilitie as wer alliat with hym, and partly by distruction of the ancient housis that might have put impediment to hys unreasonabill ambition. For, having banished the Erle of Lennox, he thought the Erle of Angous to be the principall that might resist hym; and, having enterid in waird Schir George Dowglas; to be yit mair assurid, he send for the said Erle of Angous in freindly maner, and put hym in presoun, without any just occasioun, and wold have beheidid tham baith, if the arryving of the Inglis army had not stayit hys purpois; by the quhilk, and fear of the murmour of the pepill, he was constrainit to delyver tham. And seing he durst not at sic a tyme put tham down by tyrannie, he offerit tham to the sword of the enemy, to be slaine by tham. And, to the effect that thay and thair friendes, having put abak the Inglis horsemen, and receivyng an uther charge, might be the mair easely slayne, thay standing in battell and fighting for hym; he, in the battell behind, fled to Tynetham, and sa these nobillmen, sa far as lay in hym, was slayne, and preservid by the Providence of God.

The young Quene, quhilk, being in hir motheris keiping, he might not put doune, nor mary at hys plesure, he consentid to offer hir to the stormes of the sea, and danger of enemies, and sauld hir as a slave in France, for the duchy of Chastellarault; the quhilk he bruikis¹⁸ in name onlie, as the crowne of Scotland in fantasie, and receavit sic price for hir, as tresoun, perjurie, and the sellyng of fre persounis, should be recompensit with. But yit the covatise of the crowne that he had sold, cessid not heir; for, befor hir returning hame out of France, at the troubillis quhilk began anent¹⁹ the repressing of the Frenchemen, and tyrannie agains the religioun, how many meanis soght the Hamiltounis to have depryvit hir of all right, and translatit the crowne to tham selfis, is knawin baith to Scotland and Ingland.

Also, after the Quenis arryving in Scotland, sche seiking a querrell against the sayd Duike and sum uther Lordis, under pretence that they had conspyrit against hir, for the religionis caus; the Duikis freindis left hym all, becaus that the rest of the Lords wald not consent to destroy the Quene, or derogat hir authoritie by any maner of way. A lytill befor the quhilk tyme, the occasioun of the Duikis conspyracie with the Erle Bothwell, to slay the Erle of Murray in Falkland, was na uther, but becaus, the sayd Erle of Murray livyng, thay could nouthir do the sayd Quene harme in her persoun, nor diminische her authoritie, nor constrane her to mary at thair plesure, and to her utter displeasure.

After that the Quene had maryit with hym, quhom thay estemid thair auld enemy, and was with child; the gude Bischop of Sanctondrois, first callid Cunningham, estemit Cowane, and at last Abbot Hamiltoun, not onlie conspyrit with the Erle Bothwell, but come with the Quene to Glasgow, and convoyit the King to the place of his murther, the Bischop being lodged, as he seildom of befor, quhar he might persais the plesure of that crueltie with all hys sensis, and helpe the murtheraris, if mister had bene, and send four of his familiar servandis to the executioun of the murther; watching all the night, and thinking lang to have the joy of the cumming of the crowne a degree neirer to the hous of Hamiltoun; and sa greit hope mellit with ambition, inflamit his hart for the Kingis deceis, that within schort tyme he belevid firmlie hys callid brother to be king, and he (the sayd Bischop) to be to him as curatour, duryng the hole tyme of his non-wit, quhilk had been a langer teirme than Witsonday or Martymes: for he thought undoubtidlie, that the Erle Bothwell should destroy the young Prince, and not suffer hym to prosper; to revenge hys fatheris deith, and precede the Erlis children in successioun of the crowne: and, the young Prince onis cut of, the Bischop maid hys rekning, that the Quene and the Erle Bothwell, hated alredy for the slaughter of the King hir husband, and mair for the innocent, wer

¹⁸ [Possesses, or enjoys.]¹⁹ [About, or concerning.]

easie to be destroyit with consent of all estatis, and the cryme easie to the Bischop to be proved, quha knew all the secretis of the hole disseigne. Or, if they wald slay the Erle Bothwell, and spair the Quene, thay wer in hope sche should mary John Hamiltoun, the Dukis son, quhome with merie luikis and gentill countenance (as sche could weill do) sche had enterid in the pastyme of the glaikis²⁰, and causit the rest of the Hamiltounis to fond for fainnes²¹. But, after that the Erle Bothwell had refusit battell, at Carbarry-Hill; and the Quene, befor the cumming of the Hamiltounis, come to the Lordis; the Hamiltounis as at that tyme disapoint, fosterid thair vane hope with a merie dreame; that the Quene should be punischit after hir demeritis, and wer a tyme in dowbill joy: the one that, beyng rid of the Quene, sche should not beir ma children to debar tham from the crowne; and the uther, that thay might have ane easie way to calumniat the Regent for destroying of the Quene: but, seyng hir kept, thay blamit openlie the Regent, quha kept hir in stoir in despite of tham (as thay sayd) to be a stud to cast ma foillis, to hinder tham of the successioun of the crowne. Yit, for all that, there would nane of tham cum to parliament to further thair desyre with ane anerlie²² vote, but lay bake to keip tham selfis at libertie, to reproif all that should be done in that conventioun; and to fenze favour towardis the Quene quhome thay hated, sa as, if by consent of the Lordis, or utherwise, sche wer delyverit, thay might helpe hir to put downe the Lordis, that wold not put hir downe in favour of tham.

This thair intentioun was opinlie schawit, quhen the Quene beyng kept in Lochlevin, by commaundement of the hole Parliament, was delyverit by conspyracie of sum private men, especiallie of the Hamiltounis; for thay assemblit all thair forces to put downe the young Kyng and Lordis obedient to hym. Quhilk evill will thay schew towardis the Lordis at the Langsyde, brynging with tham great stoir of cordis, to murther and hang tham, if thay had been takin prisoneris, and the victorie fallen to the Hamiltounis; and the same evill will towardis the King, in keeping the watter of Forthe, that he should not eschapp thair cruell handis; beyng assurit, if he come in the Quene of Inglandis power, that sche, of hir accustomate clemencie and kyndnes of blude, wald not abandoun hym to thair unmercyfull crueltie, experimentit alredy in hys father. And, seyng that the Providence of God had closit the dore to all thair wicitnes²³ at that tyme, thay have never ceisit since to seike enemies to his Grace in all strange natiounis; and perceiving that thay had faire wordis of all utheris, except of the Quenis Majestie of Ingland, (quha understode thair fals and tressonabill dealing,) thay turnit thair hatred agaynst hir, and enterid in conspyracie with sum tratouris of Ingland, that wer als evil mindit towardis the Quenis Majestie thair soverane, as the Hamiltounis wer to the Kingis Hienes of Scotland. This is nouthir dremid in wardrop, nor hard throw a boir²⁴, but a trew narrative, of which the memorie is ludged in menis hartis, baith Scottis and strangeris, and the veritie knawin. By the quhilk ye may understand the Hamiltounis pretence, this fifty yeiris and mair.

After sa many wayis sought by tham to distroy the right successioun, and place tham in the kinglie rowme, (seyng all thair practisis could not avall, and thair forces wer not sufficient,) thay sought to augment thair factioun; adjoyning to tham all that wer participant of the Kingis slaughter, and had aspyrit to slay the Quene of Ingland. And, to the effect thay might cum to thair wickit purpois, thay in a maner displayit a baner, to assemble togider all kynd of wickid men, as Papistes, renegat Protestantis, theifis, tratouris, murtherais, and opin oppressouris. As for thair adherentis in Scotland, I neid not to expreme²⁵ their namis, nor the qualiteis of the conspyratouris of Ingland, for thay ar weill enough knowin to your Lordschippis. Yit one I can not overpass, beyng the cheif conspyratour choisin by tham to be King of Scotland and Ingland, I mene the Duike of Norfolk; in quhilk act ye may see how the thirst of your blude blindit tham agaynst thair awin utilitie. First, thay chose the principall enemy of the religioun of Christ in this ile, accompanyit with uther fylthie idolateris, to change the stait of the kirk in baith realmes, by cut-

²⁰ [i. e. the game of deception.]

²¹ [Or to play the fool for joy.]

²² [Only, single.]

²³ [Wickedness.]

²⁴ [A crevice.]

²⁵ [Express or declare.]

tyng of the twa Princes; seyng that, thair authoritie standyng, the conspyratouris could not cum to thair intent. Next thay respectit, in that proude tyranne, the vertewis that wer commoun to him and tham, as arrogancie, crueltie, dissimulatioun, and tresoun; for evin as thay had, this lang tyme in Scotland, sought the deith of thair righteous Prince, sa he in England, followyng the traide of his antecessouris, diveris tymes attemptyng tresoun, wald have put downe the Quene of England. Heir also appeiris the Hamiltounis crueltie agaynst the nobilitie of thair awin natioun, in seiking thair professit and perpetuall enemye of Scotland (as his bage beiris witnes) quha should have spilt the rest of the noble blude of Scotland in peace, that his antecessouris could not spill in werr; by quhilk electioun, beyng assurit that na Scottis hart can love tham, sa can thay love nane of you, agaynst quhome thay have usit so many tresounabill actis. Thay do schaw also how crueltie and avarice have blindit tham; thay can not se, in bringyng a tyrane to have power over tham, seyng thay, pretending neirest clame to the crowne, should be neirest the danger. And yit, for all this, could these men be weill contentit, if by any meanis thay could attene to thair intent, by spoyle and rubberie, as thay did quhen as thay wer placid in supreme authoritie; or by makyng of you slaves, as they did, in selling of thair Quene, begyn that practise, quhairin howbeit the inhumanitie was great, yit was it not in supreme degre of crueltis; but it is na moderat, tollerable, nor accustomat thyng that thay seike: it is the blude, first, of our innocent Kyng, even sic as hath bene preservit by wyld beastis, nixt the blude of all his trew servandis and trew subjectis indifferentlie. For quhat defence can be in nobilitie, or quhat suirtie agaynst tham that have murtherit a king, and seikis strangeris to murther ane uther kyng? Quhome sall thay spare for vertew and innocencie, that latelie executit, and yit defendis the murther of the Regent; or quha will be oversene or law, degre, or base estait, in respect of thay that conductit out of Tuidail to slay maister John Wood, for na uther caus, but for beyng a gude servand to the crowne, and to the Regent his maister, and had espyit out sum of thair practisis?

If this thirst of blude of these Lochlechts might be impute to haistie honger, or any sudane motioun, (quhilk causis men sum times to forget thair dewtie,) there might yit be sum hope that sic a passioun overpast, thay wald with tyme remember thame selfis, and after power amend faultis past, or at leist abstene in tyme to cum; but thair is na sic humanitie in thair nature, nor na sic pietie in thair hartis: for, not content with a kyngis blude, thay gaip for his sonnis murther; nor satisfiyit to have slayne the Regent, they keipit the murtherar in the Duikis hous in Arrane. Maist like thinkyng, as, if thay honourit not the doar, thay should not be knawin as counsallouris of the deid, and wald tyne the glorie of that nobill act. And, besydes all this, thay ar not onlie contentit to mantene Scottis tratouris, but als wa receifis Inglis tratouris, and settis up a sanctuarie of treasoun, a refuge of idolatrie, a receptacle of theifis and murtheraris.

And, howbeit, the bullerant²⁶ blude of a king and a regent about thair hartis, quhair of the lust in thair appetite gevis tham litil rest, daily and hourlie makyng new provocation; yit the small space of rest quhilk thay have, beside the executioun of thair crueltie, thay spend in devysing of generall unquyetnes throw the hole countrie: for, not content of it that thay tham selfis may steale, brybe, and reif, thay set out ratches²⁷ on every side, to gnaw the pepillis bonis, after thay have consumit the flesche, and houndis out; one of tham, the Clangregour, ane uther the Grantie, and Clauchattan, an uther Balcleuch and Fairnyherst, ane uther the Johnstounis and Armestrangis; and sic, as wald be hald in the halyest amangis tham, schew playnlie the affectioun thay had to banish peace and steir up troublis, quhen thay bendit all thair fyve wittis, to stop the Regent to go first north, and syne south, to punish thift and oppressioun; and, quhen they saw that their counsall was not authorisit, in gevyng impunitie to all misordour, thay spend it in puttyng downe of hym that wald have put all in gude ordour.

Thair is a kynd of these theifis evin odious to mair gentill theifis, quhilk, callyng tham

²⁷ [Here used probably in the sense of weltering. See Chalmers' Gloss. to Lyndsay's Works.]

²⁸ [Raches, dogs.]

selfis great gentilmen, spoyllis travellaris, cadgearis²⁸, and chapmen by the way, and ransounis pure men about Edinburgh for xx. schilling the heid; quhilk vice can not procede of vengeance of enemeis, but rather of love and plesure in wickitnes. This kynd of men dois not onlie dishonour to nobilitie in steillyng, and to theifis in purspyking²⁹, but also to the whole natioun of Scotland; geving opinioun to strangeris, that sum of the Scottis be of sa law courage, that men amangis tham, aspiring to the hiest estait of a kingdome, have crouchit tham selfis in the mayst law ordour of knaifis.

Now, my Lordis, ye may consider, how thay, that slayis sa cruellie kyngis and thair lieutenentis, will be mercyfull to you; and, quhen thay sall have put you downe, that craifis revenge of the Kyngis blude, ye may understand how few dar craif justice of your slaughter. Ye may se how cruell thay will be in oppressioun of the poore, having cut of you, quhilk beyng of the mayst nobill and potent housis of this realme, sufferis throw your sleuthfulnes every pairt of this countrie to be maid worse then Liddisdaill, and Annanderdaill; and not onlie sufferis the purspykaris of Cliddisdaill to exercise thift and reif³⁰ as a craft, but nurisis and authorisis, amangis you, the chief counsellaris of all misordour, as ane edder in your bosum. Of all this ye may lay the wyte on na uther, but upon your selfis; that have sufficient power to repres thair insolencie and proudnes, havying in your hand the same wand that ye have chastisit tham with of befor; for ye have your protectour, the same God this yeir that was the yeiris past, unchangeabill in his eternall counsellis, constant in promeis, potent in punising, and liberall in rewarding; ye have your trew freindis and servandis, that wer with you of befor; ye ar delyverit of dissimulat brethren, that had thair bodyis with you, and thair hartis with your enemeis; that subscribit with you, and tuik remissioun of your adversaris; that stuide with you in battell, luiking for occasioun to betray you, had not God bene your protectour. Ye have a great number of new freindis alienat from tham, for their manifest iniquitie in deid, wickednes in worde, and treasoun in hart; ye have of the same enemeis that ye had then sa many, as hes thair hartis herdinnit³¹, and thair myndis bent agaynst God and lawfull ingraitis; ye have the same actioun that ye had then, accumulat with recent murther and tresoun, to provoke the ire of the Eternall agaynst tham. How far God hath blindid tham, blind men may se; that havyng sa evill ane actioun, and so many enemeis at hame, yit be houndyng out of small tratouris of thair wickid conspyracie, men execrable to thair awin parentis, quhome amangis utheris thay have diveris tymes spoylit; be houndyng out, I say, of sic persounis, to burne, murther, reif, and steill. Thay provoke the Quenis Majestie of England, to seik vengeance of thair oppressioun agaynst hir realme and subjectis; quhilk vengeance, justice, and honour, craifis of hir sa instantlie, that sche can not ceis but persew tham, thair ressettaris³² and mantenaris, untill sche git sic exempill to utheris, that althocht thay will not respect vertew, yet, for fear of punitioun, thay sall be content to lyve in peace with nichbouris; quhairin her Heighnes hath alredy renewit the memorie of hir experimentit liberalitie, and tender love to this natioun; seiking, on hir proper charges and travell of hir subjectis, the punitioun of sic, as we on our charges should have punished; I mene not onlie of our tratouris, but also ressettaris of hir Majesteis tratouris, and in doing of this, seikis pacificatioun amangis tham that violatid peace with hir without provocatioun; severyng the punischement of sic ar giltie in offendyng, from the subjectis that hes not violatid the peace. And, as sche kepis peace and justice amangis hir awin subjectis in England, sa unrequyrit sche offarid support to the same end in Scotland; and not onlie gevis remedie to our present calamities, but cuttis the roote of troublis to cum, and prevenis the wickid counsall of sic as provokis Inglismen, and solistis³³ Frenchmen to cum in this realme; to the end that, these *twa* natiounis enterit in barres³⁴, the ane agains the uther, thay may saciat thair cruell hartis of blude, thair obstinat will of vengeance, thair bottomles covatise of spoyle and thift.

Thairfor, seyng God have so blindit your enemeis wittis, (my Lordis,) be in gude hope

²⁸ [Hucksters, or higlers.]

²⁹ [Purse or pocket-picking.]

³⁰ [Robbery.]

³¹ [Hardened.]

³² [Receivers.]

³³ [Solicits.]

³⁴ [Bounds, or lists for combataants.]

that he sall also cast the spreit of fear and disperatioun in thair indurat hartis, and prosper your gude actioun, to the quhilk he comfortis you with his redy helpe, exhortis you by his worde, and constrainis you by the dewtie of your estait, and necessitie of preservyng of your lyfis and honouris. For, promeis beyng neglectit, faith violatid, subscriptioun set at noght, thair is na meane way left, but outhir to do or suffer; and, seying that baith ar miserabill, amangis sic as should be freindis, yit better it is to slay justlie, then to be slayne wrangfullie. For the executioun of justice, in punising the wickid, is approvid by God and man; and sleuthfulnes, in defence of justice, can not be excused of tresoun. And besides that God schawis him sa mercyfull and liberall to you, in sending you freindis, by procuriing of your enemeis; also the persounis maist recommendit of God craifis the same; for saikles³⁵ blude, oppressioun of the pure, and of the fatherles, cryis continually to the hevin for vengeance, quhilk God committis to your handis, as his lieutenentis and speciall officiaris in that pairt; and, evin as he rewairdis faith and diligence in obedience of his eternall will, sa he will not neglect to punische sleuthfulnes in just executioun of his commandementis.

Thairfor, my Lordis, as ye wald that God should remember on you and your posteritie, quhen they sall call on him in their necessitie; remember on your King, our Soverane, and on my Lord Regentis pupillis, committit to you in tutorie³⁶, by the reason of your office and estait; anent persounis that ar not in age nor power to helpe tham selfis, and ar recommendit speciallie to all Christianis by God in his holy Scripture; and defend sic innocent creaturis, as may nouthir do nor speike for tham selfis, from the crueltie of unmercyfull wolvis. Neglect not the occasioun, nor refuse not the helpe send to you by God, but recognose thankfullie his favour towardis you, that causis your enemeis to procure your helpe; neglect not the offer of friendis. In cais gif ye lat slip this occasioun, ye sall craif it in vane in your necessitie. Think it na les Providence in your Hevinlie Father, then if he had send you ane legioun of angellis in your defence: and remember that he schew him selfe never mair freindfull and succurable to na pepill, than he hath done to you; and traist weill, if ye will perseveir in obedience and recognoscence of his grace, he will multiplie his benefitis to you and your posteritie, and sall never leif you, untill ye forget him first.

³⁵ [Guiltless.]

³⁶ [i. e. to their *guardianship*. See Irving's Mem. of Buchanan, p. 160.]

The Declaration of the most Christian King of France and Navarre, against the most horrid Proceedings of a rebellious Party of Parliament-men and Soldiers, in England, against their King and Country. Translated out of French, by P. B.

Lewis the Fourteenth, by the Grace of God, the most Christian King of France and Navarre, to all Christian Kings, Princes, States, and People, sendeth greeting.

WHEREAS we are informed, by our dear aunt, the Queen of England¹, of the distressed estate of the King her husband, forced upon him by a rebellious party of his meanest subjects, under the command of the Baron of Fairfax, who is likewise coun-

¹ [Henrietta Maria, consort to Charles the First; and youngest daughter to Henry the Fourth of France.]

tenanced by a small handful of the basest of the people, crept into the Lower House of Parliament, but not being a tenth part thereof, (the worthiest being either imprisoned, or banished by the tyranny of the army,) have a design to proceed against the person and life of their King; which is an action so detestable, and so destructive to the national rights of princes and people, who are like to be enslaved thereby, and to know no law, but that of the sword; that we conceive ourself obliged, by the laws of God and man, (in the duty of a Christian, as well as the rights of a King,) either to redeem from bondage the injured person of our neighbour King and uncle, or to revenge all outrages already done, or hereafter which may happen to be done thereupon.

Therefore, with the advice of our dear mother the Queen-regent and Council, we do publish and declare our detestation of all such proceedings, and vow (in the presence of God and his holy angels) a full revenge upon all actors or abettors of this odious design, to the utter extirpation of them, their wives, and children, out of all parts of Christendom, wherein our power or interest can prevail, if they proceed to this damnable fact: we conceiving it fit to root out from human society such a spurious and viperous generation of men. And we do therefore prohibit all such persons, their wives, and children, to come into any of our dominions; unless they will be proceeded against as traitors to God and nations.

And we do likewise invite all our neighbour kings, princes, and states in amity with us, or with whom we have any difference, to an honourable peace; that we may all join (in God's cause and our own) to revenge these hypocritical proceedings of enraged villains, who, we hear, take the cause of God for their pretence to destroy his ordinance.

And we desire all our neighbour kings, princes, and states, to make the same proclamation we have done, against any of these or their adherents, from coming into their territories; that when (by God's justice, and ours and others' endeavours) they shall be chased out of their native country, they may wander like vagabonds, in heathenish places, with the odious brands of Regicides upon them. And further to consider, whether that, if the like madness took any of their armies, they would not implore our helps, as now this afflicted Queen and aunt of ours hath occasion to do theirs, against persons who are now twice rebels; first, against their lawful Sovereign, upon pretence of reformation of government; and now against the very men and authority, which raised them for that pretended occasion. Wherein God's justice is so apparent, that we are confident he will bless this work intended by us, and which we hope will be seconded by all persons of honour and justice, both at home and abroad, to help to suppress these rebels against their raisers; who yet presume, upon the success of their arms, to erect their own base thoughts and fortunes above the limits of religion or reason, to suppress that authority which God hath set over them.

Signed, LEWIS.

And below, BRYAN, Secretary of State.

Published at Paris, the second day of January, *Stylo novo*, 1649.

A Relation of such Things as were observed to happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Nottingham¹, Lord High-Admiral of England, his Highness's Ambassador to the King of Spain : Being sent thither to take the Oath of the said King, for the Maintenance of Peace between the two famous Kings of Great-Britain and Spain ; according to the several Articles formerly concluded on by the Constable of Castile in England in the Month of August, 1604. Set forth by Authority. By Rob. Treswell, Esq. Somerset-Herald.

London ; printed by Melchisedech Bradwood for Gregory Seaton ; and are to be sold at his Shop under Aldersgate ; 1605.

[Quarto ; containing Forty-six Pages, including the Preface.]

This curious piece was written by one of the Earl's retinue, Robert Treswell, Esq. Somerset-Herald, and recommended for publication by a gentleman at Oxford, who in his letter to the printer says, that ' It is not to be met with, except in the Bodleian Library, Oxon, and ' in that of the Earl of Oxford, which is here exhibited ; and that, as it will illustrate, as ' well as correct the historians in the reign of King James the First, he desires it to be re- ' printed as a real curiosity.' And we believe it will be acceptable to all our subscribers, as it gives a better idea of the court of Madrid, as well as of the general disposition of the Spaniards, and of some of the customs peculiar to them at that time, than can be met with in any other English writer. Besides, it must be allowed to be a most agreeable and entertaining relation : for, among other varieties, the reader is here presented with an account of the famous procession of Corpus Christi, and of a bull-feast and Spanish tournament, and other kind of diversions, such as masquerades, &c.

TO the READER.

HAVING collected together many general observations in that honourable journey into Spain, lately performed by the Right Honourable and worthy Earl, the Earl of Nottingham ; although, amongst many reasons, which persuaded me to be therein to myself secret, and to the world sparing, in divulging this treatise, I found especially (and which I must of necessity confess) my own weakness in compiling the same and making it fit and worthy of so general a reading, as by this consequence it must undergo ; yet, being over-weighed with many especial motives which I could not well answer or contradict, I thought rather to expose myself to the favourable censure of the worthiest and best minded (who rather respect a plain and home-bred style, yet true, than a tale consisting of eloquent phrases, but doubtful) than pleasing myself in my own fearful humour, give cause of offence to

¹ [Much relating to this Nobleman, and to his Spanish embassy, has been drawn from various sources and inserted in Brydges' Memoirs of the Peers of England.]

them whom most I laboured to content. The first of these motives being, that many of my friends, knowing me to have been by especial appointment an attendant upon his Lordship in that honourable employment, and understanding of the care taken by me in observing some particulars in the same, exceedingly urged me to give them a perfect knowledge and satisfaction thereof; which, as it was a thing likely to be tedious, so could they not receive that contentment by a brief report, which a more ample relation and discourse might better afford. Another was, that, for that it came to our knowledge, how many false and ill contrived reports had been bruited abroad, after our departure from England, as well derogating from that honourable entertainment we received in general, whilst we were in Spain, as from the proceedings of his Lordship and his company in some particulars; I could not but (taxing myself of duty to his Lordship and the rest) endeavour to satisfy all doubtful and unsatisfied minds, with relating and declaring the truth thereof. But a third, and a more especial cause is, that since our return, one not well informed, having undertaken to know much of the proceedings of that journey, and mistaking himself in his own understanding, lately published a pamphlet of many false and erroneous observations; thereby possessing the readers with an untrue relation of that, the truth whereof they so much desired. Upon these former considerations therefore, I was advised to tender unto your generous acceptance my well-meaning endeavours; which although they cannot give that pleasure and content in reading you happily expect, yet shall they assure you what they promise: that is, a true relation of such things, which happened in that honourable journey. In reporting whereof, I had rather be condemned for plainness, than once suspected for reporting an untruth.

ROB. TRESWELL, *aliàs* Somerset-Herald.

SO soon as the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral of England, had taken notice from his Majesty, that it was his will and pleasure to employ him in this great ambassage to the King of Spain; calling to mind how honourably and richly the Duke of Fryas, Constable of Castile, and late ambassador for the said King, had formerly demeaned himself in England; presently, with a most honourable resolution, neither fearing the hazard of his person, (being now aged,) nor regarding the expences that so great and honourable an employment should require, with what speed he conveniently might, endeavoured to perform his Majesty's designs and appointment herein. And therefore, by the advice of the Council of England, he first resolved both what honourable personages, and what number of them, might be fitting, for accompanying and attending him, in this his great employment. To whom whenas particular letters from the Council, by his Majesty's especial commandment, were dispatched, to give them notice to prepare themselves to attend the said noble Earl, according as his Highness had commanded; they seemed so willing and ready to perform their duty and service therein, that his Lordship was far more troubled to deny many, and that of very good sort, (who voluntarily tendered their service in good will and honour of his Lordship,) to attend him in this his appointed voyage, than he was at first in bethinking what company were necessary to take with him. And therefore at last concluding of a competent number, (not without displeasing many) he resolved upon these whose names hereafter follow:

The Earl of Perth.

The Lord Howard of Effingham, his son and heir.

The Lord Willoughby.

The Lord Norris.

Sir Charles Howard, Knight, his second son.

Sir Thomas Howard, Knight, second son to the Earl of Suffolk.

Sir John Sheffeld, Knight, son and heir to the Lord Sheffeld.

Master Pickering Wotton, son and heir to the Lord Wotton.

Sir Richard Lewson, Knight, Admiral of the Fleet, and Vice-admiral of England.

Master Thomas Compton, brother to the Lord Compton.

Hans Herman Van Veiscenbach, a German, and of good esteem in England.

Sir Robert Drewry.

Sir Robert Maunsel, Treasurer of the King's Navy, and Vice-admiral of the Fleet.

Sir Edward Howard, his nephew.

• Sir Thomas Palmer.

Sir Edward Swift.

Sir William Smith.

Sir John Trevor, Surveyor of the Navy.

Sir Robert Killebrew.

Sir Richard Cowper, Gentleman-porter of the King's-house.

Sir George Buck.

Sir Guilford Slingsby.

Sir Adolphus Cary.

Sir Francis Howard, his Lordship's nephew also.

Sir Sackville Trevor, Rear-admiral of the Fleet.

Sir Walter Gore.

Sir William Page.

Sir Giles Hoftman.

Sir Thomas Roe.

Sir John Eyres.

Sir Philip Cary.

Sir Henry Knowles.

Sir John Guevarra; Knights.

Master Giles Porter, his interpreter. Doctor Marbeck, Doctor Palmer, physicians. Master Pawlet. Master Cary. Master Barret. Master John Lewson. Lewis Tresham. Captain Thomas Button. William Button. John Fearn. Hierom Laments. Henry Butler. John Milliscent. Bernard Sanders. Philip Roper. Francis Plomb. Roger Tailor. Captain William Morgan. Henry Minn. Christopher Frederick. Thomas Buck. Captain William Polewheel. Edmond Fittou. Walter Grey. John Atkinson. Dudley Carleton. Edward Smith; and many other gentlemen of good condition and quality, as well his Lordship's private officers and servants, as divers, whose names are not herein remembered.

The ships appointed to attend his Lordship and his company for transportation of themselves, the followers and necessaries, were these :

The Bear;	} being ships royal.
The Due-repulse;	
The Waste-spight;	
The Mary-Anne.	
The Amity.	
The Resistance.	
The great hoy, called the George.	

According to appointment, the said lords, knights, and gentlemen, prepared themselves to give their attendance, whensoever his Lordship should take his journey : and therefore, understanding that he intended to take leave of the King on Thursday, the one-and-twentieth day of March, (according to the computation of England;) the greatest number of them, being very richly apparelled themselves, and extraordinarily appointed for their servants, gave their attendance at Nottingham-house, the said one-and-twentieth day of March; his Lordship having appointed many barges and boats for conveying himself, the said lords, and knights, and their company to the court, the King's Highness then being at Greenwich; the said Earl having ordained his own company to be in number, as follows : six trumpeters, clad in orange-colour damask, with clokes of cloth of the

same colour, and banners of damask with his Honour's arms thereupon. Six footmen, in orange-tawny velvet alike suited. Six pages, clad likewise in velvet of the same colour, with their clokes suitable. Thirty gentlemen, with clokes of black velvet. Fourscore yeomen, well apparelled with livery clokes of orange-tawny cloth, guarded with silver and blue silk lace. The said noble Earl, being thus prepared, went with his said company from Nottingham-house, the said Thursday about noon, and, so shooting the bridge, arrived at Greenwich immediately after dinner; and there, presenting himself and his company unto his Majesty, was most acceptably and graciously entertained. After some time spent in receiving his Highness's commandment, as well concerning himself in his own particular, as also touching the conducting and presenting of Sir Charles Cornwallis, knight², who was appointed for to be his Majesty's lieger ambassador with the King of Spain: the said ambassadors, lords, knights, and gentlemen, humbly taking their leaves of his Highness, were for that night dismissed; every one taking himself to his lodging, there remaining and expecting his Lordship's further pleasure to be known, when they should prepare to set forward on his journey.

His Lordship, having now dispatched his private counsels and intendments, with his Majesty and the Lords of the Council, gave warning to his said company and followers to be ready against Tuesday morning, being the six-and-twentieth day of the said month of March. Which time he gave to prepare themselves; for that day he intended to set forward. On which said day, (being both mindful and forward for his intended journey,) he was early up in the morning, and taking the time of the tide, and such company as were ready, (being to the number of eighty persons, in divers barges and boats,) passed from Nottingham-house to Gravesend, and there dined, staying for much of the company, which followed. After dinner, they rode from Gravesend to Chatham, where he lodged that night. The same night the Earl of Marr came from the court, on purpose to congratulate with his Lordship, and do such like private offices of friendship. The next day, being Wednesday, his Lordship would have gone to the ships, which were then fallen so low as Queensborough, there riding at anchor and staying our coming; but the weather fell out somewhat foul, and the wind contrary, so that he rested at Chatham that night. The next day, being Thursday the eight-and-twentieth of March, before seven of the clock in the morning, his Lordship (having commanded to be ready, divers barges and pinnaces, to carry himself and his followers a-board the ships,) took his barge, and about ten of the clock the same day entered the ship, called the Bear, lying in Queensborough-road, as afore is said; together with the *Due-repulse*, and the *Waste-spight*; which three ships kept company together, and lay of purpose to transport his Lordship, the Ambassador-lieger, and the other lords, knights, and gentlemen, that were of the company and train.

Now what by reason of staying for some of the lords and gentlemen (as yet not come aboard), for the better disposing and ordering all things concerning the voyage, as also for placing and appointing to every man his room accordingly; the weather likewise being not very fair to put to sea; we anchored before Queensborough till Sunday morning, being Easter-day, and the last day of March. At which time, the wind coming about to the west, and standing fair to put to sea, his Lordship commanded to weigh, and to set sail, which was done accordingly: sailing as far as the tide would give them leave; which was to a certain road betwixt the sands, near to the Shore-beak, where they rested that night. The next day being very foul, and the wind contrary, they were fain to ride it out till Tuesday morning, being the second of April. At which time the weather fell somewhat fair; and his Lordship, being desirous to take all advantage that might forward the journey, commanded to weigh again and put to sea: but the wind being very slack, he was becalmed, and so driven to a flat near the Spits; where (for that the tide was much spent, and the flood coming on) they cast anchor about one of the clock in the afternoon; there

² [Second son of Sir William Cornwallis. He was afterwards treasurer of the household to Henry Prince of Wales, whose life he wrote with elegance according to Granger; but with extreme superficiality, according to Dr. Buck, who has ably supplied its deficiencies.]

staying, in expectation of wind, till Wednesday morning; when, although there was little or no wind stirring, yet his Lordship set forward, tiding it as far as they could that night. The next day, being Thursday, early in the morning, the wind coming somewhat towards the north, his Lordship caused to weigh anchor; and so, with expence of time and much pains, the ships recovered Dover-road, where they anchored; as well for the receiving in of many of the company, as also for taking in fresh water and victuals. So soon as the fleet was discovered, and coming near Dover-road, as well the forts and blockhouses as the castle of Dover saluted them with many shot, his Lordship answering them again, both out of his own ship, and out of the rest also with the like.

That night, the lords and gentlemen, for whom they made stay at Dover, came a-board; and that night also his Lordship minded to have set forward, had not the hoy, called the *George*, by spending of her mast, in her passage from Queensborough to Dover, caused a longer abode.

Now, for that the said hoy was appointed to carry provision and necessities for the fleet, and could not be so soon made ready again for service, as was desired; and for that the wind, standing at north-east, was a fair and fit wind, for going forward; his Lordship advised with Sir Richard Lewson, the admiral of the fleet, that some course might be presently had to forward the journey: Sir Richard therefore, with great care and extraordinary pains, labouring all that night, (being seconded by Sir John Trevor, surveyor of the navy,) unladed the said hoy of all such necessary provisions as they were like to use in the voyage; and having, that night and the next morning, dispersed her luggage; some in one ship and some in another; and being returned to the ships, about ten of the clock, a warning-piece was given, and about two hours after they weighed, and sailed all that day, being Friday the fifth day of April, until the next day, being Saturday, and then, being calmed, were fain to cast anchor again. That night the wind coming fair, they weighed anchor, and so sailed all that night, till the next day: the wind again altering, they lay at anchor till towards the evening, and then set forward, sailing until ten of the clock the next day, and then cast anchor. About ten of the clock in the evening, they weighed anchor again, and so sailed, with a fair wind, that night and the next day. On Wednesday, as we sailed, his Lordship commanded to hale a bark, which was discovered to be a bark from Barnstable in Devonshire, and came from Bayonne in France, who declared, for news, that there was a young prince born in Spain. Now it should seem his Lordship had received understanding, by letters from the Right Honourable the Viscount Cramborn, his Highness's principal secretary of state, delivered to him whilst we lay at road before Dover, that his coming was expected, and provision made for him and his company, by the King of Spain, at Saint Anderas. His Lordship having sent his provision of horses, coaches, litters, hangings, and other his rich furniture and necessities, together with his harbingers, and other officers, to the Groyne³, in several hoys appointed for that purpose; the King's ship, called the *Advantage*, being their convoy: his Highness presents likewise, under the charge of Thomas Knoell, one of his Majesty's equeries, an appointed messenger, for the delivery thereof to the King of Spain, in their said company. And being uncertain, whether the King's designs were as well known to the said harbingers, and the rest, as to himself, he commanded Captain Morgan, and one Master Pett, a master shipwright, and a very good mariner, to go on-board the *Resistance* (being a ship of London, and one appointed for carriage of provision in this journey), to make what way they possibly could for the Groyne, to command the said ship's provisions and people, to meet him in the mouth of the harbour, thence to bear in his company for St. Anderas. But the said ship was becalmed, as was the rest of the fleet likewise, and could make no way, but kept company with us till Sunday morning; after which time we had no more sight of her, till her coming to the Groyne, which was the next day after our arrival there.

³ [Another name for Corunna, a port-town of Galicia, the recent subject of such mingled grief and exultation to the people of England.]

On Monday morning early, the land was discovered by the fleet, and about four of the clock in the afternoon, they arrived into the road of the Groyne, being a very safe and pleasant harbour.

We were no sooner descried from the land, but the Governor of the town, Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, Seignior Peynte Corde de Carazena, and Governor of Galicia, had commanded to make ready for entertaining his Lordship; which was most royally performed; being, upon entrance into the harbour, first saluted from a fort, on the north side the town, with twenty great pieces of ordnance; then, from the fort lately built upon the rock, with six-and-twenty pieces of great ordnance; and, from the town and castle, with thirty great pieces of ordnance at least. His Lordship coming to anchor, with the rest of the ships, gave them their whole broadsides. Immediately upon his Lordship's arrival, the Governor of the town sent the four principal officers, commanders of the town, together with his brother Don John de Pacheco, and Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, his only son, to give his Lordship the welcome; wherein they demeaned themselves so exceeding kindly, and with the most affable and respective speeches that might be, excusing their slender entertainment, by reason of their late understanding of his Lordship's coming to the Groyne; for that they had intelligence, his Lordship meant to have gone to St. Anderas. After a short time spent in compliment with these commanders, the Governor himself, being accompanied with divers personages of worth, came a-board in a barge, which seemed to have been made of purpose for this use. The rowers and mariners thereof, being clad in blue silk cassocks and caps, (and the barge covered with blue velvet, and newly painted,) reported to his Lordship, that the King his master had especially written to him in these words: 'That he should have respect what person he was that was coming ambassador, from whom he was come, and to whom he was sent; and that he should do every thing for the honour of these three persons, without sparing any thing that might be fit for his Lordship's entertainment.' And therefore, the Governor entreated his Lordship to go on land, which he refused to do that night; but, being much importuned, he promised to go on shore the next day. During the Governor's abode on the ship, there came many on-board likewise, and they of all conditions; doctors of law, churchmen, friars, and of all other sorts of people; who all seemed much to wonder and admire the greatness and neatness of that galleon (as they termed her), exceedingly commending and applauding the same. At the departure of the said Governor from the ships, his Lordship gave many pieces of ordnance, which were again received and answered from the town and forts; the whole town indeed being but a hold and fort, but very strong. That night they sent from the town, unto his Lordship, a present of fish and fruit, bread, and such like commodities as the country yielded; excusing that they were not able to shew their love in better sort unto his Lordship; for that Monday, the day of his arrival, being St. Mark's day with them, (and the fishermen, as then, not going to sea,) and also having feasted, as that day, for joy of the birth of the young prince; they were the more unfurnished of a better present, and more fit for his entertainment.

On Tuesday the sixteenth day of April, his Lordship prepared to go on shore to his lodging, which was prepared for him at the Governor's house; which house is the whole pleasure of the town, for that it overlooketh the whole harbour, and is seated in the heart of the town. The Governor likewise having taken great care to receive his Lordship in the most honourable manner; and therefore had, upon intelligence of our coming to the Groyne, caused to be built a bridge of timber above forty yards long, and painted the same yellow, red, and blue, and garnished the same with many pensils of silk, of like colours, very formally, and planted the way into the town with boughs of bays and orange-trees, and strewed the same with rushes and flowers. The whole company of the town, and many more of the country, being (as was supposed) drawn thither for this purpose only, all ready to give his Lordship entertainment after the best fashion: when the time came that his Lordship might conveniently land, (for until three of the clock after noon the flood was not, upon which he must of necessity land,) the Governor sent divers of the commanders of the town to give notice, that he, and other the magistrates of the town,

would attend upon the bridge. His Lordship therefore took his barge, carrying, in the head thereof, an ancient of white silk, with the picture of the sun in the upper part thereof, his motto or word being *desir na repos*, written in manner of a beud, within the same, and so came, in a very honourable manner, to the bridge, where staid for him the said Governor, judges, and magistrates of the town, entertaining the English as they landed; whilst the musick, being shaghts and hoboys, and placed for that purpose upon the bridge, plaid sweet and delectable melody; and so the Spaniards intermingling themselves with the English, according to their degrees, ever giving the right hand to the English, passed into the town in order as follows. First went four of his Lordship's servants, who were appointed marshals for his train; after followed certain of his officers in his house and chamber, in their liveries; next after followed the gentlemen, his servants and especial officers, in their liveries of black velvet; then followed the esquires and knights, every one according to his degree; then, with our lords and nobles, divers Spanish commanders and judges of the kingdom of Galicia. At their entrance into the town, there was shot off an exceeding great volley of shot, both great and small, and so they passed all on foot to the Conde's house; and, at the entrance of his Lordship into the house, there were shot off a great number of chambers⁴, being for that purpose, as it should seem, planted over against the Conde's gate. His Lordship, being thus received, was exceedingly well appointed and lodged. That night, what by reason of the littleness of the room, and the muchness of the company, he was both lated, and could not but be much troubled at his supping; wherein the Conde and his officers did make manifest their exceeding care and respect to have all things to content his Lordship, and the company with so much attendance and observance, as it was rather a trouble and offence to any well-minded to see their extraordinary pains taken in their service, than cause of exception in any wise; especially for that it did appear, there was provided what the country could any way afford.

There his Lordship rested from that time forward, sometimes riding abroad to take the air on horseback, other times in his carroch, and ever with much applause and admiration of the people; so that it could not but give him much contentment to observe how welcome he seemed generally to the whole country. In his passages abroad, he took occasion to shew his bounty to the poor, which in that place abound greatly; many of them being very miserable creatures to see, and wherewith his Lordship was in mercy and charity much moved, not sparing his purse one hour in the day; for, besides what he gave abroad, he never shewed himself in his gallery, but he provided good sums of money to give relief of those miserable poor people, who indeed, during his abode there, made little account of other living, than of his relief.

Whilst we rested in the Groyne, a certain mariner, being one of the *Repulse*, and having, upon Wednesday the seventeenth day of the present month of April, brought on shore some company, and staying in town until, amongst lewd company, he became tippled, that thereby he gave offence in his behaviour, by violent striking of one of the churchmen of the town; although it was not directly complained of by any, either of the church or of the town, yet, by chance, came to his Lordship's knowledge; who, for that he received such extraordinary kind and liberal usage, both for himself and his followers, and that generally from all, if no other cause might move him but that, was much offended therewith; and therefore thought good to take due punishment of that so foul a fault, commanding that present enquiry should be made through all the ships, who of them had been on shore? At last finding the offender, he committed him presently to the bilboes, there to remain till the next day, which was Friday; at which time he appointed Sir Richard Lewson, his admiral and marshal, to call unto him the other admirals and captains of the fleet, and thoroughly to examine the offence, and accordingly to proceed without any respect or favour. They calling before them the said offender, and finding indeed that the fellow was drunk, and by no means could remember whether he had struck

⁴ [Small pieces of ordnance, commonly used on occasions of rejoicing.]

the said churchman or no; and although the manner of his striking was so slight, and the party said to be struck, so vile in reputation of the whole city, as they generally pitied any man should once be called in question for so base a person; the said commissioners and jury proceeded, and finding him guilty of striking the said churchman, (being contrary to law and his Lordship's former decrees in that behalf,) adjudged him to be presently hanged. Here it is to be understood, that the matter could not be so privately carried, but many of the town, and some churchmen also, had made means to get a-board, and saw the proceeding so austere and resolute, that presently they solicited the Conde, and the honourable Condesse his wife, upon any condition, to hinder the execution. Whereof when the Conde, but especially the Condesse and her daughter, had taken notice, they never left entreating his Lordship to recall his averred sentence and judgment; and which to do, his Lordship could not, without offering much unkindness, refuse or deny. Many reasons were alleged by the Conde and Condesse, that the party offended was a man vile in reputation, and esteemed as a man half lunatic; that the offence was not a malicious or determinate wilful offence; and therefore, the premisses considered, his Lordship could not but with more judgment pass it over, than so severely prosecute the execution of justice upon so mean a cause; especially since no information or complaint was by the party offended, or by any other of the court, prosecuted on his behalf. His Lordship, thus urged, granted he should be delivered unto the Conde, to be used as he thought good, and therefore commanded he should be brought on land, and delivered unto him; which was done: one of the masters going along with him, and the boatswain leading him with a halter about his neck; who, when he came before the Conde, fell on his knees, and would have made much protestation; but the honourable Conde took him up, took off the halter from his neck, and commanded him to be carried to eat in the buttry, for that the doleful looks of the man moved much pity in the Conde.

On Tuesday, the three-and-twentieth day of April, (according to the computation of England,) his Lordship solemnized the feast of St. George; which was done in a very solemn manner, and with the more regard, for that the townsmen, taking notice of his intendment to feast, came in troops to see and observe the fashions of England. His Lordship, therefore, having desired sufferance of the Conde to use his own officers for that day, appointed to be served after the fashion of England, both in service and diet. And whereas the Conde had, for his Lordship's state, set up a cloth of state with his proper arms, his Lordship commanded to set up a state of his own, being rich of bawdkin⁵, without arms, other than the arms of his Highness with St. George's cross, as is the custom; his own arms was placed a good distance off, upon the hangings, and on the right hand of the cloth of state; for that both the room was most convenient, as also it was thought the Conde would have dined with his Lordship, as he was desired. After private prayers in his chamber, and that most of his company was come to him, and dinner being served in accordingly, his Lordship came forth, in his robes of St. George, to meet the Conde. But the Conde, (fearing to do any thing that might impeach the honour of his master, or be present to hear any thing pronounced, which might offend him, in respect of the honour of his master,) after that he had staid to see his Lordship wash, and sit at the table, prayed leave, and so went to his private lodging. At the coming-in of the second course, according to the fashion of England, the King's stile was proclaimed, in three several languages, by Somerset-herald, crying, 'Largesse;' who had a liberal reward for the same. And so his Lordship, being served very honourably by persons of the better sort, and very richly in diet and in plate, ended his dinner, sitting alone at the table; but divers other lords, knights, and esquires, sitting in the same room, at two other tables by.

After dinner, the Conde came to congratulate his Lordship, seeming much to repent him, that he kept not him company at dinner, since he had understood by his brother (who stood all dinner-time there, and well observing all) that there was not any thing, that might give the least cause of offence, or exception. Therefore the Conde discovered, that

⁵ [Baudkin is explained, by Minsheu, to mean embroidered cloth, *pannus intertextus*.]

he much desired to keep him company at supper; which he did; his Lordship sitting, as he did at dinner, under the escutcheon of his own arms, the Conde on the same side, but on the left-hand of the cloth of state, and at the lower end of the table. Whilst they sat at table, much company came in to see them; divers ladies, and other gentlemen of the better sort, coming privately to observe the fashion of our state, which his Lordship performed most honourably and orderly, to the glory of our nation, and to no small honour of himself.

Wednesday, the four-and-twentieth day of the said month of April, about noon, there came a gentleman from the court, who gave notice to the Conde and his Lordship, that, that night, Don Blasco de Arragon, nephew to the Duke of Terra Nova, one that had been formerly in England with the Constable, would be there; who, indeed, about seven of the clock that night, came accordingly to salute his Lordship, from the King his master; and to give understanding, both of the preparation for his Lordship and his company on the way, as also what order should be presently taken for their more speedy journey.

Tuesday, the thirtieth of April, there was appointed a communion on ship-board, to the which resorted divers knights and gentlemen, and as many as could conveniently come to the same.

On Wednesday and Thursday, his Lordship treated with the Conde, the said Don Blasco, and Don Jaspas de Bullion, the Aposentador, mayor to the King; which said Jaspas de Bullion was lately come from the court, of purpose to provide for his Lordship and his train, with commission from the King to see them furnished of all necessaries for their journeying.

In this conference (notwithstanding it had been formerly understood, there should be no want of means or necessaries for his Lordship and his people, in their journey to court) it appeared, that the company being numbered by the poll to be six-hundred and fifty persons of all sorts, besides their carriages, which were very many, the country could by no means supply the whole number; therefore it was thought good to lessen them, as much as conveniently they might, resolving to leave divers of his Lordship's own people a-board the ships, till they return. Some also were dispatched for England, with the car-roches, litters, and mares, and such other his furniture, as by Don Blasco was understood he should have little use of. And for that, besides riding mules, we understood there were sent thither by the King four litters, and four coaches, which staid for us at Villa Franca; for the more ease of his Lordship, when he pleased; and for the relief of any gentleman, that might happen to be sick upon the way; which, in so long and tedious a journey, was likely to be. And indeed, as it happened, most of them were put to use; one coach and one litter being appointed for his Lordship's own use; another coach and litter appointed to the Ambassador-lieger; and another serving sometimes one, and sometimes another, as occasion served, and they desired.

Thursday, the second day of May, there was prepared in the market-place a certain piece of ground, railed in square, the space of twenty yards, or more; with scaffolds built of purpose about the same, wherein the English were very sufficiently appointed and placed, for the seeing of these sports. His Lordship and other noblemen were placed in several windows, in a very fair room in the King's state-house; being for that purpose hung with rich arras, and several cloths of state over the windows, on the wall on the outside the house. They being come to their standings, the ladies and better sort of the town being likewise placed in a convenient room for that purpose, they began their sports after this manner: First, there was brought in a castle, wherein a lady was inclosed, and kept by four monsters. The said castle being placed in the midst of the squadron, there appeared four knights armed, with their pages going before them with drums and fife, playing; who presently assailed the castle, surprized the monsters, relieved the lady, and so set fire to the castle: this device being, as we understood of it, as much to shew the strangeness of the fire-works, which indeed were many, as for any other reason which we observed by the same.

Then came Venus, Pallas, Juno, Cupid, every one led severally by savages; after

whom followed four other armed knights, in colours painted blue and white. Then came a third company, being four in number, in coloured armours likewise, with crosses on their breasts, in shew like knights of Malta; bringing in with them a chariot, wherein the chief sat Peace, Plenty, and other Virtues, being likewise planted in the same, with their several names written on their backs; after whom likewise followed four other knights armed, with trumpets sounding. When they had all appeared, they fell to barriers, according to the direction of certain gentlemen appointed to marshal the same. Some of our English lords and knights being entreated by the Spaniards to assist them therein also, they encountered one another single, first by two, after increasing their number, according to the pleasure of the judges and marshals; when they had broken their staves (or at least done their best to break them), retiring, fell to it again with their swords, according to the manner of barriers, five blows a-piece. In a scaffold, directly opposite against the place wherein the lords stood, sat the judges of these sports, amongst whom the Lord Howard of Effingham was entreated by the magistrates of the town to be one; which judges, upon every encounter, gave reward to the best deserver, as, scarfs, gloves, chop-pimors, ribbons, and such like, which were, by the knights, thankfully received, and bestowed as favours upon their mistresses; at last the knights encountered pell-mell one another; and, as it seemed, in a very furious manner. But, the bar being made in fashion like a trough, and many fire-works being cunningly contrived in the same, it duly took fire; and so with flame and smoke they were parted.

These sports ended, there was a banquet carried up to his Lordship, and other the lords and ladies, which were in another room next adjoining, being indeed both plentiful and costly, and served in by the chief gentlemen of the country and town. The banquet ended, and night coming on, there were brought into the same place divers fire-works; one in the fashion of a chariot, another like the wheel of fortune, another like a castle, and such like, guarded and attended with divers wild-men, with clubs and wheels, with several fire-works; men riding with spears in their hands, all containing squibs and fire-works, with which they ran at one another, as in manner of tilt. The diversities of the fire-works were many, and for the strangeness and manner of performance thereof, generally commended; and so well liked, as two hours, spent in that pastime, seemed but a moment.

Friday, the third day of May, his Lordship, having his company furnished with convenient mules for riding, as also for carriage of their trunks and necessities, about eleven of the clock, accompanied with the Governor and other the magistrates of the town, set forward on his journey: Don Blasco de Arragon and Don Jaspar de Bullion, the chief harbinger for the King, accompanying his Lordship, for the purposes aforesaid. In the passage from the town, the waits and shagbots⁶ were placed, playing all the while; at our departing from the town, and our leave-taking of the Governor, they gave a small volley of shot out of the town. His Lordship being half a mile out of the town, and yet within sight of the ships, as they lay at road, the said ships took their leave also of us, with many pieces of ordnance.

The said Governor, as before is mentioned, is named Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, &c. and is of the country of Castile, but appointed here by the King, as governor of the Groyne and all the country of Gallicia; a man of very mild and affable behaviour, very courteous, and most respectful of the English in general, as, by the great care and good usage of us, whilst we lodged in the Groyne, appeared.

That night, being, as is aforesaid, the third day of May, (according to the computation of England,) we rode to Bytaunce, being distant three leagues from the Groyne; where his Lordship and his company were well entertained and lodged.

Saturday, the fourth day of May, we rode from Bytaunce to a certain town called Villa Alva, six leagues, where our entertainment was such as the town could afford, by reason of the means thereof.

Sunday, the fifth day of May, we rode forward to a very fair town, called Lugo, being

⁶ [*Al.* hautboys and sackbuts.]

distant from Villa Alva seven leagues: the Alcaid, and other officers of the town, meeting his Lordship, about half a mile without the gates, and accompanying us into the town; the street being decked with boughs, and the walls of their houses garnished with their best hangings and furniture. In the way coming thither, his Lordship received letters of intelligence and congratulations from the Conde at the Groyne, which he accepted very kindly.

The messenger being dispatched from Lugo, and rewarded with a chain of gold of good value, on Monday we rode to a certain town called Terra Castella, distant from Lugo eight leagues.

Tuesday, the seventh day of May, we travelled all the morning up to a high mountain by the space of six leagues, and dined at a little village called Cebreira; where we received such entertainment, unexpected, as was altogether in an arbour of green boughs, made of purpose, of such a convenient length, that it received his Lordship and all the better sort of his train. And after dinner we rode to a certain town called Villa Franca, being distant six leagues, where his Lordship was received with the townsmen, the streets, all the way where we passed, being garnished with boughs, and strewed with herbs and flowers; musick being likewise placed near the house where his Lordship should lodge.

Wednesday, for that the company were somewhat weary, his Lordship disposed himself chiefly to rest; chiefly, for that the Ambassador-lieger complained of sickness, as also to relieve the mules, forbearing to travel in so foul weather as it fell out to be the same day.

Thursday, the ninth day of May, we rode by a town called Congusta, to Beubibre, to bed; where his Lordship was lodged in a castle of the Conde de Alvalista, but very old and mean. The town being so poor, and men also, as if the officers of his Highness had not then, as indeed they did, taken more than ordinary pains and care, it had not been possible to have lodged half the company.

Friday, the tenth day of May, we came to Astorga, being a city walled and standing in a pleasant and champaign country, and containing in it many churches, amongst which one is a cathedral, two friaries and two nunneries. A mile without the town we were met with the Alcaid and officers of the town; over the gates hung divers guidons⁷ and banners of silk; one of them being a large white banner of damask, in fashion of a guidon, and placed in the midst of the rest; musick likewise playing all the way as we passed, the houses garnished with their best hangings, and the street strewed with herbs and flowers.

Saturday, the eleventh day of May, his Lordship having had understanding of the fairness of the castle there, belonging to the Marquis of Astorga, and being desired by Don Blasco, to take a view thereof, in passing out of the town, alighted to see the same: the house, indeed, being a very strong castle, and having in it a very fair gallery, with many goodly pictures and pieces of painting, both large and costly; and also a rich library, with many fine rarities in the same. After we rode four leagues to a certain town called La Bañesa, where, in the way coming, we were met with divers gypsies (as they termed them) men and women dancing and tumbling much after the Morisco⁸ fashion, which continued till we came to the town.

Sunday, the twelfth day of May, we rode eight leagues to a town called Benavente, where, a mile without the town, the Alcaid and chief officers of the town met us, bringing with them a company of gypsies likewise, singing and dancing, playing, and shewing divers feats of activity, conducting his Lordship to the Conde of Benavente's house, where he lodged that night.

Monday, we rode forward eight leagues, to a certain town called Villa Garcia, where we were received with a morrice-dance of certain comely gentlemen, being in number eight; as also with eight boys, attired like satyrs or shepherds, with shepherd's hooks, who, as they danced, played with the same after the fashion of Mattachyna.

In this town is a very fair college, wherein is only taught the rules of grammar and

⁷ [Small standards, which seem to have contained a crest or cognizance only.]

⁸ Or Moorish.

grounds of the Latin tongue: it containeth about six-hundred scholars. The church a very fair church, very richly set out, with many goodly pieces of painting; the altar and quire exceeding rich and fair. From hence his Lordship received order, by the King's officers, to go to a certain town called Cimancas; which, though it was rather further in distance than Valladolid, yet, for that his Lordship should not come late, nor his company over wearied, this town was appointed to receive him before our coming to the court. Other reasons were given; that in the right way, between Villa Garcia and Valladolid, a bridge was lately broken, whereby of necessity we must have passed; and also that the King desired we should enter through the high street, and the best part of the town; which we did; and, therefore, appointed our way by Cimancas. Accordingly we came to Cimancas on Tuesday, at night, somewhat late; being overtaken with extraordinary foul weather, and greatly annoyed with the same.

In the way between Villa Garcia and Cimancas, we passed by a very fair monastery of monks of the order of St. Benedict, being not long since built, but exceeding fair and rich; whereunto there is belonging, inclosed, as much ground as the wall thereof, being of stone, is in circuit, a league or better; within which is all kind of game royal, as pheasants, partridges, hares, conies, and such like. The church here is very curiously and workmanlike built, and garnished with many curious pieces of painting, with copes very rich and very curiously wrought.

That night, at supper, his Lordship had notice, that it was the King's pleasure we should rest at Cimancas all Wednesday, and not till Thursday come to the court.

On Wednesday, after dinner, there came from the court Don Juan de Suniga, eldest son to the Conde de Villa Mediana, ambassador in England; as also, Don Pedro de Tassis, the new appointed ambassador for England, accompanied with divers others; who, having congratulated his Lordship, (staying with him some half hour or thereabouts,) departed.

That night we understood that it was the King's pleasure his Lordship should come to court on Thursday; whereupon every one, taking notice thereof, made preparation accordingly.

Thursday, being the sixteenth day of May, we staid till after dinner, expecting to receive more particular directions from court; at which time there came, to attend his Lordship thither, the Marquis of Camerassa, Don Pedro de Suniga, Don Juan de Tassis, Don Blasco de Arragon, and divers other knights and gentlemen of the King's house and chamber, bringing with them divers coaches; so that his Lordship was entertained by Don Blasco and the Marquis in the first coach; the Ambassador-leiger, by some others in the second; other knights and gentlemen filling as well the other coaches, which came along from the Groyne, as those which were brought from court by these lords. After we had travelled about four English miles (for from Cimancas to the court it was accounted but six), and having been met with many of the better sort in their coaches; his Lordship was moved by Don Blasco and the rest, to go into a certain banqueting-house, which stood upon the highway, as well to see the delicacy of the orchards and gardens, as to taste of the variety of fruits within the same; but we rather suppose, to make stay for such nobles, as were appointed by the King to give meeting to his Lordship, and were not, as yet, come forward. During his Lordship's stay in this garden, there was a horse presented unto him from the King, which the King himself used to ride on. After they had staid there, by the space of a long hour or more, there came from the town divers noblemen, the chief whereof was the Duke of Fryas, constable of Castile, the King's late ambassador in England; the Duke of Infantasgo, the Duke of Alberquerque, the Duke of Cea, the Duke of Sesa, the Duke of Pastrava, the Marquis of St. Germain, the Conde of Chincou, the Conde of Punion en Rostro, the Marquis de Lavanessa, the Conde of Aguillar, the Conde de Berosa, the Conde de Nieua, the Conde de Cornua, the Conde de Paredes, the Conde de Lodosa, the Marquis del Carpio, the Marquis de Tavera, the Marquis de Villa Nueva, the Conde Apala, Conde de Salinas, Marquis de Ceralva, Marquis de Fuentes, Marquis de Alcanes, Conde de Galves, the Admiral of Arragon, and many other lords and knights in great

number. His Lordship setting forward in very good order, accompanied with a great multitude of nobles, knights, and gentlemen, as is aforesaid; the weather being all that time extraordinarily hot; suddenly (to the great disordering of all the company) there fell so great a shower of rain as the like was not seen of long time before, and continuing till the company could get to the town; notwithstanding which, his Lordship kept still on horseback, accompanied with many of the chief of the company, and riding forward to his appointed lodging, which was in a very fair house of the Conde of Salinas, and not far from the court; an infinite number of people, eight-hundred coaches filled with ladies, were gotten out of the town to meet and see his Lordship and his company, all which took part of this great shower, to their no little discomfort.

The order of our going into the town was appointed as follows: First rode two trumpets, all the sumpter and carriages being about two hours before sent into the town; after whom followed certain gentlemen's servants to the knights and lords: as also the Lieger-ambassador's servants, in liveries very fair, to the number of sixty. Then followed six trumpets of his Lordship's in suits of damask, holding their trumpets in their hands, but not sounding. Then came divers gentlemen of good sort, with whom also followed his Lordship's gentlemen and principal officers in their liveries of black velvet, to the number of thirty. Then followed the esquires, knights, and lords, every one according to their degree, being accompanied with several Spanish knights and lords: after whom came his Lordship, accompanied with the nobles afore-mentioned; which order, for that the rain fell so exceedingly, could not be continued as was meant; but, by reason thereof, divers made what haste they could to their lodging, and yet were thoroughly wet before they could get thither. His Lordship accompanied, as before, and entering into the town at the gate called La Puerta del Campo, passed through the chief parts of the town and along by the court-gate; the King, Queen, and ladies, (as it was said,) standing in several windows to take view of the company; about six of the clock came to the place appointed for his Lordship's lodging.

That night came divers noblemen, as also the Mayordomo to the Queen, to visit his Lordship from her Highness, which was wondered at by the Spaniards themselves; for that (if they speak true) they never knew the like favour done to any ambassador whatsoever.

The next day, being Friday the seventeenth day of May, there came to visit his Lordship the Duke of Lerma, Don Francisco Goves de Sandoval, &c. a man of especial regard and account with the King, accompanied with divers dukes and condes.

Thither also, that day, came the Duke of Medina de Ryoseco, a youth of ten years of age, admiral of Castile by inheritance; accompanied with divers other lords and men of great account.

Upon Saturday, the eighteenth day of May, in the morning, the King sent the Conde d'Guklues, and divers others of his privy chamber, to visit his Lordship the same day.

The first audience somewhat before dinner, his Lordship had intelligence, that the King's Majesty intended to give him audience in the afternoon; whereof the English lords, knights, and gentlemen, taking notice, prepared themselves to give their attendance, although not in so good fashion as they desired, and would, had they had understanding thereof over-night: his Lordship therefore staying his Highness's pleasure, about three of the clock in the afternoon.

The Constable, accompanied with twenty noblemen, or more, whereof three or four of them were of the grandees of Spain; and divers other men of dignity and esteem in that court, bringing with them many coaches; came to conduct his Lordship, and the company, to the court: many people were gathered in the streets to see the passage of his Lordship and his company. The number of the coaches was about twenty; but, notwithstanding many of our noblemen and knights rode upon their rich foot-cloths, the King's guard waited even from the uttermost gate of the palace, to the presence-chamber door, being all newly suited in coloured velvet, yellow and red, but in several habits; that thereby they might be the better distinguished; being in number three-hundred, whereof there

were one-hundred Switzers, one-hundred Spanish horsemen, and one-hundred Walloons. At the palace-gate stood divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, amongst whom was the Duke of Infantasgo, the Marquis of Vallada, and others, all appointed to receive and give his Lordship entertainment, and to conduct and guide the company up into the presence, where the King sat under a rich cloth of state, and by him stood eight grandees of Spain covered⁹. The care these lords took to give contentment to the English was so great, that we might easily perceive, they spared not to put out of the said room all manner of people of what condition soever, on purpose to make way, and give place even to the meanest of the English, which would press in to see the King; not keeping out any, of how mean condition soever.

His Lordship having delivered his mind in oration, by the mouth of Mr. Giles Porter, his interpreter, as also the King's Majesty's letters, into his Highness's own hands: the King, descending from his chair, gave entertainment to his Lordship with most kind and affable behaviour, appointing him to sit down by him, and that very near; which especial favour was much observed, and reported as a thing never used to any ambassador before that time. Some short time spent in conference with his Lordship, his Highness was pleased to take notice of such nobles and gentlemen, as accompanied his Lordship in this his long and painful journey; and thereupon required they should draw near, which they did, each after other, to do their reverence, and, as they say, *Besar las manos*¹⁰, which was only in bowing low to the ground, without touching either hand or foot, or any other part of his garments. This done, his Lordship took his leave, and the King appointed the Constable and others to conduct his Lordship and company to the Queen's side; where, in a very fair presence, sat her Highness, with the Infanta by her, under a rich cloth of state, accompanied with many ladies and maids of honour, divided on either side the same room, a good distance each from the other, standing close by the wall, almost from one end of the chamber to the other. The gentlemen, knights, and lords, going along, and before his Lordship, were received by the Mayordomo to the Queen, and so conducted to her presence.

After some conference and compliment, his Lordship taking leave of her Majesty, for that it began to be late; all the lords, knights, and gentlemen were called up to the Queen, as formerly they had been to the King; every one after other, bowing himself in obeisance, and kissing the skirt of her Highness's kirtle, departed; being conducted by the said dukes and lords which both brought them to the court, and accompanied them back again to his lodging.

Sunday, the nineteenth day of May, the King's Majesty went in procession, first going into the church near the palace, called St. Paul's, and after, through the town, to a church called St. Mary's, in manner as follows:

First went many friars singing, bearing among them divers crosses, banners, and other ceremonious relicks of the church; the sacrament being likewise carried by four church-officers.

Then followed divers noblemen, according to their degrees.

Next, before the King's own person, went the younger of the Princes of Savoy.

Then the King himself in person: after whom followed the Cardinal, being Archbishop of Toledo, and with him the Prince of Savoy, the elder brother. Then followed together the Prince of Morocco, the Emperor's Ambassador, the Ambassador of France, and the Ambassador of Venice: after whom followed divers gentlemen of the King's chamber, and the rest of the train. After dinner, there was preparation made for the christening of the Prince; and, for that the court stood from the church, there was set up, on purpose, for a more close and convenient passage, a very large scaffold adjoining to the end of a long gallery, and to the church likewise; the timber whereof was all covered with cloth of gold very rich, and the scaffold being high, was a good means to give sight to all the people.

⁹ It is not lawful for any to stand covered in the presence of the King, except he be a grandee.

¹⁰ I. e. 'To kiss his hand.'

The manner of their coming to church was in this sort: The King's trumpets were placed near and before the church, in several companies, always sounding, and one answering the other. About four of the clock in the afternoon, there appeared, descending by the scaffold, aforementioned, to go into the church of St. Paul's, which, as is likewise said, adjoins to the scaffold, the knights, lords, and grantees, going before; and some dukes of especial name, bearing divers ceremonies¹¹ likewise; as the salera or salt borne by one, the taper of wax by another, the chrism by another; then the crown, borne by the Constable, before whom went the king at arms. The Prince was borne by the Duke of Lerma, in his arms; but tied to him with a rich scarf, or band: he was assisted by the Prince of Savoy, and the Conde of Miranda. Then followed the Infanta in a chair, as it should seem, made for that purpose, and borne by divers gentlemen of the King's bed and privy-chamber, on their shoulders, assisted by the younger Prince of Savoy. At the church-door the Cardinal staid for them in his pontificalibus, accompanied with three bishops, and other special officers of the church; the singing-men going before, and so conducting them to the font, which was richly prepared, and covered with a canopy of cloth of gold: the Cardinal performed all the ceremonies according to the order of their church; and so with church-musick, noise of trumpets, and many other wind-instruments, they finished their ceremonies, returning in such manner as they went, being accompanied also with most of the great ladies of the kingdom, and those of the court.

He was christened Phillippe Domingo Victor.

His godfather was the elder Prince of Savoy, of whom he took his name, Victor.

His godmother was the Infanta, his sister.

His Lordship was placed conveniently in the house of the Conde d'Rubadavia, in the morning, both to see the procession, as also the going of the Prince to christening. But, so soon as they were passed by, he, with some others, were privately conveyed through a gallery, on the back-side of a monastery, into the church, to a place appointed on purpose for him and the lords that were of his company.

On Monday in the afternoon, the Ambassador-lieger was, by his Lordship, presented to the King, and by him graciously received and allowed. That day, in the afternoon, came divers ambassadors to visit his Lordship; as first, Don Francisco de Meschite, ambassador for the state of Venice; as also the French ambassador, Monsieur Baron de Barault Chevalier, who, after some short stay, departed. At the time of the French Ambassador's being there, came likewise the Ambassador-resiaunt for the Emperor; his Lordship ever shewing much affability and courtesy, and accompanying them on their way to their coaches: this kind behaviour of his, being greatly observed, caused an extraordinary respect, and an exceeding love of all men towards him.

That night also, came to visit his Lordship the Cardinal of Toledo; being a very stately prelate, well descended, very rich, in his carriage very courteous; and in his expence liberal, as by the apparelling of his pages and servants, and by his rich sumpter-cloths, hangings, and such like, might well appear.

Tuesday, the one-and-twentieth of May, his Lordship was conducted by Don Blasco, unto the church called St. Mary's, to see the ceremony and state of the Queen's churching, whither the King and Queen came together; the King riding on horseback, and the Queen in a very rich chariot of cloth of gold, drawn by four horses, all trapped and harnessed with cloth of gold; in which chariot, likewise, sat the Infanta. Next followed, in another chariot, the young Prince, in the arms of an ancient lady. After followed two other carroches of black-velvet, wherein sat divers duchesses, countesses, and other great personages, widows.

Then followed four other carroches, all of one fashion; wherein sat several ladies, the Queen's maids.

This was the first day of the Queen's going abroad, and, as we accounted it, her churching-day.

¹¹ To be used in the Romish form of baptism.

This day his Lordship was invited to dinner to the Constable's, where he was accompanied by the Duke of Albuquerque, the Duke of Cesa, and others. The manner of feasting being not usual in Spain; our company, being many, could not all receive that contentment which the Constable desired to give in general. For the country considered, it is much to be marvelled, how they could do what they did; but it plainly appeared, nothing was left undone for want of cost, and that all preparation was made, that the country could any way afford for their entertainment.

Wednesday, his Lordship was visited by the Conde de Lemos, accompanied with divers noblemen, and men of good quality.

That day, likewise, and Thursday, his Lordship visited as well the ambassadors, aforementioned, as also divers other lords and ladies in the town.

Friday, the four-and-twentieth day of May, Thomas Knoell, Esq. his Highness's servant and messenger for the delivery of certain presents to the King of Spain, expecting and attending the King's pleasure therein, was sent for by Don Blasco to come and bring the said presents into a private garden belonging to the Duke of Lerma; where the King and Queen came in person to receive the same. The presents were six horses (three for the King, and three for the Queen) with saddles and cloths very richly embroidered and costly; two cross-bows with sheaves of arrows; four fowling-pieces, with their furnitures, all very richly garnished, and inlaid with fine plate of gold; and one couple of lime-hounds, of an extraordinary goodness. Which presents were acceptably received; the King and Queen very much observing and admiring the richness and fashion thereof.

On Saturday, the five-and-twentieth day of May, there came to visit his Lordship the Bishop Salustius Taernsius, Bishop of Montepolitan in Hetruria, and ambassador for the Duke of Florence. After dinner came, likewise, to visit his Lordship, Don Juan do Bouch Conde de Figaroa, president of Portugal, with his four sons. That day, also, came to visit him, together with the Constable, the Conde de Olivares, accompanied with divers marquisses and earls. This Conde was one of them that was in England, in the time of Queen Mary. The same day, in the afternoon, his Lordship visited the Queen, and delivered her a fair rich jewel, as a token from the Queen of England.

Sunday and Monday, his Lordship went abroad to visit divers nobles that had formerly been with him; as also spending some part of the same time, in concluding with the council of Spain, of matters concerning his ambassage; and of all things necessary for the effecting and performing the same.

Tuesday, the eight-and-twentieth day of May, his Lordship, and all the rest of the company, were invited to dinner to the Duke of Lerma's, where they were most honourably entertained, receiving there all contentment that might be; for, besides the plenty of his cheer, the manner of the entertainment could not be bettered. At the table, his Lordship was accompanied with the Duke of Lerma, the Duke of Infantasgo, and the Duke of Albuquerque.

They were attended upon at this feast, by divers nobles, marquisses, and earls; with many knights and gentlemen of the King's privy-chamber, and few others.

And besides the several sorts of musick, during the time of dinner, his Lordship and the rest, having received what could be possibly given at the table, they were carried down into a fair court, paved with square stone, in the midst whereof was a fountain of clear water: the whole court covered with canvass, to defend and keep off the heat of the sun, which at that time shone extremely. In this court, was, of purpose, a stage erected, with all things fitting for a play; which his Lordship, and the rest, were invited to behold: the King and Queen being in private, likewise, spectators of that interlude. To write of every particular of the Duke's entertainment, were too much; for he took exceeding care to perform all things with the greatest state, as well appeared in this: That, for that the kitchen was cross a square court, there were set up high posts of timber, with canvass strained, to cover and defend the same, in the passage of the meat from the dresser; the ground being likewise covered with hangings of leather, that no dust should arise, whilst the service passed by. At this feast, several healths were drunk to the Kings of Great-

Britain and Spain, and to the happy continuance of the peace; begun by the Duke of Lerma, seconded by his Lordship, and performed by all the company at the table. Many ladies of great account came privately to see and observe his Lordship, and the company, as they sat at meat; well allowing and applauding the plenty and bounty used at this feast; being, indeed, such a one, as the like was not seen in Spain many years before.

Wednesday, his Lordship concluded with the Constable, and Alexander Rovida, senator of Millain, as concerning all matters touching the taking of the King's oath.

Thursday, the thirtieth day of May, being Corpus-Christi day, the King went in procession; and, for that he would be seen by the English, the course was appointed by the gate where his Lordship lodged. The manner was as follows:

First, came eight great giants, three men, three women, and two Moors, with a taber and pipe playing, and they dancing. Then followed certain pilgrims clad in blue: after whom came many crosses, being in number twenty-five or twenty-six, borne and attended by the officers of the several churches to which they belonged. Amongst whom were also mingled divers pictures of saints; as St. John, St. George killing the dragon, St. Michael, St. Francis, St. Andrew, St. Dominick, St. Martin, the picture of Christ in several forms, Mary Magdalen, and our Lady, in divers fashions also. Many holy and precious relicks, friars morrice-dancers, in manner of gypsies, beasts with fire-works, wild-men, and such-like toys; as it should seem to draw the people more readily with admiration. After these followed divers other church relicks, friars Augustines. Other friars of the order of St. Francis, with their relicks. Many church-men with lighted tapers in their hands; the King's pages bearing torches. Then the sacraments¹² borne by four church-men in rich copes; then the lords and grandees of Spain; then followed the King, bearing a lighted taper of virgin-wax; after whom followed the Cardinal, the Emperor's Ambassador, the French Ambassador, and the Venetian Ambassador; the Prince of Savoy, the Prince of Morocco, and others, all bearing their tapers lighted in their hands.

The same day his Lordship staid till four of the clock in the afternoon, until his Highness's pleasure were known, that he was pleased as that day to take the oath formerly agreed on between them. About which time there came to his Lordship, Don Blasco de Arragon, who brought word that the King expected his Lordship's coming to the court as that day; and therefore, for the more convenient passage of the nobles and gentlemen, that were to attend him thither, order was taken, that all should be supplied with gennets that wanted, and would send to the King's stable for the same. Every man being furnished, his Lordship set forward to the court; the Constable, and Don Pedro de Suniga, being sent to accompany his Lordship thither, as also divers other knights and lords, whose names, for the suddenness of their coming, and the number of them being so many, could not be had. His Lordship's own gentlemen were in several coaches afore, and staid at the court-gate, expecting his Lordship's coming thither, where likewise great preparation was made; divers noblemen and others staying there to receive his Lordship and his company: amongst whom were the Duke of Lerma and some other grandees, and those of the greatest lords in Spain.

His Lordship, being thus received, was conveyed up through a long gallery into a presence, and so into another inner room; the gentlemen, knights, and lords, ever going before in very good order. In which room his Majesty staid for the coming of his Lordship; receiving him with affable and kind congratulation, and took him along with him by his side: the King's serjeants at mace going first, after following all the grandees and lords of Spain, one among another; then the four kings of arms in their coats of arms; then the Duke of Lerma, bearing the sword naked; wherein one thing is especially to be noted, that the Duke bare not the sword upright, as is the custom of England, but bare it lying upon his right shoulder: so the King and his lords went together into a very fair banquetting-house, very lately built, the Ambassador-lieger, the lords, and divers others following.

The King sitting in his estate, his Lordship and the Ambassador-lieger were placed

¹² The *host* only under a canopy, borne by four priests.

upon his left-hand ; the grandees and other noblemen of Spain being seated on the other hand, two degrees lower. Before the King was brought a little table, whereon lay the Bible and a crucifix upon it. The Archbishop of Toledo read the oath with a reasonable loud voice ; at one part of the oath, his Lordship held the King's hands between his ; to which oath the King swore kneeling, and laying his hand upon the book, and afterwards subscribed to the articles and agreements drawn and concluded by both Kings.

Friday, the one-and-thirtieth day of May, his Lordship dined early, for that there was that day appointed a sport, which they call, *Inego de Toro*, and also, *Inego de Canas*; and, for that his Lordship and all his company, from the meanest to the highest, should have the pleasure of the sights, there were some appointed to see every Englishman furnished of convenient room ; which they did, Don Blasco himself taking an especial care and respect thereof. About the midst of the day, came the King and Queen riding on horse-back with many lords and ladies all on horse-back likewise, after the Spanish fashion ; every lady accompanied with one or other man of worth : his Lordship was placed in the standing with the King and Queen, and the other lords were placed not far off. There were that day killed fourteen bulls ; the manner whereof was in this sort :—First, the market-place, being very square and of a great largeness, was round built with scaffolds very strong ; the ground covered very thick with sand, so that they were fain divers times to bring in many carts of water, both to allay the dust, as also to cool the reflexion of the sun upon the place : in which, none were appointed to be, but such as were designed to play the sports. The bull being turned out, they shot sticks with sharp pins and pricks, which might stick fast in his skin, thereby the more madding him ; he seemed to be most valiant that durst affray the bull in the face, and escape untouched ; but some escaped not well, for it cost them their lives. There was another manner of striking the bull in the face with short spears, to the which went divers lords and gentlemen very well mounted ; their pages following them with divers hand-spears for that purpose ; wherein many shewed good valour ; and struck the bull very cunningly and manly : but yet some of their gennets paid dear for it, being both hurt and killed. To this sport came two gentlemen one after another, and (as it was reported) supplying the places of champions to the King, riding on horses blinded ; and so taking their stand, waiting for the coming of the bull against them, very manly, with a spear of good length and strength, struck him in the head, and escaped without hurt, though not being without danger.

After this, began their sports of *Inego de Canas*, wherein the King himself was an actor. First came riding twelve drummers with kettle-drums playing ; then followed thirty trumpeters all clad in red and white silk coats ; then followed twelve *Acemulaes*, or great mules, with coverings of red velvet, bearing bundles of canes, tied and chained with great hooks of silver ; then followed the King's gentlemen, and pages, richly suited, being to the number of two-and-thirty, or thereabouts. After them were led, by several grooms, six-and-twenty riding horses richly covered.

For the two Princes of Savoy were shewed : first two pages riding, bearing on their arms targets all white ; after whom were led three horses covered with caparisons of black velvet, embroidered richly with pearl ; then followed twelve other horses, clad likewise in black velvet, but embroidered with silver.

For the Duke of Lerma, were led six horses with caparisons of white and red ; the grooms and pages attending, and all alike suited.

For the Constable, were led four-and-twenty horses of service covered with white and green, his pages and grooms also alike suited.

The number of horsemen that shewed themselves in these sports, were fourscore, whose names hereafter follow, according to a note thereof delivered by one of good worth, and of especial respect with the King.

1. *Quadril*.

The King.	The Duke of Lerma.
Duke of Cea.	Conde de Gelves.

The Journey of the Earl of Nottingham,

Marquis of St. German. Don Hen. de Goseman.
 Conde de Mayald. Don Petro de Castro.
 Marquis de la Venessa. Don Garcia de Figueroa.

2. Quadril.

Don Diego de Sandoval. Don Antonio de S. Fago.
 Don Alonso Lopes de Mella. Don Diego de Sebro.
 Don Lewis de Alcarath. Don — Galvan.
 Don Diego Nino. Don Pedro de Arietta.
 Don Diego de Lieva. Don Hieronimo de Sandoval.

3. Quadril.

Duke of Infantazgo. Don Diego Sarmiento.
 Conde de Barasa. Conde de Paredes.
 Conde de Corunna. Conde de Lodosa.
 Conde de Nieva. Don Juan de Tassis.
 The Admiral of Arragon. Don Lewis Enriques.

4. Quadril.

The Constable of Castile. Marquis de Cuelar.
 Conde de Aguillar. Marquis del Carpio.
 Don Bernardino de Velasco. Don Francisco de Velasco.
 Don Antonio de Velasco. Don Alonso de Velasco.
 Don Manuel de Cuniga. Don Andreas Velasques.

5. Quadril.

The Duke of Alva. Conde de Salinas.
 Marquis de Villanueva. Don Martin Valerio.
 Don Pedro de Cuniga S. de Flores. Don Manuel de Alencastro.
 Marquis de Tarara. Don Diego Pimentel.
 Conde de Ayala. Marquis de Cerralva.

6. Quadril.

The Duke of Pastrana. Conde de Cosentagua.
 Comendador Mayor de Montesa. Don Carlos de Borsa.
 Marquis de Fuentes. Don Lewis Nino.
 Don Pedro de Fonseca. Don Ferdinando de la Cerda.
 Don Bernardino de Rozas. Don Juan Vicentela.

7. Quadril.

Conde de Alvalista. Don Bernardino de Toledo.
 Don Ferdinando de Toledo. Don Antonio de Toledo.
 Don Philippo de Valencia. Don Francisco Congusta.
 Don Lewis de Gozman. Don Juan de Gozman.
 Marquis de Alcanes. Marquis de Fales.

8. Quadril.

The Prince of Savoy. The Prior of Ivan.
 Marquis de Doste. Don Diego de las Marinas.
 Don Francisco de Cordova. Don Juan de Heredia.
 Don Alvard de Mendoza. Don Pero Mune.
 Don Francisco Finea. Don Pedro de Licamo.

At their first appearance, they came riding in by couples two after two, very swiftly, richly attired, with their targets on their shoulders, holding and shaking long staves, such as the Moors or Arabians are described to use. When they were all come, they divided themselves to sides, every side into four squadrons, every squadron being ten in number; when they were ready, holding their staves in their hands, the King's side gave the first charge; the other side undertaking the same, and charging on them likewise; thus they continued still chasing one another, squadron upon squadron, throwing their canes one after other, by the space of a long hour or better; and so their sports ended.

Saturday, the first of June, his Lordship was invited by the King to see a muster of armed men, in a place called El Campo, being lances, light-horsemen, and carbines, to the number of two-thousand, whereof the Duke of Lerma was the general. His Lordship stood with the King and Queen; the rest of the English were placed in a scaffold, built for them of purpose; which said soldiers, being divided, made some show of sallies each upon other, very pleasing and warlike; and, after a few skirmishes, drew themselves into a ring, and, marching along under the window where his Majesty stood, departed.

Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, were used as days of rest after their great feasts, and spent only in visitation and matters of compliment with one or other.

Wednesday, his Lordship dispatched Sir John Trevor for England, with letters of intelligence to his Highness, who took with them the Advantage, which lay at St. Anderas with the rest of the ships.

Thursday, the sixth day of June, his Lordship was appointed both to dine and sup early, which he did, because both his Lordship, as also all other the English lords and gentlemen, were invited to see a mask: about six of the clock, therefore, came Don Blasco to conduct his Lordship and the rest through a private gallery of the King's, which joined to his Lordship's lodging, to the appointed place, which was the new-built banqueting-house formerly spoken of, by them termed the Gransala¹³; where was appointed very convenient room for his Lordship and the rest of his followers. The room was garnished with three-hundred and twenty lights of wax, all set in standards of silver of divers fashions, some great and some small. After two or three several songs, sung by divers voices in parts (placed severally in the same hall for that purpose) the mask appeared, and began as follows:

First came thirty musicians, clad in long garments of taffaty, garnished well to the show, playing on several instruments; after whom followed six virgins dancing, one bearing in her hand a sun, another a branch of olive-tree, another an anchor, another a sword with two points, on either point a bunch of flowers.

Then followed a chariot, made of an antique fashion, being drawn by two live horses, but exceeding little; in the upper part whereof sat the Infanta, with a sceptre of gold in her hand, with the picture of a dove on the upper end thereof; at her feet sat two virgins, who attended her; on either side went divers pages, bearing torches of white wax.

At the upper end of the hall was appointed a very rich state, all of mason's work, ascending up by degrees, richly gilded and garnished with divers statues, all gilt over; in which were planted three chairs, two great and one lesser, and that between the other two; in which middle chair the Infanta, being taken out from her chariot, was placed; the two virgins near her, and the other six upon the degrees at the foot of the estate. At the nether end of the said hall stood the maskers in a gallery contrived for the purpose, who, upon the drawing of a curtain, appeared as it were in clouds; the number of them were eight-and-twenty knights and ladies, beside torch-bearers, whereof the King and Queen were two; the rest all grandees and men of great honour, the ladies were all the Queen's maids. The said gallery being built in manner of an arch, and fully set with looking-glasses, with the light of the torches shone as if it had been garnished with an infinite number of stars; the musick playing, the maskers descended by four and four at a time, on a stage made in fashion of a cloud, and so dancing to the upper end of the hall; be-

¹³ Or, great-room.

fore they could return back, other four appeared, and so joined altogether, until the number came forth, and then danced altogether in good form and measure.

After divers dances and measures appointed of purpose for this show, the King and Queen, and so likewise all the company, unmasked themselves; the King and Queen taking their seats in the places and chairs beforementioned, before whom were divers galliards danced by the several lords and ladies unmasked; the Earl of Perth and the Lord Willoughby were invited, and danced likewise: the King and Queen divers times sallied out from their chairs of state, and danced openly. At last they began a calling dance, which was begun by the Duke of Lerma, holding a torch lighted in his left hand. The manner was, every man called forth two women, choosing one especial, conducted the other to her place, and left the chosen to call out two men, who likewise delivering the torch to one especial, conducted the other to his seat. Thus it passed to and fro amongst many of the great lords and ladies; at last the King was called, and his Lordship likewise¹⁴; but the torch being given to the King, his Lordship was again brought to his seat. The King called forth the Queen and another; and after a few traverses, when the time came he should have chosen and delivered up his torch, he delivered it to a page standing by, and so the sports ended.

Friday, the seventh of June, his Lordship was appointed to take leave of the King, and so to set forward on his journey for England; therefore taking notice of his Lordship's desire of return, he ordered he should have audience in the afternoon. In the mean time his Highness sent, by Don Pedro Suniga and some others, divers chains of gold, to the number of fourteen, or thereabouts, to some of the King's servants, and his Lordship's chief officers; having likewise before sent, by Don Pedro Cuniga, unto the lords and many other knights, and especial men of his Lordship's company and train, several jewels and chains, very rich. About four of the clock in the afternoon, his Highness sent to his Lordship a very rich present of jewels, both for himself and his lady, which were presented to him by Don Blasco, and brought by the masters and officers of the jewel-house, who were by him well gratified and rewarded.

Not long after, the Constable and others came to give his Lordship knowledge of the conveniency of the time for our coming to the court; whereupon his Lordship, accompanied with the lords, knights, and gentlemen of his train, in several coaches, went to the court, where they were received by divers lords and officers of the court at the palace-gate, from whence the King's guard made a passage even to the King's chamber. The King staid to receive his Lordship in a gallery, which was long, but narrow; with whom his Lordship had conference in private, for the space of three quarters of an hour; and, fearing to give offence by tediousness, made motion to his Highness, that the lords, and others of his company, might likewise take their leaves; the King very well pleased therewith, the lords, knights, and gentlemen took their leaves, being generally well respected of his Majesty. To conclude all; his Lordship took his leave also, receiving many gracious and kind words from his Majesty, as also a ring with a diamond, said to be of the value of three-thousand pounds, which he put upon his Lordship's finger; and, as he said, in token of wedding him in true love perpetually; commanding the Duke of Infantasgo to conduct his Lordship and the rest to the Queen in like manner, to take their leave of her Majesty.

Being brought to the Queen, where she sat under a cloth of state, with the ladies and maids of honour about her, for that it was late, his Lordship made no long stay; after a short time spent in compliment, he took his leave of her Highness, as also did all other the lords and knights of the train, to whom the Queen most respectfully bowing herself, with much favour and grace, gave them a kind farewell.

His Lordship, now thoroughly furnished of all convenient means for his journey, about five of the clock the same day, being Saturday, and the eighth day of June, set forward; being accompanied in his coach with the Constable, and divers other noblemen in other coaches, accompanying his Lordship a mile or more out of the town, where they, taking

¹⁴ The Earl of Nottingham.

their leaves, departed. That night we rode six leagues, to a town called Duenas. The next day, being Sunday, we rode nine leagues, to a town called Fromista; where, for that Don Blasco and others were behind, his Lordship thought good to stay all Monday, lest the weather, being very hot, might too much trouble them in riding post, and that were to come after. That night Don Blasco overtook his Lordship at Fromista.

Tuesday, the eleventh of June, his Lordship dined at Osorno, and somewhat late after dinner rode to Herrera to bed, where he was lodged in a fair house of the Constable of Castile. Within this house are placed divers pillars, with letters engraven after the manner of the Roman inscription; and so they plainly appear to be monuments of the Romans, and left as relicks of their being in that country.

Wednesday, the twelfth of June, his Lordship rode from thence eight leagues, and lodged at a town called Aguillar de Campo; the Marquis of Aguillar being lord thereof.

Thursday, we rode forwards seven leagues, to a town called Rynoso; a town seated in the midst of the mountains.

On Friday, his Lordship rode to Villa Concha to dinner, being three leagues, and very ill way: after dinner, we rode four leagues further, to a town called Villa Civil, to bed; being the worst way, and the worst place of entertainment, we had in the whole country of Spain, being indeed seated amongst mountains, which harbour many bears, wolves, and other wild beasts, and wherewith the country round about is much troubled.

Saturday, the fifteenth day of June, we came to St. Anderas, being distant from Villa Civil seven leagues, where his Lordship was received by the magistrates and officers a mile out of the town. All the streets were strewed with rushes and herbs, and decked with boughs; and, at his entrance into the town, they gave him many great ordnance, with a volley of small shot.

That night, the Ambassador-lieger, Don Pedro de Cuniga, who accompanied the King to Burgos, came also to St. Anderas, where, during the time of his stay, his Lordship expressed his bounty, by rewarding Don Blasco, the Aposentador, and all the King's other officers and servants, with great chains of gold, fair jewels of good value, and large sums of money, to their general contentment.

Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, his Lordship rested at St. Anderas, as well for that the horses sent by the King, his Lordship's own horses, and the Ambassador-lieger's horses, came not till Tuesday; as also for furnishing the ships with fresh water and victuals for his return for England: and on Sunday in the afternoon his Lordship invited the Aposentador, Mayor, Don Blasco de Arragon, and others, aboard the ships, where he made them a very great banquet, and, at their going off, saluted them with many pieces of ordnance.

His Lordship having, on Wednesday the nineteenth of June, with all expedition that conveniently might be, shipped the horses, and supplied the ships with all needful provisions, about three of the clock in the afternoon came aboard his ship called the Bear, lying at road a long English mile from the town, bringing also with him Don Pedro de Cuniga, who tarried and supped with his Lordship that night. After supper, his Lordship commanded his barge to convey him to his appointed lodging, which was in the Repulse, where he entered; the trumpets sounding, and being saluted with many shot of great ordnance.

In the same road his Lordship anchored till Thursday, and upon Thursday we put to sea; but, for that the tide was spent, and the wind falling out contrary, after an hour or two's sailing, we were driven to cast anchor, resting that night till the next tide; at which time his Lordship hoisted sail and put to sea, and, with scant wind, sailed Friday and Saturday. On Sunday the weather fell out very foul and stormy, insomuch as the Wastespight spent in that storm her main-mast, but escaped further danger. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we sailed but with very unconstant winds, being many times becalmed. On Thursday afternoon the land was descried, but very far off: that day and night we sailed within sight of land; and, upon Friday, about four of the clock in the afternoon, we came to an anchor before Portsmouth, but somewhat far into the sea. That

night also came the Waste-spight, who made great means to come so soon; having spent her main-mast, as is aforesaid. Some of our company made hard shift that night to go on shore, enduring the hardness of the weather, which fell out all that evening.

On Saturday morning early, his Lordship went in his barge to the Repulse, wherein Don Pedro was; and, knowing that the said Don Pedro much desired to be on land, (having indeed endured much sickness at sea,) took him into his barge, and so, with the company of some other boats and pinnaces, came on shore at Portsmouth, before eight of the clock in the morning, where they were received with many shot of great ordnance from the castles, forts, and walls of the town. On the shore stood Sir Lewis Lucas, knight, accompanied with the mayor and officers of the town, ready to receive the said Ambassadors, being, as it should seem, appointed so to do by the King and Lords of the Council. That day every one hastened to get off their luggage from the ships, preparing to go forwards likewise on their way toward London.

The next day, being Sunday, his Lordship rested there, went to the church, and heard a sermon publicly.

Monday, his Lordship having (as well by means of the King's officers and servants, who were sent for the purpose thither, as by his own care,) provided for all necessities to supply him in his journey towards London, about eleven of the clock set forward, riding in his carroch, and taking the said Don Pedro along with him; and so came that night to Alton, where they lodged.

Tuesday, the second of July, his Lordship rode from Alton, and lodged that night at Guilford; having taken special care, both that Don Pedro, the Ambassador-lieger, whom his Lordship had brought along in company, should be respectively provided for himself, as was fitting; as also all other his followers most plentifully supplied for all necessities in their travel, and that freely, without charge or expence to any of them.

Wednesday, they rode forward towards Kingston, where the Conde de Villa Mediana and others staid, expecting the coming of the said Ambassador; and where also his Lordship had bountifully provided for their entertainment in general.

Thursday, his Lordship having appointed the Lord Howard of Effingham, and some others of the better sort, to accompany the said Ambassador, and the Conde de Villa Mediana to London; he himself, with the rest of his company, rode for Windsor-Castle, where as then the King lay, for his pleasure of hunting; who, there presenting themselves to his Majesty, were of him most graciously entertained and welcomed. At which time also his Lordship received further order from his Highness, when he would be pleased to give audience to the said Ambassador, and to admit him to his royal presence, according to appointment; which was accordingly performed, at the court at Whitehall, on Sunday, the fourteenth day of the said month of July following.

Now, for that it doth not fully appear by this former relation of his Lordship's travel and journey, how honourably and with what respect he and his whole company were received and entertained; ye shall understand, that first, upon our landing at the Groyne, the Governor of Galicia, as is afore rehearsed, and as it should seem, by direct order from his Majesty, upon the former arrival of certain ships, wherein were the horses and other presents, sent from his Majesty to the King of Spain, had drawn together much people, and that of the better sort of the whole country, on purpose, to make show both of the strength of the country, as also to be the more ready to do service, in supplying the English with all necessities; and, for this purpose also, their greatest care was, that during our abode there, there might appear no want of any thing. His Lordship, as is aforesaid, was lodged in the Governor's house, which of itself was very little, and not able to give entertainment to so great a company. Therefore especial care was taken, that every man might, according to his estate, be lodged as conveniently, and as sufficiently, as the place would give leave; the town being much decayed, by reason of the late wars, nor as yet re-edified since the sackage thereof by Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake. But we must acknowledge, that for the greatest part, every man was lodged there, without exception. The care for lodging was not so much, as was their exceeding care, they had for

provision, victuals, and viands, to serve the company; that country of Galicia being indeed very mountainous and unfruitful. And therefore, although his Lordship was very sufficiently provided for at the Governor's house, and that since the room there, being little, could not by any means supply all; order was taken, that, in every house, wherein any Englishman lodged, provision of diet was made for him and his servants, at the King's proper cost; wherein of necessity we must observe both the great charge, as also the great care, that was taken to supply all necessities in the best fashion. Notwithstanding which, there was daily provided so large a table as conveniently could be, for all such knights and gentlemen, as would at their pleasure come to attend and keep his Lordship company at meat; this entertainment beginning the first day of our arrival at the Groyne, which was the sixteenth day of April, and continuing all the time of our being in the Groyne, which was till the third of May following; what time we set forward on our land-journey, being then likewise furnished of mules, both for riding and carriage, all upon the King's charge.

The number of mules, sent to his Lordship for riding and carriage, were eight-hundred, or thereabouts; whereof twenty-four were great ass-mules, of the King's provision, and appointed for his Lordship's own carriages; besides the mules for the Spaniards themselves, and their necessities, which were esteemed above four-hundred. The muleters, to regard these mules, were numbered to be above three-hundred.

The company of English were accounted six-hundred and fifty. Besides these, the King sent many of every office in court, some with the Aposentador, Mayor, aforementioned, as divers others Aposentadors, or harbingers; stewards, ushers for the chambers, sewers, and officers for the table; officers of the ewery, pantry, cellar, chaundry; forty of the Spanish guard to serve the table, pastry-cooks, and such like. Every of these being particularly furnished with such necessities as belonged to his office, as we might well perceive; for that, through the whole journey, they were fain to carry by mules, from place to place, all the said necessities for their service; as, plate, linen, bedding, hangings, chairs, tables, forms, pastry-boards, kitchen-furniture, racks, spits, pans, and such like; as also most of their provision of meal, wine, oil, vinegar, herbs, fruit, sweet-meats, and such other. Wherein the said officers did so carefully and wisely behave themselves, that it appeared there wanted no will in them, either in care or pains, to give contentment to the whole company of the English. This charge of the King's endured until the return of his Lordship to the ships at St. Anderas, with very little difference, either of meats or service, at any time. Whither, for that the way from the Groyne was by experience found to be both long and ill, his Lordship had formerly directed the ships to go there to abide and stay his return; being indeed not above half the way from Valladolid, in comparison of his journey from the Groyne. Both in our going and return, we might well observe how joyful our coming seemed to the common people; both by their manner of behaviour, which was courteous, as also by their speeches, which were most kind; who, for that they found by experience the ill reports made heretofore of our nation altogether untrue; admiring our civility and good behaviour, being clean contrary to that which had been formerly preached unto them by their churchmen and friars, we received that kind congratulation and usage, that was possible for them to give, and us, as strangers and travellers, to receive. Insomuch, as well we observed, as we passed, the country had taken exceeding care to make the ways both easy and pleasing for us to pass; digging down hills in many places, and mending the ways with timber, stones, and earth; no doubt, to their great pains and charge.

By which it most plainly appeared, with what joy and comfort they received the peace generally, manifesting the same as well by their deeds as words; and, no doubt, performed much more thankfulness to their King for procuring it, than they would make show of joy to us, for obtaining it.

And yet, what words might express, that might we daily hear; for we might observe, how they preached the same in pulpits, and spake of the same, even in their open plays and interludes; making, as they said, many feasts and joys for the blessed peace.

The bounty of the King in gifts, as well to his Lordship as to divers other of his followers, together with the great charge his Highness was at, during our abode there, gave us not so good contentment in general, as did the good esteem and behaviour, we found in all, from the highest to the meanest, upon every occasion ministered to them to shew the same, either in particular, or in general: his Lordship receiving all very thankfully, and not without a reciprocal show of his bounty and good-will again, being indeed of his purse not sparing, and (with pardon be it spoken) as liberal, in his degree, as was necessary: whose carriage and behaviour, during the whole journey, being such, and upon good intelligence, sufficiently known to his Majesty, who employed him, and by him is both graciously allowed and accepted; he himself hath cause sufficient of gladness, and no other cause of exception in any sort. So, concluding with the blessing of our Saviour, *Beati pacifici!* let us pray to Almighty God to make his Majesty as careless of war, as he, from time to time, in his great judgment, shall find peace to be necessary; his people and subjects ever obedient to all his designs and appointments, either in war or peace; and his Majesty himself blessed with long life, health, and ability, to undergo either, as it shall seem best to the Divine Majesty. Amen.

The two following Narratives contain an Account of all the Parliament-men in Oliver Cromwell's Usurpation, and shew which Way they all got their Money.

The first Narrative, particularly, gives an account of the choosing, coming together, secluding some, and of the sitting of the rest, of Oliver's Parliament; as also of the things that did attend them, and the acts that were passed by them; amongst which, what could be more oppressive, than that wicked and unjust act for 'New Buildings,' by which many, that for sixteen years before, had paid twice the value of their houses in taxes, were obliged to pay a year's rent more, or submit to be plundered, have their estates sequestered, and their persons cast into prison? This was attended with another act, establishing an Excise for ever; which, with the customs it settled upon the crown, or person reigning, was a standing revenue to enable the government to keep the people in perpetual slavery. After this, it was also enacted, that the people should pay a tax for three years in time of peace, under a pretence to pay the soldiers; and, as if that did not suffice to empty the purses of the subject, this same Parliament ordained a three-months tax to be paid twice over. And, to mention but one more, there passed an act to erect a High-Court of Justice for the preservation of the Protector's person; but, in reality, with a design to give him power at pleasure, under the sanction of law, to take away the fortunes and lives of all such as he either feared, suspected, or disliked.

This first Narrative also gives you a catalogue, and some historical account, of one-hundred and eighty-two of the members of that unworthy assembly; who were either sons, kinsmen, servants, or attached to the Protector's interest and fortunes, by places of profit, officers, salaries, or other advantages, which were all paid by the publick; and, to their great distress, amounted to one-million sixteen-thousand three-hundred and seventeen pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight-pence sterling, and upwards per annum.

Whereby it doth appear (says a certain author of that time), what fine suckers they are of the riches and fatness of the commonwealth; and how unlikely they were (being so packed for his interest, and so well seasoned with the salt of his palace) to bring forth the so-much prayed for, engaged, fought, and bled for, rights and liberties of the people.

Then follow a few queries, and a catalogue of the Kinglings, or names of those Seventy that voted for the Kingship, with the counties which they represented. After this is mentioned,

how the government, then to be established, was carried in the House but by three voices : and this is attended with a list of those members of that assembly, who (though they gave not their vote, either for Kingship, or the then government, by the humble petition and advice, and pretended to be against and dissatisfied with both,) are sharply and justly re-proved for betraying the trust committed to them by the people ; and so this first Narrative concludes with some general queries.

The second Narrative records some of the most remarkable passages, which occur in their second session, with the end and dissolution of the whole, after two or three weeks sitting ; as also something of another House, intended for a House of Lords, describing forty-three of its members ; though it was not long before the chief of that new form of government had declared, ‘ It would never be well, neither should England ever see good days, whilst ‘ there was left one Lord in the nation.’ Yet now new Lords must be made by the dozens, to aggrandize the Lord Protector, and make him appear like a King ; though so much blood and treasure had been lately spent, against a Negative Voice in the King and Lords.

A Narrative of the late Parliament (so called), their Election and Appearing ; the Seclusion of a great Part of them ; the Sitting of the Rest : With an Account of the Places of Profit, Salaries, and Advantages which they hold and receive under the present Power ; with some Queries thereupon, and upon the most material Acts and Proceedings passed by them. All humbly proposed to Consideration, and published for Information of the People ; by a Friend to the Common-wealth, and to its dear-bought Rights and Freedom. Anno 1657.

[Quarto, containing Sixty-three Pages.]

IT is not unknown unto all intelligent and observing people, what great stickling and underhand dealing was put in practice by the Court-party, in driving on interests and designs, about choosing this last pretended Parliament ; in improving the major-generals to that purpose, (who were not wanting in the matter,) as also by writing of letters to the sheriffs, who were (some of them) very officious in that service ; whereby several worthy patriots had very foul and unequal terms offered them, not being suffered to be put in nomination ; justifying their proceedings to be no other, than according to order they had so to do. Middlesex, Cheshire, Berkshire, and the city of Canterbury, may serve for instances, instead of others. Neither were the clergy behind, in endeavours for the advancement of their own interest, as appeared by meetings, held in very many counties, to agree and make choice beforehand among themselves, and then promote their choice against the election-day ; and upon the day appearing, like so many captains or leaders, cried up the parties, they had chosen before to serve their interest. But what cause the people have to rejoice, and give them thanks for this service, doth already in part appear ; and further may, when they shall feel the burthens of excise and customs, with the many fetters and snares attending the same, as also a tax backward, to be paid over again ; and another for three years together, never the like in England before ; together with a new project to raise money out of all such houses, for ten miles distance without the walls of the city of London, that from thirty-seven years past, to the twenty-ninth of September last, have been built upon new foundations ; with other acts serving designs, but not one for the ease

of the people, or the punishment of those who have wronged and abused them: by which acts, these gentlemen, and those that chose them, make themselves accessory to, and as much as in them lies, guilty of all this hard bondage, that now is, or may further come upon us.

The gentlemen chosen to sit in this assembly, accordingly, made their appearance, and gave attendance at Westminster, in order to that service; where a great number of them find themselves secluded the house, and not suffered to enter in, to do their duty; who, having waited a day or two without success, many of them made an address to their fellow-members, sitting in the house, for their admittance. Some of the names of those gentlemen, so kept out of the house, here follow:

Sir Arthur Haslerigg.	Harbottle Grimston.	William Morrice.
Thomas Scott.	William Welby.	John Haile.
Herbert Morley.	Charles Hussey.	Edward Tukner.
John Bulkley.	Edmund Harvey.	Challen Chute.
John Birch.	John Sicklemore.	Daniel Shatterden.
Colonel Fenwick.	William Doyly.	Sir Thomas Styles.
Anthony Erby.	Ralph Hare.	Richard Beale.
Thomas Lister.	John Hubbard.	Walter Moyle.
Thomas Birch.	Oliver Raymond.	Walter Vincent.
Thomas Sanders.	Jeremiah Bentley.	John Gell.
Henry Darley.	Philip Woodhouse.	Henry Arthington.
John Weaver.	John Buxton.	Henry Tempest.
Alexander Popham.	William Bloyse.	James Clavering.
Francis Thorp.	William Gibbs.	John Stanhope.
Anthony Ashley Cooper.	Thomas Southerton.	Pen. Whaly.
John Southby.	Sir Thomas Bows.	Abel Barker.
Richard Greenvil.	Edward Harlow.	Samuel More.
Thomas Adams.	John Hanson.	Thomas Minors.
Richard Brown.	Clement Throgmorton.	Samuel Jones.
Richard Darley.	Henry North.	Edward Hooper.
Thomas St. Nicholas.	Sir John Wittrong.	Richard Winneve.
William James.	George Courthop.	John Fagg.
John Boyse.	Samuel Gost.	Thomas Rivers.
Charles Hill.	John Buckland.	Henry Peckham.
John Jones.	Robert Long.	Charles Lloyd.
William Wolley.	John Northcot.	John Thurbone.
Richard Radcliff.	John Young.	William Fisher.
William Savill.	John Doddridge.	John Gore.
Theophilus Biddulph.	Henry Hungerford.	Rowland Litton.
Henry Mildmay.	Edward Yooker.	

The answer of the gentlemen in the house to the fore-mentioned address, was to this effect, viz. 'That those gentlemen must address themselves to the council.'

Upon the unsatisfactoriness and injustice of which answer, these gentlemen, rather than they would yield to so great a violation of parliamentary power, resolved to depart to their own countries again; which accordingly they did.

Upon this breach made in the House, and giving up the rights and interest of the English nation in parliament, to be judged without doors, by an inferior power; divers gentlemen then sitting in the house, who being endued with principles of justice and righteousness, and love to the nation's freedom, immediately withdrew; and others would not enter into the house at all, but departed to their several habitations.

Upon all which, it is proposed and queried:

1st. Whether since the Conquest there was ever such a blow given (by a people owning

themselves a Parliament) to the interest and freedom of the English nation, as the suffering to be secluded from them (by an inferior power) so great a number of members chosen by the people to sit, as their representatives in parliament; without any cause shewn for such a proceeding?

2. How this upstart Protector and his council, of a little more than three years standing, should come to be empowered to do those things, which a King and his council, of more than four-hundred years descent, could not, nor durst not do? And whether the late, together with the former force, put upon the House, by excluding so many of their members, be not a crime twenty-fold beyond that of the late King's; in going about to seclude the five members, so highly dis-resented in that day by the people, and afterwards attended with so great feud and bloodshed?

3. Whether, till this unworthy generation, there ever were such a company of false-hearted, low-spirited, mercenary Englishmen sitting in that house before; that would at once so easily give up the right, interest, and freedom of this nation, in suffering their fellow-members to be rent from them, and judged without doors? as if there were a just power at present upon earth, higher and greater than the good people's representers in parliament; which, by all well-affected people, in the army and elsewhere, was so generally acknowledged the supreme authority.

4. Whether these persons, in thus doing, as also in confirming (as it were) this usurpation by a law, in settling the government in a single person and his council, with a House of Lords as it was before; giving him a negative voice, and the power of disposing of the militia and navy, things formerly so much¹ complained of, and opposed, as the effects of tyranny and usurpation in the late King, together with many other things done by them, tending to oppress and enslave the people, have not, as much as in them lies, pulled upon themselves, and the three nations, the guilt of all the blood of the late wars, acknowledged by the army and others, to be shed in removing the foresaid evils; as likewise to make void and fruitless the vast sums of money and treasure expended upon that account.

5. Whether the aforesaid gentlemen are not therefore to be esteemed, by all true-hearted Englishmen, as betrayers² of, and traitors to the cause of God, and their country's liberties, and a company of salary-men; sons, servants, kinsmen, and lawyers, &c. purposely packed to enthrone their Protector's single interest, rather than a Parliament of the commonwealth of England, lawfully called and constituted to carry on the good old cause, viz. The promoting of reformation, and vindication of the people's liberties?

6. Whether some of those gentlemen who were secluded, with others that were injuriously hindered from being chosen, have not been more faithful to the cause formerly contended for, and better patriots to their country; and such who less deserve why they should be rejected, than such as Mr. Glyn, Mr. Nicholls, (two of the eleven members, who endeavouring to settle the same things upon the King, they have now pretended to do upon their Protector, were counted false to God and the people,) Sir Charles Ousley, and Commissioner Fines?

7. And whether Mr. Thomas, St. Nicholas, Colonel Dixwell, &c. were not as capable, and every way more likely, to counsel and advise for the good of their country; than the sons of Major-general Desbrow, of Mr. Laurence, president of the council, and of Sir Hardress Waller; as yet both in years and experience, children.

8. Doth not this picking a lukewarm Neuter from one place, a Cavalier from another, and young youths of no principle from another, and packing them with his kindred, sons, servants, and salary-men, and a sort of conquered Scotchmen, (a thing formerly so much feared³ and complained of in the late King,) now plainly declare, that his pretence in dis-

¹ See a representation of the Army, and large petition, in a book called 'Looking-glass,' p. 5, 11, 12, 13. And in Alb. Remonst. p. 25, 26. A letter p. 40. An act of parliament, after beheading of the King, p. 44 of the same book; and a declaration 19 July, 1650, p. 47, and declaration, 1 August following, p. 49, 50. And a declaration after the old Parliament was dissolved, p. 54 of the same book, all procured in that day by the now Protector (so called), and the then honest part of the Army.

² See Looking-glass, p. 47, in a declaration, July 19, 1650; the Army confess so much themselves.

³ See Looking-glass, p. 22, in remonstrance at Albans.

solving the old Parliament, for not making provision in their act for a new representative to keep⁴ our Presbyters and Neuters, was false; and that it was rather done as a farther step, whereby he might ascend into this present greatness, than for the preservation of the cause, which, at that time, was so highly pretended to?

9. Or is this practice, in the least measure, agreeing with that spirit pretended unto in the choice of the Little Parliament, or with that profession made by him in his speech to them, viz. That they had not allowed themselves in the choice of one person, of whom they had not this good hope, there was faith⁵ in Jesus Christ, and love to all the saints. And that they judged it their duty to choose none but godly men of principles, men knowing and fearing the Lord; who had made observations of his marvellous dispensations; such as he had formed for himself, because he expected not praises from others, and these the only fit men to be entrusted with the cause, and no others; and therefore went in that extraordinary way, and not in the way of the nation; because, till the spirit was more poured forth, the people would not be in a capacity to choose such men, &c. Now whether the late picking and choosing, as is before expressed, a party of men of such a spirit and under such qualifications as this present Parliament (so called) is of; be not a notorious destroying of that profession and principle then owned, and seemingly practised? Let all honest and unbiassed men judge.

Here follows the truest and best Account, that as yet can be gotten, of the names of those Gentlemen, who continued in the House; and have Places of Profit, Offices, Salaries, and Advantages, in the Commonwealth: Together with the Names of the Sons, Kinsmen, Servants, and others, who are under Engagements unto, and have Dependence upon the Protector, so called; who, being so well seasoned with the Salt of his Palace, according to Ezra, iv. 14. must needs be devoted to his Interest, wherein their own is wholly involved.

Of the COUNCIL.

MR. LAWRENCE, as president, one-thousand pounds *per annum*.

Major-general Lambert, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; as major-general of the army, three-hundred and sixty-five pounds; as colonel of horse, four-hundred and seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as colonel of foot, three-hundred and sixty-five pounds; and, as it is reported, had the general's pay, three-thousand six-hundred and forty pounds *per annum*; as major-general of some countries, six-hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence: in all, six-thousand five-hundred and eleven pounds, three shillings, and four pence. These places he had; but whether he hath the conscience to receive thus for them, or gives any away to those that act under him, is best known to himself; he is also a lord of the Cinque-ports.

Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; as lord-deputy of Ireland, three-thousand six-hundred and forty pounds *per annum*; as colonel of horse in Ireland, four-hundred, seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as colonel of foot there, three-hundred sixty-five pounds; as colonel of horse in England, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as major-general of some counties, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; in all, six-thousand six-hundred and twenty pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence: it is said he remained lieutenant-general of the horse in England. It is supposed he hath all these places; but whether he receives all the pay, or gives any to those that act under him, himself best knows. He married the Protector's daughter.

Major-general Desbrow, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; as

⁴ See p. 58 of the same book, in his speech to the Little Parliament.

⁵ See Looking-glass, p. 59, 61; and 63, in the speech he made to them, in his own and officers' names.

general at sea, one-thousand ninety-five pounds; as colonel of horse, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; as major-general of the Western-countries, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; in all, three-thousand two-hundred thirty-six pounds, three shillings, and four pence *per annum*: it is said he is one of the Cinque-port lords. He married the Protector's sister, whereby he is doubly engaged to serve his brother's interest.

Colonel Montague, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; commissioner of the treasury, one-thousand pounds; as general at sea, one-thousand ninety-five pounds; in all, three-thousand ninety-five pounds *per annum*.

Colonel Sydenham, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; one of the commissioners of the treasury, one-thousand pounds; in all, two-thousand pounds *per annum*; besides the government of the Isle of Wight.

Colonel Fines, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; commissioner of the great-seal, one-thousand pounds; as keeper of the privy-seal, supposed worth one-thousand pounds more; in all, three-thousand pounds *per annum*.

Sir Charles Ousley, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Strickland, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; and is captain of the Gray-coat foot-guard at Whitehall.

Sir Gilbert Pickering, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; chamberlain at court, and steward of Westminster.

Major-general Skippon, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; as major-general of the city, it is supposed he hath six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; according to his brethren, major-generals of the counties.

Mr. Rouse, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; as provost of Eaton-college, five-hundred pounds; in all, fifteen-hundred pounds.

Colonel Philip Jones, as one of the council, one-thousand pounds *per annum*: he either is, or was, his master Cromwell's steward, or overseer, of his lands in Wales; and is *custos rotulorum* of two or three counties there.

Mr. John Thurloe, secretary of state, and chief post-master of England, places of a vast income: he may justly be said to have a great hand in bringing all this abominable wickedness, slavery, and oppression, that hath been for above these three years, to this very day, upon the nation.

Here follow the Names of those Lawyers that continued in the House, who have Advantages from the State, who are placed in the Van of the Soldiers, as the more honourable Persons; their General having lately laid aside, and delivered up his Sword, to put on the Gown.

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON, as Speaker of the House, thirty-five pounds a week, which is one-thousand eight-hundred and twenty-nine pounds *per annum*; as commissioner of the treasury, one-thousand pounds *per annum*; in all, two-thousand eight-hundred, and twenty-nine pounds *per annum*; and hath besides, for every private act, five pounds, and for every stranger that is naturalized, or made a free denison; and hath gotten for that already, as is supposed, near one-thousand five-hundred pounds: he is recorder of York. Having these great engagements upon him, he can do no other, if it be required, than put on the King's old robe upon his Lord Protector.

Lord Whitlock, as commissioner of the treasury, one-thousand pounds *per annum*. His son is a captain in the army, and lately made a knight: he must needs serve the Court-interest.

Lord Lisle, one of the commissioners of the great-seal, one-thousand pounds *per annum*.

Mr. William Lenthal, Speaker of the old Parliament formerly, as master of the rolls, supposed worth two-thousand pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Prideaux, as attorney-general to the state, five pounds for every patent, and five pounds for every pardon; and by the liberty of pleading within the bar, together with two-thousand pounds he gets by great fees, it is supposed to amount to, in all, near six-thousand pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Glyn, one of the eleven members formerly impeached by the Army of treason, now lord chief-justice of England; for which he hath one-thousand pounds *per annum*, besides other advantages; a man of principles fitted for the interest of monarchy.

Mr. Ellis, as solicitor-general to the state, hath, as is supposed, near three-thousand pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Parker, as one of the barons of the exchequer, one-thousand pounds *per annum*.

Baron Nicholas, the same place and salary.

Baron Hill, the same place and salary.

Mr. Lechmere, attorney of the duchy; his advantage thereby is not well known.

Mr. Nathaniel Bacon, as one of the masters of requests, five-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Francis Bacon, the like place and salary.

Lislebone Long, lately one of the masters of requests; and the better to carry on his master's interest among the low-spirited mayor, aldermen, and common-council in the city, is now made recorder of London, supposed worth two-thousand pounds *per annum*; and is also a new knight to the new Court.

Miles Fleetwood, one of the clerks of the privy-seal, supposed worth between three and four-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Robert Shapcot, one of the commissioners for executing that abominable, oppressive, wicked act for the new buildings; his salary is as yet unknown.

Thomas Bamfield, recorder of Exon.

Thomas Westlake, town-clerk.

Mr. Lister, recorder of Hull.

Guibbon Goddard, recorder of Lynn.

Lambert Godfrey, recorder of Maidstone.

Colonel Matthews, recorder of Malden.

The Names of the Officers belonging to the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and their Garrisons; and such as are of the Country Troops, and the late-created Major-generals.

Of the ARMY in England.

COLONEL WHALEY, as commissary-general of the horse, one-hundred seventy-three pounds, fifteen shillings, and four pence *per annum*; as colonel of horse, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings, besides other advantages in the regiment; as one of the major-generals of the counties, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence: in all, one-thousand four-hundred and fourteen pounds, eighteen shillings, and four pence *per annum*.

Colonel Grosvenor, as quarter-master-general, four-hundred nineteen pounds, ten shillings *per annum*; and, it is said, hath captain of horse's pay. And, the better to carry it in the choice at Westminster, the soldiers were bid pull off their red coats, and put on others, and to give their vote for him; which is contrary to article the eighteenth of the old decayed instrument of government, which allows none, that is not worth two-hundred pounds, to choose Parliament-men.

George Downing, as scout-master-general, three-hundred and sixty-five pounds *per annum*; as one of the tellers in the exchequer, five-hundred pounds; in all, eight-hundred and sixty-five pounds *per annum*. It is said, he hath the captain's pay of a troop of horse; formerly scout-master against Cavaliers and Moss-troopers, but now against the saints, and sends spies amongst the churches.

Mr. Marieth, as judge-advocate of the army, two-hundred seventy-three pounds, fifteen shillings, *per annum*.

Captain Blackwell, as treasurer of the army, six-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Colonel Ingoldsby, as colonel of horse, four-hundred and seventy-four pounds, ten shillings, *per annum*, besides other advantages in the regiment; he is Protector's (so called) kinsman, and will make no scruple to do whatever he will have him.

Colonel Hacker, as colonel of horse, the same pay, and advantages in the regiment.

Colonel Winthrop, of horse, the same.

Colonel Robert Lilburn, as colonel of horse; and six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, as one of the major-generals; in all, one-thousand one-hundred and forty-one pounds, three-shillings, and four pence.

Colonel Berry, as colonel of horse, and one of the major-generals, the like pay.

Major Packer, as colonel of horse, and major-general, the like advantage.

Colonel Goff, as colonel of horse, and major-general, the like. This is he that, with Colonel White, brought the soldiers, and turned the honest party, remaining behind in the Little Parliament, out of doors.

Colonel Bridges, as colonel of horse, and a major-general, the same advantage with the others. This is he, who, it is reported, dealt treacherously with his Colonel Okey, to get his place.

Major Hains, as major of Fleetwood's regiment of horse, three-hundred fifty-eight pounds, eighteen shillings, and four pence; and, as a major-general, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; in all, one-thousand twenty-five pounds, eleven shillings, and eight pence, *per annum*.

Major Butler, of horse, and as major-general, the same advantage.

Major Wareing, if not major of horse, he is captain of the county-troop, and a farmer of the excise in the country.

Captain Baines, as captain of horse, two-hundred seventy-three pounds *per annum*, besides other advantages in the troop; as one of the committee of preservation of the excise and customs, three-hundred pounds; in all, five-hundred seventy-three pounds *per annum*.

Captain Fox, captain of horse, and governor of Pendennis-castle; he married the Protector's (so called) kinswoman.

Captain Scotten, captain of horse, two-hundred seventy-three pounds *per annum*, besides other advantages in the troop.

Captain Lilburn of horse, the like advantage.

Major Jenkins, so called, captain of a troop of horse, the like advantage.

Officers belonging to the Regiments of Horse in Ireland.

COLONEL REYNOLDS, as commissary-general of horse, two-hundred seventy-three pounds *per annum*; as colonel of horse, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings; in all, seven-hundred forty-seven pounds, ten shillings *per annum*; and is now general of the English army under the dispose of the Protector's brother and confederate, Cardinal Mazarine in France, and is one of the new-made knights.

Colonel Zanchy, as colonel of horse, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings *per annum*, besides other advantages; and lives much in Fleetwood's house.

Sir Theophilus Jones, as major of horse, three-hundred fifty-eight pounds, eighteen shillings, and four-pence *per annum*, besides other advantages.

Major Morgan, of Fleetwood's regiment, the same.

Major Owen, as major of horse, the same.

Major Redman, as major of horse, the like.

Colonel Abbot, colonel of dragoons.

Officers belonging to the Regiments of Foot in England, that sat in the House

COLONEL BAXTER, as captain of a foot-company, one-hundred forty-six pounds *per annum*, besides other advantages in the company ; as major-general of Middlesex, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence ; as lieutenant of the Tower, two-hundred and fifty pounds. The benefit of ten warders' pay, who had a livelihood by it ; he having so procured, that, as they die or are otherwise laid aside, the two-hundred pounds *per annum*, which paid them, comes into his pocket, besides a fee, or fine, imposed upon all persons, brought as prisoners into the Tower, according to their quality ; and hath the benefit of the wharf, and letting of houses in the Tower, and several other advantages, which are oppressive ; amounting to, in all, as is conceived, about two-thousand pounds *per annum*. He is one of the new-made knights, and one of the commissioners for suppressing the printing-presses, as the Bishops panders in the King's days ; one that makes men offenders, and casts them into prison, for words he hath drawn forth from them in examining against themselves : a liar, one that deals more injuriously with the Lord's people, keeping, many times, their nearest relations and friends from coming to them ; witness that faithful friend to the cause of God and his people, Major-general Overton, amongst others, then heathens, Acts xxiv. 23. and yet, since this, is he taken in to be a member of Mr. Griffith's church.

Colonel Pride, as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds *per annum*, besides other advantages ; and hath also great advantage by brewing for the state ; one of the simple and new-made knights, and his daughter married to the Protector's nephew.

Colonel Clark, as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds *per annum* ; as a commissioner of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds *per annum* ; in all, eight-hundred sixty-five pounds *per annum* ; and one of the committee of the Army ; he married Thurlow's sister, and is deeply engaged to uphold the Court-interest.

Colonel Salmon, as of foot, and commissioner of the admiralty, eight-hundred sixty-five pounds *per annum*.

Lieutenant-colonel Kelsey, as commissioner of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds *per annum* ; as one of the major-generals, six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence : in all, one-thousand one-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence ; besides the government of Dover-castle.

Colonel Biscoe, as of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds *per annum*. This is he who stood at the parliament-door, with Colonel Mills, to keep all the members out who had not tickets.

Colonel White, of foot, the like pay, besides other advantages in the regiment, as the other. This is he who, with Colonel Goff, brought soldiers, and turned the members, left behind in the Little Parliament, out of doors.

Captain Howard, formerly captain of the life-guard, as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds *per annum* ; and, as captain of a county-troop, one-hundred pounds ; in all, four-hundred sixty-five pounds *per annum* ; besides the government of Berwick, Carlisle, and Tirmouth : a printed book says he is a major-general.

Major Sanders, of foot, and governor of Plymouth-fort, and Iseland.

Captain Wagstaff, as captain of foot, one-hundred forty-six pounds, besides the advantage of his company, and as captain of a county-troop, one-hundred pounds ; in all, two-hundred forty-six pounds *per annum*.

Officers belonging to the Regiments of Foot in Scotland, that sat in the House.

COLONEL FITZ, as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds *per annum*, and governor of Inverness.

Colonel Mitchel, the like pay, besides other advantages in the regiment.

Colonel Talbot, colonel of foot, the like.

Colonel Cooper, as colonel of two regiments of foot, one in Scotland, the other in Ireland, seven-hundred and twenty pounds *per annum*, besides other advantages in the regiment; and the government of Carrickfergus, and a great part of the country in the north of Ireland: it is reported he hath three or four places.

Judge-advocate Whaly, of the army in Scotland, two-hundred seventy-three pounds, fifteen shillings *per annum*, besides other advantages; he is commissary-general Whaly's brother.

Officers belonging to the Regiments of Foot in Ireland, who either did, or might sit in the House; and such as are in Civil Employment there.

SIR HARDRESS WALLER, as major-general of the army, three-hundred sixty-five pounds *per annum*; as colonel of foot, three-hundred sixty-five pounds; in all, seven-hundred thirty pounds *per annum*, besides other advantages.

Colonel Huson, colonel of foot, and governor of Dublin, with other advantages.

Colonel Fooke, colonel of foot, and governor of Drogheda.

Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, a colonel of foot, besides other advantages, and is the Protector's (so called) kinsman.

Colonel Sadler, colonel of foot, besides other advantages.

Sir Robert King, commissary of the musters, a place of good advantage; he is lately deceased.

These following Persons for Ireland, but one, have the Names of Officers, but are none.

COLONEL BRIDGES, captain of a foot-company.

Lieutenant-colonel Newbrough.

Lieutenant-colonel Berrisford.

Lieutenant-colonel Treyle.

Major Asten.

Captain Halsie.

Persons not thought meet to be in Command, though they much desire it; and are of such poor Principles, and so unfit to make Rulers of, as they would not have been set with the Dogs of the Flock, (as Job speaks in another Case, Job xxx. i.) if the Army, and others, who once pretended to be honest, had kept close to their former good and honest Principles.

COLONEL JEPHSON, a man of no better principles than the former; but, for service in voting for a King, is lately sent ambassador to Sweden.

Mr. Vincent Gookin, one of the letters of land in Ireland, three-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Ralph King, the like place and salary.

Mr. Bice, recorder of Dublin.

The Names of those Colonels, Lieutenant-colonels, Majors, Captains, and Governors of Towns, that are not of the marching Army, which sat in the House.

COLONEL NORTON, a regiment, or some companies of foot, and governor of Portsmouth.

Colonel Rogers, governor of Hereford, captain of a county-troop ; what company of foot, and other advantages, it is not certainly known.

Colonel Bingham, governor of Guernsey.

Colonel Coppleston hath a county-regiment, made high-sheriff for three years together, supposed worth to him three or four hundred pounds *per annum* ; one of the new-made knights, and a great Cavalier formerly.

Colonel Cox, captain of a county-troop ; for that, one-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Colonel Ireland, captain of a county-troop.

Colonel John Gorges, captain of a county-troop.

Major Hawksworth, governor of Warwick-castle, one or two companies of foot, besides other advantages.

Major Bowreman, deputy-governor of the Isle of Wight ; he hath command of Sandown and Weymouth-castles, one or two companies of foot ; his other advantages not certainly known.

Captain Fiennes hath a county-troop.

William Braddon, the same command and pay.

Captain Crofts, the like.

Captain Whitegrave, the like.

Captain Ludlow, the like.

James Heely, lieutenant to that troop.

Captain Mason, lieutenant to Hereford-troop, and would get higher, if he could ; a poor inconsiderable creature, that says, his lord must bestow some good place upon him, or else he cannot serve him.

The Names of the Governors of Towns, Castles, and Commanders of the Militia Forces in Wales, and such as have Civil Employments, who sat in the House.

COLONEL DAWKINS, governor of Caermarthen, one of the deputy major-generals, captain of a militia-troop.

Evan Lewis, captain of a county-troop.

Hugh Price of Guernsey, captain of a militia-troop, and governor of Red-castle.

John Price, receiver-general of South-Wales, and a great treasurer formerly ; now one of the admiralty, or a commissioner of appeals.

Bennet Hoskins, deputy or puny judge in Pembroke, Caermarthen, and Cardigan shires.

Griffith Bedward hath a great place in the wine-office at Westminster.

Colonel John Carter, by Judge Glyn's interest, had lately three-thousand pounds voted him by the House, for old arrears, to be paid out of the prize-goods.

Colonel James Phillips, one of the committee of the Army ; what other place, is not known at present.

The Names of such, who did or might sit in the House, that belong to the Admiralty and Navy.

GENERAL BLAKE, as general at sea, one-thousand ninety-five pounds *per annum*, besides other advantages ; lately deceased.

Mr. Hopkins, one of the commissioners of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds *per annum* ; lately deceased.

Major Beak, of Coventry, as commissioner of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Captain Hatsell, as commissioner of the navy at Plymouth, three-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Smith, as commissioner of the navy, the like.

Colonel Rouse, vice-admiral of the north and south coasts of Cornwall ; a place of good value.

Charles-George Cock, as one of the judges of the admiralty, five-hundred pounds *per annum* ; and as commissioner of the prerogative-court, three-hundred pounds ; in all, eight-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Major Gudley, as an officer of the ordnance, near three-hundred pounds *per annum* ; as captain of a county-troop, one hundred pounds *per annum* ; and deputy major-general to Kelsey.

The Names of such, who have Civil Employments, who serve for Scotland.

LORD BROGHILL, as president of the council there, one-thousand pounds *per annum*, besides other advantages ; as colonel of horse in Ireland, four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten-shillings ; in all, one-thousand four-hundred seventy-four pounds, ten shillings : he was formerly not thought meet to be trusted with the government of a town in Ireland, because looked upon as an old Protestant, and no thorough friend to the honest interest, yet through the late defection, is received into this great trust.

Colonel Whetham, as one of the council in Scotland, it is supposed five-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Sir William Rhodes, as one of the council, the like.

Mr. Desbrow, Major-general Desbrow's brother, as one of the council, the same salary.

Mr. Smith, a judge in Scotland, six-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Swinton, the like place and salary.

Judge Lawrence, the like.

Sir James Mackdowell, one of the commissioners at Leeth, about three-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Colonel Henry Markham, one of the commissioners for letting lands in Ireland, three-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Sir John Weimes, tenant to the state of the salt-pans near Leeth, and hath a good advantage thereby.

Others serving for England, sitting in the House, that have Civil Employments and Salaries from the State.

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, as one of the committee for preservation of excise and customs, three-hundred pounds *per annum* ; as comptroller of the exchequer, six-hundred pounds ; in all, nine-hundred pounds *per annum*. He is a commissioner at the wine-office, and one of the committee of the Army.

Dennis Bond, as comptroller of the receipts of the exchequer, five-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Captain Stone, as teller in the exchequer, five-hundred pounds *per annum*, and great fees besides ; as receiver-general of the taxes, three-hundred pounds ; as comptroller of the excise and customs, four-hundred pounds ; in all, twelve-hundred pounds *per annum*. He is a commissioner at the wine-office, and one of the committee of the Army besides.

Gervis Bennet, one of the committee for preservation of excise and customs, three-hundred pounds *per annum* ; hath also a great place in the wine-office, and is one of the committee of the Army.

Mr. Upton, as one of the commissioners of the customs, supposed worth near eight-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Nowell, scrivener, partner with Thurloe in the Post-office, supposed of great advantage, and is deeply engaged with the Court-interest.

Colonel Blake, receiver of the revenues, three-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Mr. Bedford, the like place and salary.

Mr. Butler, the like.

Mr. Hildslie, commissioner of the prerogative-office, three-hundred pounds *per annum*; and one of the committee of the Army.

Mr. Lucy, the like places and salaries.

Christopher Lister, one of the tellers of the exchequer, five-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Colonel Thomas Gorges, one of the commissioners for the new building. His advantage thereby cannot yet be known, till he and his brethren have racked the consciences, flayed off the skins, and broken the bones of the poor people; making them swear against themselves.

Sir John Thoroughgood, one of the trustees for disposing augmentations towards ministers' maintenance. His salary is not well known.

Colonel James Chadwicke, one of the judges of the Peverell-court, at Nottingham; an old oppressive office, lately revived.

Mr. Cary, of Westminster, commissioner at Haberdashers'-hall, and deputy-steward of Westminster; lately deceased.

Anthony Smith, master of an hospital and a register, supposed worth two-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Robert (or William) Fenwick, master of an hospital.

Mr. Thomas Mackworth, farmer of the excise in Lancashire, by special order.

Master Clud, one of the committee of the Army.

John St. Aubin, a salary-man; but what place he hath, I cannot learn.

The Names of the Protector (so called) his Sons, Kindred, Servants, and others, who have received Favours from him; and are thereby engaged for his Interest.

MR. RICHARD CROMWELL, his eldest son, chancellor of Oxford.

Mr. Claypole, his son-in-law. He married his daughter, and is master of the horse; a place of great advantage.

Colonel John Jones married the Protector's sister, and is governor of the Isle of Anglesey.

Captain Nicholas married the Protector's niece, and is governor of his castle at Chepstow; hath one or two companies of foot, besides other advantages; is also captain of a militia-troop, and treasurer-general of all South-Wales.

Captain Blake married his niece, and is captain of his life-guard of horse; five-hundred and eleven pounds *per annum*.

Sir Francis Russel, whose daughter the Protector's second son married, was chamberlain of Chester, formerly by the Earls of Derby; supposed to be worth five-hundred pounds *per annum*.

Edmund Giles married his kinswoman, and is one of the masters of the Chancery in ordinary; a place of great value.

The Names of his Servants sitting in the House.

MR. MAIDSTONE, steward of the house; a place of great advantage.

Mr. Waterhouse, steward of his lands; a place of great profit.

Sir Edward Herbert, entrusted as an overseer or bailiff of his lands in Wales.

The Names of the Protector (so called) his Kinsmen, not known to have any Place as yet, that sat in the House.

MR. DESBROW, Major-general Desbrow's son.

Mr. Henry Cromwell.

Mr. Robert Barrington.

Mr. Richard Hampden.

Sir John Trevor.

Mr. Trevor, his son.

Mr. Francis Ingoldsby.

Mr. Edward Dunch.

Mr. Dunch, who and the Protector's eldest son married two sisters.

Sir Richard Everard, a good huntsman.

Mr. Robert Williams, of Wales.

Not one of these such men of principles, as was formerly pretended to be endeavoured after; neither indeed are the greatest part of the whole convention any better. For which carriage of things, I am confidently persuaded, the Lord (by one dispensation or other) will make the man in power, and his counsellors hereunto, ashamed. For, if this practice be good, the former (wherein the Lord set to his seal of approbation, by his eminent and glorious presence with them, which was contrary hereunto) was evil.

The Names of others, sitting in the House, having Engagements from the Protector upon them.

ALDERMAN Pack, one of the new-made knights, for the good service he did the Protector and his family, by his presenting the bill for Kingship. It is said, he obtained from the Protector, by his petition or request, a discharge from an account of sixteen-thousand pounds, which he and the rest of the then commissioners were liable to make good, for so much run out of cash, in the time of their commission for the customs.

Alderman Foot, a new-made knight.

Alderman Dickinson, of York, one of the new-made knights.

Anthony Nichols, one of the eleven members, high-sheriff of Cornwall, and, as is reported, lately received a reward from O. P.

Mr. Kiffin, who, having received former courtesies, by means of O. P. and his confederates, as to prohibited goods, and in other respects, is thereby engaged to become his vassal; and to command a company of foot in the new militia, to support his tyranny; whilst the saints and others are imprisoned for opposing it.

Mr. Lawrence⁶, the president of the council's son, who must do as his father.

Mr. Waller, Sir Hardress Waller's son, and is naturally engaged to support his father's interest.

Mr. Keeling, one of the masters of the Trinity-house, and his relations at court.

In all, one-hundred eighty-two.

If there be any mistakes (as it is very probable there are) in the computation of the fore-mentioned offices, places, or salaries; you may please to understand, there was not in the least a desire or design to do any thing untruly thereby, to make the men or things appear worse, than in truth they are; there having been all the ways and means, that with honesty, wisdom, and safety, might be used, to attain a right understanding, in every particular. But if, through any failure herein, those who are most concerned, do find

⁶ [To this person, whose father had been active in settling the Protectorate, Milton addressed his twentieth Sonnet.]

themselves aggrieved, knowing they are not, in every punctilio, dealt right with; the only way, for their own vindication, and satisfaction of others, will be to give a more perfect and brief account hereof themselves; which with much ease they may do in a little time; these things, thus laid down, being reported of them.

Upon the foregoing premisses it is further proposed and queried,

1. Whether the Self-denying ordinance, made by the Long Parliament, were in force, or minded by these gentlemen? A thing some of them so approved of, and were instrumental, in that day, to promote and carry on. May it not be desired they would better consider, and put it in practice, when they meet again, seeing they have revived all acts and ordinances, not contrary to their model of government, *alias*, instrument of bondage to the English nation?

2. Whether men, standing under such mercenary and self-interested obligations and dependencies upon a single person, as these men do; and who, like so many horse-leeches, have sucked and drawn into themselves the expected fruit of all the blood and treasure expended in the late war, against less tyranny and oppression in the King, than they have now settled in their Protector; are fit persons to be legislators, law-makers, framers of governments and oaths, and leviers of money on the people? And whether, in the eye of reason, any other can be expected from them, but that they will endeavour, all they can, to uphold that interest they are hired to serve, and whereby their own incomes and salaries may be continued? For, doth not the Scripture say, Deut. xvi. 18. That 'a gift blinds the eyes of the wise, and perverts the words of the righteous.' And, Prov. xvii. 8. 'A gift is a precious stone in the eyes of him that hath it, and, whithersoever it turns, it prospers.' And, Prov. xviii. 16. 'A man's gift maketh way for him, and brings him before great men.'

3. Whether, for more than one-hundred years last past, it hath been heard, or known, that any number of Englishmen, sitting in that house, did in any wise consent (especially in a time of peace) as these unworthy persons have lately done, to levy a tax, for three years together, upon the people; and, as if that were not enough, to order a three-months tax to be paid twice over? Together with the excise (a tax so much abhorred, and created only by the necessity of war) which, with the customs, is imposed *in perpetuum* upon the nation, and made an hereditary and standing revenue to the crown?

4. What equality or justice is there in that act of union, whereby the Scots nation comes to be incorporated with this nation, so as to have equal privileges and power, by their interested mercenary men (as their present trustees are) to become lawgivers, framers of governments and oaths, and leviers of taxes of the free-people of the English nation; who were lately at so great cost and charges in reducing and bringing them under, that they might not be in a capacity to hurt or damage them? And whether these gentlemen, sent from the aforesaid nation, have not so far over-ruled, as to save themselves, by putting the burthen on the English? Having raised upon the English nation the three-years tax, from thirty-thousand pounds per month, to thirty-five thousand; whereby the Scottish nation is reduced, from ten-thousand pounds per month, to six. Is the dividend equal? Is not the Scottish nation under-valued, as of little worth, which formerly bore so high? Do not the English lose and suffer by that nation? And were it not better to be without it; and all such gentlemen in parliament, that have no more sense or resentment, what burthens they lay on this nation, so they may keep their places and salaries?

5. Whether the judges and commissioners of the Chancery, together with such who have great places in administering of law to the people, and very great advantages and profits thereby; be not likewise to be excepted against, as to parliamentary trust? It being most sure, that they will hardly be disposed to make such laws and governments, as may diminish the splendour or mercenariness of their profession; seeing they are known to be men who, from time to time, have always advanced their own trade, as their present height doth witness; who, to the great dishonour of the nation, while they profess themselves the ministers of justice and righteousness to the people, do (under that pretence) greaten and enrich themselves in the oppressions and miseries of the people.

6. And why is it, that the dispensers of the law, as well as the teachers of the Gospel⁷, should not be made incapable to sit and act in parliament, seeing there also is an old musty act to prohibit them so to do? But, it seems, their envy at the free dispensing of the Gospel, on the one hand; and their gain by the law, on the other; hinder them, that they cannot see, or take notice of it.

7. The like may be queried concerning the swordsmen's capacity to sit, whilst in pay; especially to decree and vote in levying of money, for three years together, and of other unheard-of oppressive ways, devised and practised for no other use, than to pay themselves their wages and salaries, now they do no work; unless it be to undo what they did before, and to reduce the well-affected people of this nation unto their first condition of slavery, to be ruled by mere will and pleasure.

Here follows a Catalogue of the Kinglings, or the Names of those Persons, who voted for a King⁸; the truest that as yet can be gotten, with the Names of the several Counties for which they serve.

Bedfordshire. Mr. Samuel Bedford.	Dorsetshire. Attor. Gen. Prideaux. Dennis Bond. Colonel Bingham. Colonel Fitz-James.	Middlesex. Sir William Roberts.
Berkshire. Edmund Dunch. John Dunch. Mr. Trumball. Mr. Hide.	Durham County. Capt. Thomas Lilburn. Mr. Anthony Smith.	Westminster. Colonel Grosvenor.
Buckinghamshire. Ld. Commis. Whitlock. Colonel Ingoldsby. Mr. Richard Hampden. Mr. Francis Ingoldsby.	Yorkshire. Doctor Bathurst.	London. Alderman Foot. Alderman Pack
Cheshire. Mr. Richard Leigh. Mr. Peter Brook.	Essex. 0	Monmouthshire. 0
Cambridgeshire. John Thurloe, secretary. Sir Francis Russel. Mr. Robert West.	Gloucestershire. Captain Stone.	Norfolk. Colonel Wood. Colonel Wilton. Major Burton.
Cornwall. Mr. Richard Carter. Mr. John Buller.	Herefordshire. Captain Mason.	Northamptonshire. 0
Cumberland. Captain Howard. George Downing. Mr. Briscoe.	Hertfordshire. Earl of Salisbury. Sir Richard Lucy.	Nottinghamshire. 0
Derbyshire. Gervas Bennet.	Huntingdonshire. Colonel Mountague. Mr. Henry Cromwell.	Northumberland. 0
Devonshire. 0	Kent. 0	Oxfordshire. Col. Nathaniel Fiennes. M. William Lenthal. Mr. Miles Fleetwood. Sir Francis Norris. Mr. Jenkinson. Mr. Crook.
	Leicestershire. Colonel Hacker.	Rutlandshire. 0
	Lincolnshire. Captain Fiennes.	Shropshire. Mr. John Ashton.
		Staffordshire. Sir Charles Ouseley.

⁷ Free preaching the Gospel and knowledge of God is become a crime, rendering men incapable to sit in the Parliament.

⁸ Or that the crown and title of King should be offered to Oliver Cromwell.

Mr. Nowell, scrivener.	Not known to what coun-	Englishmen for Scotland.
Captain Whitgreave.	ties they belong.	Col. Henry Markham.
Somersetshire.	Sir Thomas Wrath.	Lord Broghill.
Recorder Long.	Colonel Bret.	For Ireland.
Colonel John Gorges.	Major Beak, life-guard.	Recorder Bice.
Mr. Robert Aldworth.	Mr. Lawrence, the Presi-	Mr. Vincent Gooking.
John Ash, junior.	dent's son.	Alderman Tigh, mayor.
Southampton.	Mr. Walter, Sir Hardress's	Colonel Raynolds.
Lord Commiss. Lisle.	son.	Major Owen.
Mr. Smith, commissioner	Alderman Stevens.	Major Morgan.
of the navy.	Mr. Thelwell.	Sir Theophilus Jones.
Major Bowreman.	Wales.	Colonel Jephson.
Suffolk.	Colonel Philip Jones.	Colonel Bridges.
Mr. Francis Bacon.	Mr. Claypole, called Lord.	Colonel Fouke.
Mr. Nathaniel Bacon.	Mr. Trevor.	Lieutenant-col. Berisford.
Mr. Robert Brewster.	Mr. Williams.	Major Aston.
Surry.	Judge Glyn.	Captain Halsey.
Sir Richard Onslow.	Griffith Bedwerda.	
Mr. John Goodwin.	Colonel Phillips.	In all 120. Whereof,
Mr. Duncomb.	Mr. Upton.	of the council with the
Mr. Drake.	Mr. Hugh Price.	secretary — — 5
Mr. De la noy Southwark.	Mr. Lloyd.	Of his kindred — 12
Sussex.	Mr. Herbert.	Officers belonging to
Sir John Trevor.	Col. George Twisleton.	the army and navy in
Warwickshire.	Col. John Carter.	pay — — 20
Mr. Clement Throgmorton.	For Scotland.	Others receiving sala-
Mr. Lucy.	Lord Cockram.	ries, and lying under o-
Major Beake.	Sir Alexander Wedderbone.	ther engagements — 33
Worcestershire.	Mr. Ramsey, provost of	In all 70
Sir Thomas Rouse.	Edinburgh.	
Mr. Edward Pitt.	Sir John Weimes.	The other fifty are Scots
Wiltshire.	Lord Tweedale.	and Englishmen, of slight,
Mr. Gabriel Martin.	Doctor Douglas.	low, and inconsiderable
Lancashire.	Mr. Barclay.	principles; and will turn
Colonel Ireland.	Mr. Woosley.	any way their master will
Westmoreland. 0	Commissary Lockhart.	have them.
	Mr. Godfrey Rhodes.	
	Mr. Lockhart.	

It is reported, that several of these persons (because their Protector judged it not safe for him, at that time, to accept of their unworthy offer, being either really, or seemingly, dissatisfied,) went away; and would not give their vote for this new government, now pretended to be settled, called the 'Humble petition and advice.' Which, as is commonly spoken, was carried but by three voices, fifty-three against fifty; and is also against the desire and approbation of the good people of the nation. The names of which fifty-three persons should also have followed in the next place, could a true catalogue thereof have been obtained.

Nor are they hereby excused, who gave not their vote for one or the other, but seem to be dissatisfied with the present proceedings; because, by their sitting in the house, they pretend, as representers of the people (for whom they serve) to preserve their rights

and freedom free from the violence, tyranny, and oppression of all arbitrary powers whatsoever. Yet, notwithstanding, as by suffering their fellow-members to be kept from them, and judged without doors; sitting and adjourning at the Protector's pleasure, as if they were his servants; with many other unworthy things, which already have been, and further might be mentioned: so when they were endeavoured to be violated by the Kinglings; and being now really trampled upon, and given away, by the above-mentioned fifty-three persons (who, like so many slaves or vassals, with ropes about their necks, came bowing, and beseeching him to take the sole government of the three nations upon him, and to choose his successors) they do not cry out, protest, declare against, and withdraw from them, (which either is, or ought to be their liberty,) in the doing whereof, these unparalleled wickednesses (the fruit of this late apostasy) must of necessity fall to the ground; but, through love to their self-interest, unbelief, and not trusting the Lord with their outward concernments, in bearing a thorough testimony against them, and in standing for the good of the people, they go on with them, stifling their own consciences, and simply endeavouring to quiet and satisfy their oppressed brethren, by saying, 'He hath not the title of *King*;' as if all the evil, oppression, and arbitrariness lay in that; whenas he hath the same, and no less power, than if he had the title, and were called *King*: yea, a far greater power (as was said before) than what cost so much blood and treasure to oppose in the late King. Surely these slight pretences will not sufficiently excuse them in the day of their account, for thus doing.

Thus far the Description and Narrative: a few general queries are further proposed for a close to the whole. And it is humbly offered to the consideration of all ingenious people, and queried, Whether the afore-mentioned persons, who seem to dissent from the present proceedings, and their brethren the Kinglings, together with the fifty-three New Government-men, (who also, in time, may be more public,) fall not under some of these following characters? Such as know them, may judge.

First, Whether they are not those who worship the rising sun—? Or, such as have advanced great estates by the publick; and may be in fear of being called to an account—Or, such as are under hopes and expectations to raise themselves by the present interest—Or, as are lovers of popularity, and to be in high places—Or, as are of a low and timorous spirit, (not approving their hearts to God, or redeemed from men,) and so are fearful to give offence by their dissenting—Or, such as had some design to drive either for themselves, relations, or the⁹ clergy—Or, at best, were such as thought by their continuance there, they might so balance proceedings, as to prevent the running of things into that extremity, as otherwise they would? Not considering they did much more hurt in countenancing them with their presence, than they could do good by their opposition, which was but laughed at.

2. How the people of this nation should come to be concluded by, take notice of, or be subject to this new government, framed and made by these men; seeing they never chose them to any such purpose, nor petitioned¹⁰ them about any such thing? If they could assume a liberty to alter the government from what they found it: why might it not have become them to have attempted rather the reducing of it to such a form, as might have answered the just ends and expectations of those that sent them, than such a heightening as this, of an interest, formerly so much complained of? That an attempt to change the government, should be cause sufficient to dissolve his last Parliament; and not be an offence in this? Is there not cause to say, that having served the end for which they at first were chosen, viz. the advance of their Protector's interest, and his providing for his designs (which neither the Old Parliament, Little Parliament, nor his former Parliament would do), they are still continued, and kept as a reserve against the next opportunity to bring further slavery and oppression upon the nation?

⁹ A gentleman of this juncto swore he would go help to settle the church; that in matters of religion, scarce knows the right hand from the left.

¹⁰ Not one petition from any county or town in England, or dominions thereunto belonging.

3. Whether the government by the keepers of the liberties of England, the people's (who have not forfeited their liberties) representers, and a council of state was not, or may not be more successful for the good of the nation, and a great deal less burthensome and chargeable to the people than the instrument of Protectoral government, or the present government, of the humble petition and advice? Though the former of these was so highly boasted of, as if it came from heaven, and as if one iota of it might not be parted with; and that other foundations could no man lay¹¹: yet, in three years time, it is found utterly useless, destroying itself, so as that by the humble petition and advice, the idea and desire of Mr. Thurloe, and his master, rather than the invention and free proposal of his mercenary junc-to, it must (by their pretended authority) be changed for something that is likely to prove as useless as that was, if not more.

4. Whether those gentlemen, sitting in the house, who were chosen by the instrument of Protectoral government, which they have now cast out, and introduced their new government of the humble petition and advice, in the room thereof; were not in all reason to have ceased, and gone out, with the government that chose them; rather than, without the good people's consent, and a new choice (by this new device of adjournment) continued themselves as lords over the nation, in this their new-erected government?

5. Whether the good old cause, formerly contended and bled for, and which cost so much treasure in the hands of other instruments, in the Long and Little Parliament; be not, in a very great degree and measure (if not altogether) changed, and put into the hands of such, as sometimes were accounted either Neuters, or Malignants, or not so fit for so great a trust?

6. Whether the lawyers, or gentlemen of the long robe, having gained their Protector over to their interest and party, (as was learnedly and wittingly intimated by the Speaker, at the late inauguration, when he had divested him of his sword, and put on the King's robe, 'That now he might speak without offence, that his Highness was become a gown-man,') are not in a fairer and more likely way, and capacity, to hang up the soldiers' belts and swords in Westminster-hall, by the Scottish colours; than the soldiers are, to hang up the lawyers' gowns there; as they have oftentimes threatened they would. Alas, poor England! is not the law, and the administering of it, as corrupt, dilatory, burthensome, and vexatious as ever? Doth the striving of these two great interests produce any good to thee? (Which the soldiers once so highly pretended to;) or rather, is there not hereby an increase of thy pressures and burthens?

7. Whether the proceedings in the late convention, particularly the votes for another House, a standing army, a perpetual tax for customs to be let to farm, the hot attempts to build again the cursed ruins of Kingship: also resolutions to bring in public profession of faith, and tie up the public maintenance to conformity thereunto, with the endeavours that were used to have imposed a catechism upon us; do not clearly shew what a spirit is raised up again? And whether does not the tendency of these transactions (according to human probability) threaten a rendivation¹² of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny: against which a most solemn and signal testimony hath been borne amongst us by the Spirit of God in his people, the blood of the saints, and the dreadful effects of Providence?

8. Whether the great and high concernments, formerly the travel, the hopes and aims of many amongst us, were at all upon the hearts of those in power, or their late assembly; to wit, a farther reformation of things, in the regulation of law; the desolation of oppressive courts and committees; the abrogation of tithes, and supernumerary offices; the removal of all unnecessary burthens and public grievances; with all such laws, customs, and proceedings, as were calculated for the interest of mere will, and power of antichristian and arbitrary greatness? But on the contrary, hath not the result of late proceedings been

¹¹ See the Protector's (so called) speech to his Parliament, after the Old and Little Parliament were dissolved.

¹² See provision for tender consciences in the 'Humble Petition and Advice,' article 11. See their act for Catechizing, and that for the Lord's-day. See Bacon and Tate's ordinance against Blasphemy, now seemed to be revived by them.

such, as hath already, in part, healed the wound that these had received ; and holds out a clear intendment to restore them again to their former power, splendour, and exaltation ; to the making void (as much as in them lies) the dear effect of all the blood, prayers, appeals, and glorious deliverances, which have been laid out upon that account?

9. Whether the hard proceedings against James Nailer, in his usage and punishment (although his principle be not hereby owned) doth not, in a great measure, very nearly concern many godly, sober, and peaceable people, in the three nations? Have they any good assurance, they may not hereafter be dealt withal after the like manner? And whether the several professions amongst us, that by the national faith shall be concluded unorthodox, may not, from these beginnings, and other foundations already laid, expect to receive the like entertainment at the hands of this generation ; as the godly and faithful followers of Christ have at the hand of the worldly powers, and national church, in times past?

10. Whether the oath *ex officio*, used by the Bishops in their court of high-commission, judging the opinions, and racking the consciences of good people formerly, be not like to come in use again ; seeing swearing begins to grow so much into request, and to be so common, not only at court amongst great men, but also in their parliaments, appointing commissioners (together with the excise and customs) to let it to farm ; for do they not give power (as appears in their act for new buildings) to cause men to swear, who sometimes, it is to be feared, forswear themselves? Whether the land hath not formerly mourned, because of oaths? And is it not by this means likely to do so again?

11. Whether the spirit of the Star-chamber and council-board did not also rise up, and act vigorously in the House ; putting them upon the project of punishing persons for building new houses, for new families, which the Lord hath been pleased to multiply? As if his blessing, of increasing the people in and near London, were a judgment or curse ; and the increasing of dwellings for them, a crime to be punished by a mulct¹³ or fine. And, if the Lord shall be pleased to withhold the sword and pestilence, for seven years to come, as he hath done the last seven or ten years past, and continue the like increase of new families ; must not the aforesaid families either supplant the old, or go build new houses at Jamaica? Such being the present case already, that a house is hardly to be gotten for a family to live in. Which things being considered, might it not be desired, that those gentlemen of the long robe, and the great swordsmen their brethren, who have had such a fellow-feeling of the conditions and estates of the poor tradesmen and artificers, as to impose this burthen upon them, would lend them their Inns of Court and Chancery, White-hall, St. James's, and other great houses ; before the poor new families should lie out of doors, or have no houses to dwell in?

12. Whether extreme necessity did not at first introduce that so much abhorred tax (by the English) of excise, only to maintain the war, wherein they were then engaged, for justice and freedom, against a negative voice in the late King? And his claiming the sole power of the militia, as of right belonging to him? And whether the said tax was not intended to be continued for so long time only, till that necessity was over, and no longer, and the nation then to be reduced to its freedom again? And if so, whether there be not greater reason that that burthen should cease, and be taken off the people, than now in a time of peace (together with the customs) be made perpetual, and a standing revenue to hold up and maintain those very usurpations, and grievances, viz. a negative voice over the people's representers in parliament : and the sole power of the militia in the hands and disposal of a Protector, for the extirpation whereof it was first employed?

13. Whether the excise be not a tax far more burthensome than ship-money, in the

¹³ All houses without the walls of the city, for ten miles distance round, that, from thirty-seven years past, to the 29th of September, 1657, have been built upon new foundations ; are, by the late act, to pay a full year's rent to the Protector, as they may be let at a rack-rent ; in execution whereof so much oppression hath been exercised already, as would take up too much room to declare it.

days of the King? And whether the late¹⁴ continuing of it for two or three years on the people, without the least show of parliamentary authority; was not an act as criminal and obnoxious to justice, as was the levying of ship-money in that day? And surely had this late convention been of English spirits, and not basely unworthy; would they not rather have broken this yoke to pieces, and freed them from that devouring oppressing tax, than made it heavier¹⁵; and, by a law, bound it upon their shoulders for ever?

14. Were not these late acts for continuance of excise and customs for ever, with the delegated powers therein contained, to swear, fine, and imprison persons at pleasure, together with the act of farming out the same, with that of the new buildings, calculated and designed on purpose against the merchants, tradesmen, artificers, and the whole city of London, with the parts adjoining, to bring them down, and make them poor and low, that so, like a great tame ass, subdued to the yoke, they may be ridden at pleasure; and, as fit for nothing else but to bear the burthen of the whole nation? And, whether they be well rewarded by these new law-makers, for their former forwardness in the good old cause; in lending their money, and adventuring their lives at Gloucester, Newport-pagnel, Aulton, and other places, for the delivering their country from these very yokes, which are now (by a law) re-established, and imposed upon us?

15. Whether these pretended law-makers had not more of a selfish, than a public spirit, in declining the way of subsidy, and advancing their nineteen-hundred thousand pounds per year, for the support of their new government, by laying two thirds of the same on the merchants, tradesmen, and artificers; and the other third on the real and personal estates of the nation? Have they not hereby slipped their own shoulders from under the burthen; and unworthily laid it heavy on the industrious people; whilst the lawyers' great places and fees, with the swordsmen's salaries, and land purchased with the price of other men's blood, pay little or nothing at all?

16. Whether the gentlemen of this convention be not the very offspring of the old courtiers, and their dependants, the late patentees suppressed and turned out of the Long Parliament, at their first sitting, as unworthy to come there; in that they have bought and sold the people of this nation, by letting, and taking to farm, their rights and properties? Did ever any company of men before abuse parliamentary authority so, as these men have done; in making an act to let to farm the good people of this nation, their properties and goods, to such as will bid most; and authorizing their members to become like panders, to give entertainment to all comers, who have a mind to become patentees, and contract with them for power, to use the English free people as they please?

17. Whether the pretence, of advancing a revenue to the state, be a plea sufficient to warrant their oppressing, impoverishing, and enslaving the people of this nation, to fill the state's coffer; or rather the lusts of some great statesmen? And whether such, as buy dear, must not sell dear; and use such means to raise their money again, as will eat up the people to the very bones? Were not Sir Abraham Daws, Sir John Worsenham, and Sir Nicholas Crisp, counted criminal, and fined accordingly, for being such farmers? And whether the gentlemen that do, and shall now adventure to farm, may not, in time, come to be subjects of like justice, as was deservedly executed upon Empson and Dudley, with heir confederates, for their raking and peeling the people of this nation formerly?

18. Whether the raising up again the ruins of the fallen courts and monarchy, and the giving up the grand interests of the people, so lately redeemed with the price of much precious blood, out of the clutches of tyranny, into the hands of one single person again; and this done without the advice and consent, and against the hopes and expectations of the most faithful and honest part of the nation, be not an act highly unworthy the day that is upon us, and a fundamental ground of dissatisfaction to all, in whom there yet remains any

¹⁴ Which was done by the Protector (so called) and his council, no Parliament sitting: as the King and his council formerly raised ship-money.

¹⁵ Can any other be expected from mercenary soldiers, lawyers, salary-men, and other court-parasites?

sense of the late most honourable cause; and of the experiences and appearances that attended us, while we abode uncorrupted in the faithful and fervent prosecution thereof?

Upon the whole: whether these things, brought forth of late, be the natural issue of those noble beginnings formerly amongst us; or rather the degenerate fruits of that bitter root of apostasy that hath sprung up since, and of late more effectually manifested itself, under the face of authority; in an assembly of men, made up of persons ridden by the clergy, and acted by principles of self-security, and advancement of sons and kinsmen, servants, of low-spirited conquered Scots, curbed Cavaliers, and young boys; of corrupt lawyers, and others; who prostitute their light and principles to their Diana, to uphold their gain and profits; and of a declined sort of Independent, baptized, ranting, and mercurial divinity professors; and lastly, of mercenary soldiers and swordsmen, who have (out of fear, or covetous ends) apostatized, and unworthily betrayed as honourable and precious a cause as ever was on foot since the world began; of all which this juncto was made up and constituted.

POSTSCRIPT.

READER,

THIS had come sooner into thy hands, had not Providence hindered. What is wanting, either for matter or form, thou art desired (who art capable hereof) to make a supply in this or some other manner, more for the discovery of wickedness, and pleading for righteousness; and however the apostates of the day (with their Protector) may be displeased and rage thereat; yet, consider the encouragement our Lord Protector gives thee hereunto, Isa. ix. 16. Who complains (that in a day of transgressing, flying, and departing away from God, of oppression; yea, when truth failed, and he that departed from evil made himself a prey, and there was no judgment) that none called for justice, nor any man pleaded for truth, &c. and wondered there was no intercessor. Let not that lively active spirit, that once appeared for God, against tyranny and wickedness in the late King's days, now die; when the same spirit and wickedness is again revived and acting, even by them who were so instrumental to destroy the late generation, for these very things. Your friend, who, having in some measure been instrumental herein, hath no other apprehensions in his own spirit, but that he may before long be known, and dealt withal as others have been formerly upon the like account; yet the matter, herein contained, being such as (if justice could take place) might not only be signed to, pleaded for, but would certainly overcome. He is so far from being discouraged, or in the least damped in his spirit from the publishing hereof, that he had much rather (the Lord assisting) be exposed to a state of imprisonment all his days; yea, to death itself; than withdraw his assistance in the least measure, in this or any other thing, wherein he apprehends he may be useful to witness against the apostasy of this day, to revive the good old cause, and bring in justice and righteousness to the people.

A second Narrative of the late Parliament (so called). Wherein, after a brief Reciting some remarkable Passages in the former Narrative, is given an Account of their second Meeting, and Things transacted by them: As, also, how the Protector (so called) came swearing, 'By the living God;' and dissolved them, after two or three Weeks Sitting. With some Queries sadly proposed thereupon. Together with an Account of Three-and-Forty of their Names, who were taken out of the House, and others that sat in the Other House, intended for a House of Lords; but, being so unexpectedly disappointed, could not take Root; with a brief Character and Description of them. All humbly presented to public View. By a Friend to the good Old Cause of Justice, Righteousness, the Freedom and Liberties of the People, which hath cost so much Blood and Treasure, to be carried on in the late Wars, and are not yet settled.

* Cursed be the Man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth the City Jericho; he
'shall lay the Foundation thereof in his First-born, and in his youngest Son shall he set
'up the Gates of it.' JOSH. vi. 26.

† I have seen the Foolish taking Root; but suddenly I cursed his Habitation: His Chil-
'dren are far from Safety, and they are crushed in the Gate, neither is there any to de-
'liver them.' JOB v. 3. 4.

‡ He disappointeth the Devices of the Crafty, so that their Hands cannot find their Enter-
'prise.' JOB v. 12.

§ His Confidence shall be rooted out of his Tabernacle, and it shall bring him to the King
'of Terrors.' JOB xviii. 14.

Printed in the fifth Year of England's Slavery, under its new Monarchy, 1658.

THE late Parliament (so called) having made their new model of government, called, 'The Humble Petition and Advice,' before they had well licked their golden calf, or given the brat of their brain a name, were called upon to adjourn, and break up. And so, making more haste than good speed, they left things very raw and imperfect, which afterwards occasioned great contests; and, in fine, their dissolution.

According to the time they adjourned unto, they assembled again, being January 23, 1657; where, after the usual solemnities of devotion performed, they repair to the house, where they found some of their number commissioned, and empowered by the Protector, to swear them. The copy of which oath here follows:

THE OATH.

‘ I DO in the presence, and by the name of God Almighty, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my power in my place, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the power thereof; as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the profession and professors of the same: and that I will be true and faithful¹ to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, as chief magistrate thereof: and shall not contrive, design, or attempt any thing against the person, or lawful authority of the Lord Protector; and shall endeavour, as much as in me lies, as a member of parliament, the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people.’

Which having taken, and coming into the house, they find not only some of their fellow members², but their old servant and clerk, Mr. Scobell, gone; and a new one put in his room, whose name is Smith; which, with biting a little the lip, and something in way of compliment, as with a salvo of their rights and privileges, they for quietness-sake vote him (so put upon them) to be their clerk; and then settled themselves in a posture for their future work. And the first thing they undertake, is to keep a day of prayer in their house, which accordingly they did; and with great prudence, plowing with an ox and an ass together, the Presbyters and Independents being both called to officiate.

The other House, who would fain have the honour to be called ‘ Lords,’ or rather, a ‘ House of Lords,’ did likewise, in their house, pray at the same time, with much devotion, and did afterwards agree to send to the Parliament (or, as they would have them again called, ‘ the House of Commons’) by Baron Hill and Serjeant Windham (after the manner of the House of Peers formerly) to declare their message, viz. ‘ That the House of Lords, or the Lords of the other House, had sent unto them, to desire their joining with them, in a petition or message to the Protector, that a day of prayer³ and humiliation might be appointed through the whole commonwealth.’

Which message begat very high debates, and sharp speeches, from many that were not at the making this lame and imperfect model, so as the aforesaid messengers were fain to wait a long time; but at length got this answer, viz. ‘ That they would return an answer by messengers of their own.’

The house filling daily, and many of those that had been secluded in the former session coming in, the face of things in the house was in a great measure changed, another spirit appearing in them, than before; insomuch, that many made question of the things that were formerly done; some speaking at a high rate in behalf of the rights of the English free people, and against the wrongs and injuries that had been done unto them. This being done day by day, and the House not agreeing what to call that other House, which was as it were a nameless infant, and fain would be named the ‘ House of Lords,’ was the greatest part of their work, save that, now and then, some little matters came under debate, as the reviving and perfecting their committees, and reading some former bills. The Lord Craven’s case also was taken in, and the council on both parts heard at the bar of the house, with some other little matters that passed; but the greatest part of the time that was spent in the house, whilst sitting, was in considering and debating what they should call the other House.

Towards the end of their sitting, there came another message from the other House,

¹ Can those be faithful to the rights and liberties of the people, who swear to be faithful to the government in a single person, which, our too sad experience tells us, so naturally tends to destroy them? Do not those, who so swear, undertake to uphold that in the *Protector*, which cost so much blood and treasure to oppose, as antichristian and tyrannical in the *King*? Or is that a lawful authority, which, contrary to all precedents and privileges of Parliament, was carried but by three voices of them that were permitted to sit, there being at the same time at least eighty of the members purposely kept out, till that act was passed? Ought not things to be searched into, and set right upon this account? For that (Matt. vi. 24.) ‘ No man can serve two masters.’

² To the other House they were gone for greater preferment.

³ *In nomine Domini incipe omne matum.*

after the same manner as before, 'Desiring their joining with them, in moving the Protector to order, that the Papists, and such as had been in arms under the late King, might be exiled the city, and put out of the lines of communication,' &c. This message being also designed as a shoeing-horn, to draw on their owning of them, received a like answer as did the former.

As for the other House, who called themselves the 'House of Lords,' they spent their time in little matters, such as choosing of committees; and, among other things, to consider of the privileges and jurisdiction of their House, (good wise souls!) before they knew what their House was, or should be called.

About which time also, a petition was preparing, by some faithful friends to the good old cause, in and about the city of London, which was afterwards printed, and signed with many thousand hands; which petition makes mention of the several particulars that were the grounds of contest between the late King and Parliament, and the good people of the nation: and prayeth, 'The settling those good things sought for, as the reward and 'fruit of the blood and treasure so greatly expended in the late wars,' &c. This petition was ready to be presented to the Parliament, in a peaceable way, by the hands of about twenty, in the name of the rest; desiring to submit the issue thereof to God, and the wisdom of that assembly. The Court, hearing of it, were so affrighted, that they began to consider how they might quell, and put a stop to that honest spirit, which so appeared against them; the Protector, in the mean while, calling them 'traitors, and seditious persons,' &c. threatening 'to cut their skulls, and to tread them down as mire in the streets;' &c. and turned out Major Packer⁴ and most of the honestest officers of his regiment of horse for refusing to serve his lust therein: and apprehending that nothing could do it, but a speedy dissolving the Parliament, they put on resolutions accordingly, only waiting for a convenient opportunity. But something happening that morning, that put the Protector into a rage and passion, near unto madness, (as those at White-hall can witness,) he gets into a coach, and to the other House he comes, and sends for his son Fleetwood, Mr. Nathaniel Fines, and some others, acquainting them what his purpose and resolution was, and what he came to do; who, as it is said, earnestly endeavoured to dissuade him from it; but he refused to hearken, and in great passion swore, 'By the living God, he would dissolve them.' And so going into the house, and sending the black-rod, with a message, to call the Parliament to come unto him; he, with laying great blame upon them, and charging them with great crimes, and magnifying of himself (as his manner is), dissolved them. And this was the fourth Parliament broken by him, in five years.

Thus the two Houses fell, and perished together; their father, their good father, knocking his children on the head, and killing of them, because they were not towardly, but did wrangle one with another; but what hath he gained thereby? Solomon the wise saith, Prov. xiv. 1: 'Every wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish plucketh it down with her own hands.'

Upon the whole, it is humbly queried as follows, viz. First, Whether there may not very plainly be read, and perceived, a hand of displeasure from the Almighty; blinding the eyes, and infatuating the understandings of those unworthy persons, who, Hiel-like, would have built Jericho again⁵; to wit, fallen monarchy in a single person, and a House of Lords, with their negative voices over the good people of these lands, so as to cause or suffer them to do their work by halves; and to rise and leave so lame, nameless, and insignificant, their new model of the humble petition and advice, *aliàs*, instrument of bondage to the English nation. Let the curse of confusion, that attended the builders of Babel⁶, be considered of.

Secondly; Whether those so very wise gentlemen, who saw it so necessary, and ventured so high, and took so much pains to bring in again, and a-new restore fallen monarchy and

⁴ As Major Packer, Mr. Kiffin, and others; by endeavouring to promote the apostasy at its first rise, have occasioned many baptized persons, and others, simply to wander after the Beast. They now seeing their error, ought they not to declare it to the people, as also to stir them up to keep close with more refinedness in their spirits to the good old cause, and to be for no single person whatsoever, till he comes, whose right it is? Ezek. xxi. 26.

⁵ 1 Kings xvi. 34.

⁶ Gen. xi. 7. 9.

Kingship in these lands; could (according to the rules of common reason and understanding of men) imagine and conclude, that the gentlemen, who had formerly been so wronged, abused, and exasperated by them, in being kept out of the house; would be so easy and tame, as presently, without any more ado, address themselves to lick their new golden calf, and nurse up that Babylonish, Antichristian brat, they had no hand in, but were against the begetting of? And whether it doth not speak out a very great weakness in their counsels, and a marvellous shallowness in the Protector, his council, and whole number concerned in that design, in making no better provision before-hand, and seeing no further into the ensuing danger, so likely to attend their whole device, and the nameless infant of the other House, which they would have to be christened, and called by the name of 'Lords?'

Thirdly; Whether the good people of this nation have not cause for ever, as to abhor the memory of the fore-mentioned backsliding persons, so *that* Parliament (so called) in the first session of it, before their adjourning, that of their own heads, and contrary to their engagement to the instrument⁷ of government, by virtue whereof they sat at first; and without consulting the respective counties for whom they served, or so much as one petition delivered to them for that purpose, changed the government, and made one worse, harder, and more grievous to be borne, than that they put away; so fastening their new iron yoke upon the necks of the good people of this land, settling great taxes, with the customs and excise for ever, to keep this yoke upon them?

Fourthly; Whether those gentlemen kept out in the first sitting, (when those hard things were transacted, and afterwards coming in,) and being present in the second meeting, notwithstanding the so great reproach and dirt cast on them by the Court, are not highly to be honoured and esteemed, for appearing and standing, so far as they did, for right and freedom, against the bondages, which, contrary to engagements, covenants, and promises, were put upon the good people of this land? As well as to be blamed, not only for not declaring at their first seclusion, to inform the people of the wrong and injury done unto them; but also, when afterwards they were so arbitrarily and tyrannically dissolved, with the rest of their unworthy brethren, they took it so patiently, and went so tamely home, and did not, in the very time of the action, protest and declare against the tyrant, and then retire into their places (from whence they ought not to have stirred at first), and call him to the bar, or otherwise proceed against him for so doing? Had it not been suitable to, and well becoming that noble common-wealth spirit (so much pretended to) thus to have as sayed, though they had fallen in it? And whether the Army, in honesty, conscience, and duty, (their former declarations and engagements considered,) ought not to have assisted them therein, as well as they did the Long Parliament against the King and his courtiers, upon the like account? Do not the like cries of the souls of the saints⁸ under the altar, slain for the testimony which they held in their day, as also the blood of the saints, and others, slain in the late wars, and the sufferings of our dear brethren in prisons and banishment, call for this their testimony also? If so: ought not this honest word of re-proof for what is past, and of excitation for the future, to take place?

Fifthly; But since things were as they were, and, as it seems, could be no better; Whether all good people, in these nations, have not great cause exceedingly to bless and praise the Lord, (though they owe little to the instrument, who, Ashur-like, had other ends,) that the late Parliament (so called) was dissolved? Who were, many of them, such mercenary, salary, and self-interested⁹ men, as, in all probability, had they continued much longer, would have over-voted the lovers of freedom, and so have perfected their instrument of bondage, and riveted it on the necks of the good people for ever by a law, and thereby made them vassals and slaves perpetually. But, hitherto, the Lord hath, in a great measure, frustrated their wicked designs, blessed be his holy Name!

Sixthly; Whether the Protector (so called) be not a great destroyer of the rights and liberties of the English nation? For hath he not engrossed the whole power of the militia

⁷ The first instrument is not hereby owned, but abhorred as much as the latter, though I thus speak.

⁸ Rev. vi. 9, 10.

into his own hand? The right also of property? Power of judging all matters of the highest and greatest concernment? And doth he not take on him to be sole judge of peace and war, of calling and dissolving parliaments? Raising money without consent in parliament? Imprisoning persons without due form of law, and keeping them in durance at pleasure; using the militia in his own hand against the good people, in these fore-named things, and against their representers in parliament.

Seventhly; Whether the Protector, and the great men his confederates, be not rather to be termed fanatick, whimsical, and sick-brained, than those (who remaining firm to, and, being more refined in their former, good, and honest principles, will upon no account be drawn to desert the good old cause) they account and call so? And whether this unsettledness in their government, and changing both it and their principles, in so short a time; and going so diametrically contrary to their former honest protestations, declarations, sermons, and actings, doth not in the view of all the world declare them to be so?

Eighthly; Whether the Protector (so called) be not that himself, which he untruly charged upon the members turned out of the little Parliament (so called), viz. 'A destroyer of magistracy and ministry?' Of magistracy, in breaking four Parliaments in five years; and pulling up by the roots, what in him lieth, the very basis and foundation of all just power, to wit, the interest of the good people of this commonwealth; making himself, and his own will and lust, the basis and foundation thereof? And doth he not at his pleasure suppress and destroy all military and civil power, and governors that submit not thereunto? Is he not likewise a great destroyer of ministry, in taking from them their religious, or divine capacities, putting them into that of lay or common? And accordingly, in a professed way, preferring them to places of advantage by the triers?

Ninthly; Whether the Protector be so wise and understanding, so tender and careful of the common interest (as is pretended to) above all others whatsoever? Yea, above and beyond the four Parliaments he hath dissolved? And may it not be enquired how he came to this great height of knowledge and absolute understanding, seeing there are very many worthy patriots, sometimes his equals, at least, of as high a descent, of as good breeding, of as great parts, of as fair an interest, as also as well versed in government as himself? Whether it may not be wondered at, that he should be so exceeding wise, and tender above all, even above Parliaments themselves?

Tenthly; Whether Sir Henry Vane, Major-general Harrison, the late President Bradshaw, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Lieutenant-general Ludlow, with hundreds more of worthy patriots, that have ventured far in their country's cause, for justice and freedom, may not rationally be thought to be as careful and tender of the good of their country, as the Protector?

Eleventhly; Whether it doth not rankly savour of high pride and arrogancy in the Protector (so called) to set up his sense and judgment, as the standard for the whole nation, even Parliaments themselves? And, whether thus to do, be not the sad fruit of enthusiasm, one of the great errors of this day and time?

Twelfthly; Whether the Protector, being so highly conceited of his own understanding, so changeable and uncertain in his principles and resolutions, so given up to his passion and anger, as against all advice and counsel, in a condition near unto madness, to swear 'by the living God' he would dissolve the late Parliament, and accordingly did so, though the doing of it tended to the hazard of the commonwealth. Whether he, according to reason, can be thought a person capable, and fit, to rule and govern this great, so wise, and noble a people?

Thirteenthly; Whether, since the Protector assumed the government, the state and condition of this nation be not very greatly impaired? their land-forces wasted and consumed at Hispaniola, Jamaica, Mardike, and elsewhere? their shipping lessened and diminished; their stores and provisions for sea and land expended and consumed without profit; their magazines emptied; their treasures wasted; their trade in a great measure lost and decayed; and very great new debts contracted, little of old being satisfied? And whether all this be not the bitter fruit of apostasy and treachery, and setting up a single person, as

chief magistrate, contrary to the engagements. And the casting away of that religious cause of freedom, justice, and righteousness, this land was so engaged in?

Lastly; Whether the Protector (so called) will not, in all likelihood, dissolve the next Parliament also, if they begin to question, and make debates of former transactions, and do not presently, without any disputing, proceed to perfect the new model, of the 'Humble petition and advice?' What assurance shall be given to the countries and cities that shall choose, or to the gentlemen chosen, that they shall not be served as those before were? And whether, if the honest citizens shall begin to make ready their former sober, and very worthy petition, or one of the like nature, it will not be looked at again, as a crime little less than treason at the court, and become a means of sudden dissolution to the next Parliament also? Alas, for poor England! What will become of thee in the end? How hast thou lost thyself, and thy good old cause? And whither will these masters of bondage carry thee?

A List of their Names who were taken out of the House, and others, (being Forty-three⁹ in Number,) that sat in the other House, so greatly designed for a House of Lords; with a brief Description of their Merits and Deserts. Whereby it may easily appear, how fit they are to be called, as they call themselves, Lords; as also being so very deserving, what pity it is they should not have a Negative Voice over the free People of this Commonwealth.

1. **RICHARD** Cromwell, eldest son of the Protector (so called), a person of great worth and merit, and well skilled in hawking, hunting, horse-racing, with other sports and pastimes; one whose undertakings, hazards, and services for the Cause cannot well be numbered or set forth, unless the drinking of King Charles's, or, as is so commonly spoken, his father's landlord's health; whose abilities in praying and preaching, and love to the sectaries, being much like his cousin Dick Ingoldsby's, and he so very likely to be his father's successor, and to inherit his noble virtues, in being the light of the eyes, and breath of the nostrils of the old heathenish popish laws and customs of the nation, especially among the learned; the University of Oxford have therefore thought fit, he being also no very good scholar, to choose him their chancellor. And though he was not judged meet (not having a spirit of government for it) to have a command in the army, when there was fighting; or honest and wise enough to be one of the Little Parliament; yet is he become a colonel of horse, now fighting is over: as also taken in to be one of the Protector's council, and one of the other House, and to have the first negative voice over the good people of this commonwealth, being in so hopeful a way to have the great negative voice over the whole after his father's death.

2. Commissioner Fiennes, son of the Lord Say, a member sometime of the Long Parliament, and then a colonel under the Earl of Essex, had the command and keeping of Bristol, but gave it up cowardly (as it is said), for which he had like to have lost his head; he, being a lover of Kingship and Monarchy, as well as his father, was taken in by the Protector at his first setting up, to be one of his council, and made commissioner of the great seal, as also keeper of the privy seal, whereby his interest and revenue is raised, from two or three hundred per annum, to two or ¹⁰ three thousand, and more. And for his merits and greatness, being after the old mode, he was taken out of the late Parliament, to be the mouth of the Protector in that other House; and so is fit (no question) to have the second negative voice over the good people of these lands.

3. Henry Lawrence, a gentleman of a courtly breed, and a good trencher-man; who, when the Bishops ruffled in their pride and tyranny, went over to Holland, afterwards

⁹ All of them, but four, are salary-men, sons, kinsmen, and otherwise engaged to the Protector and allied to his confederates. ¹⁰ As saith the Book of Rates, or former Narrative.

came back, and became a member of the Long Parliament; fell off at the beheading of the late King, and change of the government, for which the Protector, then lieutenant-general, with great zeal declared, 'That a Neutral spirit was more to be abhorred than a Cavalier spirit, and that such men as he were not fit to be used in such a day as that, when God was cutting down Kingship root and branch;' yet came in play again, upon design, in the Little Parliament, and contributed much to the dissolving of them, as also setting up the Protector, and settling the instrument of government and a single person; affirming, 'That other foundation could no man lay.' For which worthy services, and as a snare or bait to win over, or at least quiet the baptized people, himself being under that ordinance, he was made and continued president of the Protector's council, where he hath signed many an arbitrary and illegal warrant for the carrying of honest faithful men to prisons and exile without cause, unless their not apostatizing with them from just and honest principles. His merits are great and many, being every way thorough-paced, and a great adorer of Kingship; so as he deserveth, no doubt, and is every way fit, to be taken out of the Parliament, to have the third place of honour, and negative voice in the other House, over the people of these lands.

4. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, a gentleman formerly of the Long Parliament, and a colonel of their army; then lieutenant-general, afterwards married honest Ireton's widow, the Protector's eldest daughter. Major-general Lambert being put by, by the Parliament, from going over to Ireland, as lord-lieutenant, (it savouring too much of monarchy,) and being not willing to accept of a lower title, he was sent over thither under the title of Lord-deputy in his room, where he continued about three years; and, to put a check upon those godly men there, who are no friends to monarchy, he was sent for over again, and cajoled in to be one of the Protector's council, as also major-general of divers counties in England: his salary supposed worth 6600 pounds¹¹ *per annum*, by all which he is become advanced to a princely interest and revenue. He is one of good principles, had he kept them, and of good words like his father-in-law; whereby he hath deceived many an honest man, and drawn them from the good old cause, and by that way hath greatly served the Protector's designs. His merits therefore are such, as he (no question) also deserves to be taken out of the House, and made a peer; and to have a negative voice in the other House, when it shall be named *Lords*; notwithstanding he so helped in the Army and Long Parliament to throw down the House of Lords, and to destroy their negative voice, and did fight against it in the King.

5. Colonel Desborough, a gentleman or yeoman of about sixty or seventy pounds *per annum*, at the beginning of the wars; who being allied to the Protector by marriage of his sister, he cast away his spade, and took a sword, and rose with him in the wars; and in like manner, upon the principles of justice and freedom, advanced his interest very much; if he were not of the Long Parliament, he was of the Little one, which he helped to break. Being grown considerable, he cast away the principles by which he rose, and took on principles of violence and tyranny, and helped to set up the Protector; for which he was made one of his council, and one of the generals at sea¹², and hath a princely command at land; being major-general of divers counties in the West, as also one of the lords of the Cinque-ports. His interest and greatness being so far advanced, his merits must needs be great, and he every way fit to be taken out of the House, and put into the other House; with a negative voice over the good people, for that with his sword he can set up that again in the Protector and himself, which before he cut down in the King and Lords.

6. Lord Viscount Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, was of the Long Parliament to the last, and at the change of government, and making laws of treason against a single person's rule; and, no question, concurred with the rest therein: he was also of the Little Parliament, and of all the Parliaments since; was all along of the Protector's

¹¹ See the former Narrative.

¹² His salary three-thousand two-hundred and thirty-six pounds *per annum*. See the former Narrative, or Book of Rates.

council¹³, and was never to seek; who having learned so much by changing with every change, and keeping still, like his father-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, and Peter Sterry, on that side which hath proved trump; nothing need farther be said of his fitness, being such a man of principles¹⁴, to be taken out of the Parliament, to have a settled negative voice in the other House, over all the good people of these lands, he being a lord of the old stamp already, and, in time, so likely to become a peer.

7. Sir Gilbert Pickering, knight of the old stamp, and of a considerable revenue in Northamptonshire, one of the Long Parliament, and a great stickler in the change of the government from kingly, to that of a commonwealth; helped to make those laws of treason against Kingship; hath also changed with all changes that have been since; he was one of the Little Parliament, and helped to break it, as also of all the Parliaments since; is one of the Protector's council¹⁵; and, as if he had been pinned to his sleeve, was never to seek; is become high-steward of Westminster; and, being so finical, spruce, and like an old courtier, is made lord-chamberlain of the Protector's household or court; so that he may well be counted fit and worthy to be taken out of the House, to have a negative voice in the other House, though he helped to destroy it in the King and Lords. There are more besides him, that make themselves transgressors, by building again the things which they once destroyed.

8. Walter Strickland, sometime agent, or ambassador to the Dutch in the Low-countries, from the Long Parliament, and a good friend of theirs; at length became a member of that Parliament; was also of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break; was of the Parliament since, and is now of the Protector's council¹⁶; he is one that can serve a commonwealth and also a prince, so he may serve himself and his own ends by it; who having so greatly profited by attending the Hogan-Mogans¹⁷, and become so expert in the ceremony postures, and thereby so apt like an ape, (with his brother Sir Gilbert, and the president,) to imitate or act the part of an old courtier in the new court, was made captain-general of the Protector's Magpie, or Gray-coated foot-guard in Whitehall, as the Earl of Holland formerly to the King; who, being every way of such worth and merits, no question can be made, or exceptions had, against his fitness to be taken out of the Parliament, to exercise a negative voice in the other House, over the people of this commonwealth.

9. Sir Charles Ousely, a gentleman who came something late into play on this side, being converted from a Cavalier in a good hour. He became one of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to set the Protector on the throne; for which worthy service, he was, as he well deserved, taken in to be one of his council; was also of the Parliaments since; a man of constancy and certainty in his principles, much like the wind; and, although he hath done nothing for the Cause whereby to merit, yet is he counted of that worth, as to be every way fit to be taken out of the Parliament, to have a negative voice in the other House, over such as have done most, and merited highest in the Cause, (the Protector and his fellow Negative-men excepted,) and over all the commonwealth besides.

10. Mr. Rouse, one of the Long Parliament, and by them made provost or master of Eaton-college; he abode in that Parliament, and helped to change the government into a commonwealth, and to destroy the negative voice in the King and Lords; was also of the Little Parliament, and their Speaker; who, when the good things came to be done which were formerly declared, and for not doing of which the old Parliament was pretendedly dissolved, being an old bottle; and so not fit to bear that new wine, without putting it to the question, left the chair, and went with his fellow Old-Bottles to White-hall, to surrender their power to the General; which he, as Speaker, and they, by signing a parchment or paper, pretended to do. The colourable foundation for this apostasy, upon the monarchical

¹³ His salary one-thousand pounds *per annum*.

¹⁴ Ask his late wife's sister, the Lady Sands.

¹⁵ His salary one-thousand pounds *per annum*, besides his other places.

¹⁶ His salary one-thousand pounds *per annum*, besides his other places.

¹⁷ [The Hollanders.]

foundation being thus laid, and the General himself, as Protector, seated thereon, he became one of his council¹⁸, good old man, and well he deserved it, for he ventured hard; he was also of the Parliaments since, and, being an aged venerable man, (all exceptions set aside,) may be counted worthy to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House, over all that shall question him for what he hath done, and over all the people of these lands besides, though he would not suffer it in the King and Lords.

11. Major-general Skippon, sometime called 'The honest English Captain in the Netherlands,' was afterwards captain of those of the Artillery-ground, in London; who, refusing to attend the King at York when he sent unto him, and adhering to the Parliament, was by them made major-general under the Earl of Essex, under whom many an honest man lost his life in fighting for the cause of freedom and justice, and against the negative voice of the King and Lords; whose blood surely will lie at somebody's door and cry, 'He was of the Long Parliament, and helped to change the government, and make the law of treason against a single person's rule, and was outed with them.' After the Little Parliament (for endeavouring to bring forth what the old Parliament was turned out for not doing) was dissolved, he was brought in play again by means of Philip Nye, metropolitan trier of White-hall, and made one of the Protector's council¹⁹, and major-general of the City in the Decimating-business; hath been of all the Parliaments since; who being so grave and venerable a man, his error, in leading men to fight against the King's negative voice, may be forgiven him, and he admitted, as fit to be taken out of the House, to have a negative voice in the other House himself, not only over those who have fought along with him, but all the people of these lands besides; the rather, for that he is very aged, and not likely to exercise that power long.

12. Colonel Sydenham, a gentleman of not very much *per annum* at the beginning of the wars, was made governor of Malcomb-Regis, in the West; became one of the Long Parliament, and hath augmented his revenue to some purpose; he helped, no question, to change the government, and make those laws of treason against Kingship; was also of the Little Parliament, and of those that were since; one also of the Protector's council²⁰, hath a princely command in the Isle of Wight, is one of the commissioners of the treasury; by all which he is grown very great and considerable. And, although he hath not been thorough-paced for tyranny in time of Parliaments, yet, it being forgiven him, is judged of that worth and merit as to be every way fit to be taken out of the House, to have a negative voice in the other House over all his dependents, and all the people of these lands besides; hoping thereby he may be so redeemed, as never to halt or stand off for the future against the Protector's interest.

13. Colonel Mountague, a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, of a fair estate, a colonel formerly in the Association-army, under the Earl of Manchester, where he, for some time, appeared (whilst Colonel Pickering lived) to be a Sectary, and for laymen's preaching, as also a lover of the rights and freedoms of the people, rather than of the principle he now acts by; but, that honest Colonel dying, some other things also coming between, he became of another mind; he gave off being a soldier about the time of the new model, it is likely upon the same account with Colonel Russel; did not greatly approve of beheading the King, or change of the government, or the army's last march into Scotland, as the Protector (then General) may witness; yet, after the war was ended at Worcester, and the old Parliament dissolved, he was taken in (though no change appearing from what he was before) to be of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to set up monarchy a-new in the Protector, which he designedly was called to do; for which worthy service he was made one of the council²¹, a commissioner of the treasury, and one of the generals at sea; he was of the Parliaments since: all which considered, none need ques-

¹⁸ His salary, for both places, fifteen-hundred pounds *per annum*.

¹⁹ His salary, for both places, one-thousand six-hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence.

²⁰ His salary, for both places, two-thousand pounds *per annum*.

²¹ His salary, three-thousand ninety-five pounds *per annum*.

tion his fitness to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House, not only over the treasury and sea-men, but all the good people of these lands besides.

14. Colonel Philip Jones, his original is from Wales; at the first of the wars he had about seventeen or twenty pounds *per annum*, and improved his interest upon the account of the Cause; first, was an agent for some Parliamenters to London, where gaining acquaintance, and making good use of them, he became governor of a garrison, then a colonel, as also steward of some of the Protector's lands in Wales, and one of the Long Parliament, after of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to advance the General, his master, to be Protector; for which goodly service, himself was advanced to be one of his council, afterwards comptroller of his household or court; he made hay while the sun shined, and hath improved his interest and revenue in land, well gotten²² (no question), to three-thousand pounds *per annum*, if not more: he is also very well qualified with self-denying principles to the Protector's will and pleasure, so as he is fit, no doubt, to rise yet higher, and to be taken out of the House to be a Lord, and to have a negative voice in the other House over all the good people in Wales, if they please; and over all the commonwealth besides, whether they please or not. All have not lost by the Cause, though some have.

15. Commissioner Lisle, sometime a counsellor in the Temple; one of the Long Parliament, where he improved his interest to purpose, and bought state-lands good cheap; afterwards became a commissioner of the great seal, and helped in parliament to change the government from Kingly to Parliamentary, or of a Commonwealth; changed it again to Kingly, or of a single person; and did swear the Protector at his first installing chief-magistrate, to the hazard of his neck, contrary to four²³ acts of parliament, which he helped to make; with others, that make it treason so to do. He hath lately retired for sanctuary into Mr. Rowe's church, and is still commissioner of the seal²⁴; and, being so very considerable in worth and merit, is also fit to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House over the good people, and all such who shall any way question him; he is since made president of the High-court (so called) of justice.

Treason never prospers:—What's the reason?

For, when it prospers, none dare call it treason²⁵.

16. Chief-Justice Glyn, sometime a counsellor at law, and steward of the court at Westminster, formerly one of the Long Parliament, and that helped to bait the Earl of Strafford, and bring him to the block; was recorder of London, and one of the eleven members impeached, by the Army, of treason²⁶, and by that Parliament committed to the Tower; the Protector, through apostasy, assuming the government, took him up and made him a judge²⁷; and finding him so fit for his turn, did also make him chief-justice of England; so that, of a little man, he is grown up into a great bulk and interest, and of complying principles to the life; who, being so very useful to advance and uphold the Protector's great negative voice, is thereby questionless (in his sense) fit to be taken out of the House, and to have a negative voice himself in the other House; not only over the people, but over the law he is to be chief-judge of; and in a capacity to hinder that no good law, for the future, be made for the ease of the people, or hurt of the lawyers' trade.

17. Bulstrode Whitlock, formerly a counsellor at law, one of the Long Parliament,

²² If part of the purchase-money was not paid with the great bribe of about three-thousand pounds, for which (as it is credibly reported) he hath been privately questioned; he would do well to clear himself, being very much suspected, having gotten so great an estate in so short a time.

²³ See these acts in a book called, 'The Looking-glass,' p. 43, 44.

²⁴ Salary, one-thousand *per annum*.

²⁵ [A couplet that may be found in Harington's State of the Church, and also among his Epigrams.]

²⁶ He helped to raise the City against the Army, and made the Speaker fly to the Army for shelter, and chose another Speaker in his room, in the King's behalf, and a great deal more.

²⁷ His salary, one-thousand pounds *per annum*.

profited there, and advanced his interest very greatly; became one of the commissioners of the great seal, one that helped to change the government, and make laws against a single person's rule. In the time of the Little Parliament, he went ambassador to Sweden in great state; that Parliament being dissolved, he agitated there for the Protector; then came over; and (when some alteration and pretended reformation was made in the chancery) he stood off from being any longer a commissioner of the seal, and became one of the supervisors of the treasury at one-thousand pounds *per annum* salary²⁸; he is one who is guided more by policy²⁹ than by conscience, and being on that account the more fit for the Protector's service, there is no question to be made of his worth and merit to be taken out of the House, to have a negative voice in the other House over the people there, though he helped to put it down in the King and Lords.

18. William Lenthal, a counsellor at law, made Speaker of the Long Parliament by the late King, sat it out in all changes, weathered many a storm and high complaint made against him, and was too hard and wieldy for all his opposers; his policy and good hap carried him on so, that he ended his being Speaker with the ending of that Parliament. For the time of his sitting, he advanced his interest and revenue very much; became master of the Rolls; purchased lands in others' names, as well as in his own, for fear of the worst. He was, to be sure, at the change of the government from Kingly, or of a single person and a House of Lords, as useless, chargeable³⁰, and dangerous; as likewise at the making those laws of treason against a single person, for the future (not yet repealed.) The Little Parliament, where some of his law-judicature was questioned, being dissolved, and the Protector taking the government upon him, he adventured to comply with the rest, notwithstanding the danger; that so he might keep his place and interest, and avoid a new storm or frown from the present power. Men need not seek far, or study much to read him, and what principles he acts by. All things considered, he may, doubtless, be very fit to be lord of the Rolls (being master already), and to be taken out of the Parliament to be made a Lord, and to have a negative voice in the other House over the people, as well as over the causes in the Rolls; being so thoroughly exercised in negatives at his own will and pleasure, as too many have sadly felt.

19. Mr. Claypole, son of Mr. Claypole in Northamptonshire, now Lord Claypole. He long since married the Protector's daughter; a person, whose qualifications not answering those honest principles, formerly so pretended to, of putting none but godly men into places of trust, was a long time kept out; but since the apostasy from those principles, as also the practice brake in, and his father-in-law (the head thereof) came to be Protector; he was then judged good enough for that dispensation, and so taken in to be master of his horse³¹, as Duke Hamilton to the King. Much need not be said of him; his relation, as son-in-law to the Protector, is sufficient to bespeak him every way fit to be taken out of the House, and made a Lord; and, having so long time had a negative voice over his wife, Spring-Garden, the ducks, deer, horses, and asses in James's Park, is the better skilled how to exercise it again in the other House, over the good people of these nations, without any gainsaying or dispute.

20. Lord Faulconbridge, a gentleman, whose relations are most Cavaliers, (his uncle formerly governor of Newark for the King against the Parliament,) was absent over the water, in the time of the late wars; a Neuter at least, if not disaffected to the Cause; came back, the wars being over, and hath lately married one of the Protector's daughters, and was in a fair way, had things hit right, to have been one of his council, as well as his son-in-law: however, suitable to the times, he is lately made a colonel of horse. His relation, both to the old and new monarchy, may sufficiently plead his worth and merits, not only to have his daughter, but also a negative voice in the other House, over all that adventured their lives in the Cause formerly, and over all the people of these lands besides.

²⁸ See Book of Rates.

²⁹ Ask George Cockain.

³⁰ See two Declarations of Parliament; one against the Lords, the other against Kingship.

³¹ His salary is not well known.

21. Colonel Howard. His interest, which is considerable, is in the North; his relations there are most Papists and Cavaliers, whom he hath courted and feasted kindly, and served their interest to purpose³²; it is no matter who lost by it: in favour to Sir Arthur Haslerigg, was made captain of the General's life-guard, when he was in Scotland; wherein he continued for some time in England, after he was Protector; but, not being a kinsman, or a person further to be confided in, in that place, was shuffled out from thence, and (to stop his mouth) made a colonel, and, as the book says, a major-general, and had power of decimation; as also made governor of Berwick, Tinnmouth, and Carlisle; hath also tasted with the first of that sweet fountain of new honour, being made a Viscount. He was of the Little Parliament, and all the Parliaments since; is a member of Mr. Cockain's church, and of very complying principles (no question) to the service of the new Court, from whence he received his new honour; and having with his fellow, Lord Claypole, so excellent a spirit of government over his wife, family, and tenants in the country, to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House might seem of right to belong unto him, being also lorded before-hand.

22. Lord Broghil. His rise and relation, for means, is Ireland: a gentleman of good parts and wit, able to make a romance, but was not looked on formerly, by those of the good old cause, as a person fit to be trusted with the command of one town or castle in Ireland; yet is he now, by this happy change, become a goodly convert to be confided in, and is made president of the Protector's council in Scotland³³. He was of the latter Parliaments, a great Kingling, and one that, in the last Parliament (so called) put on hard that way. Wherefore, it were great pity, he being also a Lord of the old stamp, and so well gifted, if he should not be one to have a negative voice in the other House over the people of England and Scotland, as well as of Ireland; it being a good while since, and almost forgotten, that the Protector said, 'It would never be well, and we should never see good days, whilst there was one Lord left in England, and until the Earl of Manchester was called Mr. Mountague.'

23. Colonel Pride, then Sir Thomas, now Lord Pride, (some time an honest brewer in London,) went out a captain upon the account of the Cause, fought on, and in time became a colonel; did good service in England and Scotland, for which he was well rewarded by the Parliament; with cheap debentures of his soldiers and others, he bought good lands at easy rates; gave the Long Parliament a purge, fought against the King and his negative voice, and was against the negative voice of his brethren, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being unwilling to have any in the land; but hath now changed his mind and principles with the times, and will fight for a negative voice in the Protector, and also have one himself, and be a Lord; for he is a knight of the new order already, and grown very bulky and considerable. It is hard to say how the people will like it. However, his worth and merits, rightly measured, will (no question) render him fit to be taken out of the House to be one of the other House, and to have a negative voice, not only over the Bears, but all the people of these lands, though he did formerly so oppose and fight against it; and the noble lawyers will be glad of his company and friendship, for that there is now no fear of his hanging up their gowns by the Scottish colours in Westminster-hall, as he formerly so greatly boasted and threatened to do.

24. Colonel Hewson, then Sir John, now Lord Hewson, some time an honest shoemaker or cobbler in London, went out a captain upon the account of the Cause, was very zealous, fought on stoutly, and in time became a colonel; did good service, both in England and Ireland; was made governor of Dublin, became one of the Little Parliament, and of all the Parliaments since; a knight also of the new stamp. The world being so well amended with him, and the sole so well stitched to the upper leather, having gotten so considerable an interest and means, he may well be counted fit to be taken out of the House to be a Lord, and to have a negative voice in the other House, over all of the

³² An honest man told some of the council worse things of him, than these.

³³ His salary, one-thousand four-hundred and seventy-four pounds *per annum*.

gentle craft, and Cordwainers' company in London, if they please. But, though he be so considerable, and of such merit in the Protector's, as also in his own esteem, not only to be a knight, but also a lord, yet it will hardly pass for current with the good people of these lands, it being so far beyond the last. Neither will they think him fit (saving the Protector's pleasure) to have a negative voice over them, though he formerly fought so stiffly against it in the King and Lords, in order to set them free.

25. Colonel Barkstead, then Sir John, now Lord Barkstead, some time a goldsmith in the Strand, of no great rank, went out a captain to Windsor-castle, was some time governor of Reading, got at length to be a colonel, then made lieutenant of the Tower by the old Parliament. The Protector (so called) finding him fit for his turn, continued him there, and also made him major-general of Middlesex, in the Decimating-business, and assistant to Major-general Skippon, in London. He is one to the life to fulfil the Protector's desires, whether right or wrong; for he will dispute no commands, nor make the least demur, but, in an officious way, will rather do more than his share. His principles for all arbitrary things whatsoever being so very thorough, let friends or foes come to his den, they come not amiss, so he gets by it; yea, rather than fail, he will send out his armed men to break open other men's houses, and seize their persons, and bring them to his jail, and then at his pleasure turns them out. He hath erected a principality in the Tower, and made laws of his own, and executes them, in a martial way, over all comers; so that he hath great command, and makes men know his power. He was of the latter Parliaments; is one of the commissioners, like the Bishops panders in the King's days, for suppressing truth in the printing-presses, an oppression once the Army so greatly complained of; is, for sanctuary, gotten in to be a member of Mr. Griffith's church; is also knighted after the new order, and, the better to carry on the Protector's interest among the ear-bored slavish citizens, is lately become an alderman³⁴; so that he hath advanced his interest and revenue to purpose. His titles and capacities, emblazoned, will sufficiently argue his worth and merits, and speak him out fully to be a man of the times, and every way deserving to be yet greater, and, Haman-like, to be set higher. All which considered, it would seem a wrong not to have taken him out of the House, and made him a Lord of the other House, with a negative voice there, as well as where he is; the rather, for that he knows so well how to exercise the same, having used it so long a season, as likewise that he may obstruct and hinder whoever shall question, or desire justice against him for his wicked doings.

26. Colonel Ingoldsby, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, allied to the Protector; he betook himself to the wars on the right side, as it happened, and in time became a colonel: a gentleman of courage and valour, but not very famous for any great exploits, unless for beating the honest Inn-keeper of Aylesbury in White-hall, for which the Protector committed him to the Tower, but was soon released. No great friend of the Sectaries (so called), or the cause of freedom then fought for, as several of his then and now officers and soldiers can witness. And, although it be well known, and commonly reported, That he can neither pray nor preach, yet, complying so kindly with the new Court, and being in his principles for Kingship, as also a colonel of horse, and the Protector's kinsman, he may well be reckoned fit to be taken out of the House, and made a Lord; and to have a negative voice in the other House, over the good people of this land: the rather, for that he, as a gentleman, engaged and fought only for money and honour, and nothing else.

27. Colonel Whaly, formerly a woollen-draper, or petty merchant, in London; whose shop being out of sorts, and his cash empty, not having wherewithal to satisfy his creditors, he fled into Scotland for refuge, till the wars began; then took on him to be a soldier, whereby he hath profited greatly; was no great zealot for the Cause, but, happening on the right side, he kept there, and at length was made commissary-general of the horse. He was of these latter Parliaments, and, being so very useful and complying to promote

³⁴ His salary, two-thousand pounds *per annum*.

the Protector's designs, was made major-general³⁵ of two or three companies. He is for a King, or Protector, or what you will, so it be liked at court; is, with his little brother Glyn, grown a great man, and very considerable, and wiser (as the Protector saith) than Major-general Lambert; who having, with his fellow-lords, Claypole and Howard, so excellent a spirit of government over his wife and family, being also a member of Sir Thomas Goodwin's³⁶ church, no question need be made of his merit of being every way fit to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the House, to have a negative voice in the other House over the people, for that he 'never, as he saith, fought against any such thing, as a negative voice.'

28. Colonel Goff, now Lord Goff that would be, some time Colonel Vaughan's brother's apprentice, (a salter in London,) whose time being near or newly out, betook himself to be a soldier, instead of setting up his trade; went out a quarter-master of foot, and continued in the wars till he forgot what he fought for: in time became a colonel, and, in the outward appearance, very zealous and frequent in praying, preaching, and pressing, for righteousness and freedom, and highly esteemed in the army, on that account, when honesty was in fashion; yet, having, at the same time, like his General, an evil tincture of that spirit, that loved and sought after the favour and praise of man, more than that of God, (as, by woeful experience in both of them, hath since appeared,) he could not further believe, or persevere, upon that account, but by degrees fell off. And this was he, who, with Colonel White, brought musqueteers, and turned the honest members, left behind in the Little Parliament, out of the House. Complying thus kindly with the Protector's designs and interest, he was made major-general³⁷ of Hampshire and Sussex; was of the late Parliament; hath advanced his interest greatly, and is in so great esteem and favour at court, that he is judged the only fit man to have Major-general Lambert's place and command, as major-general of the army; and, having so far advanced, is in a fair way to the Protectorship hereafter, if he be not served as Lambert was. He, being so very considerable a person, and of such great worth, there is no question of his deserts and fitness to be taken out of the House to be a Lord, and to have a negative voice in the other House; the rather, for that he 'never, in all his life, (as he saith) fought against any such thing, as a single person, or a negative voice, but only to put down Charles, and set up 'Oliver:' and hath his end.

29. Colonel Berry. His original was from the iron-works, as a clerk, or overseer; betook himself to the wars, on the Parliament-side; profited greatly in his undertaking, and advanced his interest very far; who, though he wore not the jester's coat, yet, being so ready to act his part and please his General, in time he became a colonel of horse in the army, afterwards a major-general of divers counties, a command fit for a prince; wherein he might learn to lord it in an arbitrary way, before-hand, at his pleasure. That he is of complying principles with the Court, his preferment sufficiently speaks out; neither ought any other to be believed of him, or any of his brethren, without a real demonstration to the contrary; so that he may well pass for one to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice over the people, being so far advanced, and gotten out of the pit above them; and, if he did formerly fight against a negative voice and lording it over the people, it may be forgiven him.

30. Colonel Cooper, some time a shop-keeper, or salter, in Southwark, a member of³⁸ Thomas Goodwin's church; one formerly of very high principles for common justice and freedom, like his brother Tichborn. The army, then in Scotland, sending into England for faithful praying men, to make officers of; the honest people in the Borough recommended him to the General, in order to have a command; who accordingly went down, but left his principles behind him, and espoused others; was made a colonel at the first

³⁵ His salary, eleven-hundred and forty-one pounds, three shillings, and three pence *per annum*.

³⁶ Note that man for what you may read in the postscript.

³⁷ His salary, eleven-hundred and forty-one pounds, three shillings, and three pence, besides major-generalship.

³⁸ Note him for the goodly speech he made to his new Protector.

dash, and, though he began late, yet hath so well improved his interest, that he hath already gotten as many hundreds *per annum*, as he had hundred pounds, when he left his trade. He hath a regiment of foot in Scotland, and another in Ireland, where he is major-general of the North, in Venables's room, and governor of Carrickfergus, so as he is in a very hopeful way to be a very great man indeed. He was of the latter Parliaments, and there is full proof, that he is every way thorough-paced and true to the new Court-interest; so that, upon the whole, he also may be counted fit to be a Lord of the other House, and to have a negative voice over the good people in Southwark, if they please; and all the people of these lands besides, it being the Protector's pleasure: the rather, he being the mirror of the times for thorough change of principles, Alderman Tichborn and O. P. excepted.

31. Alderman Pack, then Sir Christopher, now Lord Pack: his rise formerly was by dealing in cloth; near the beginning of the Long Parliament, was made an alderman; was then very discreet, and meddled little, more like a Neuter, or close Malignant, than a zealot for the Cause; was a commissioner of the customs, also sheriff and lord-mayor of London, next after Alderman Viner. The Protector taking on him the government, the sunshine of the new Court pleased him, and brought him in full compliance; he was one of the last Parliament, and zealous to re-establish Kingship in the person of the Protector³⁹, and judged the only meet man to bring the petition into the House, praying him to accept of, and take it upon him; which though he then refused, yet, as is reported, hath since repented his then refusal. However, the now Lord Pack deserves well at his hand for that good service, who being a true Kingling, and of right principles to the Court-interest, having also been a *Lord* (to wit, *Mayor*) once before; may, upon the whole, be counted very worthy to be again so called; and to have a negative voice, in the other House, over London, and all the people of these lands besides.

32. Alderman Tichborn, then Sir Robert, Knight of the new stamp, now Lord Tichborn; at the beginning of the Long Parliament, when a great spirit was stirring for liberty and justice, many worthy petitions and complaints were made against Patentees, the Bishops, and the Earl of Strafford: he being the son of a citizen, and young, fell in, and espoused the good cause and principles then on foot, and thereby became very popular, and was greatly cried up by the good people of the City, &c. His rise was first in the military way, where he soon became a colonel; and, by the Parliament, made lieutenant of the Tower of London; and, though he was a colonel, yet never went out to fight, but became an alderman very timely, and then soon began to cool, and lose his former zeal and principles, and left off preaching; as his pastor, Mr. Lockyer, did the church, to his brother George Cockain. He was afterwards sheriff, and lord-mayor in his turn; was also of the committees for the sale of state-lands, whereby he advanced his interest and revenue considerably: out of zeal to the publick, he offered the Parliament to serve them freely; as a commissioner of the customs, whereby he supplanted another, and planted himself in his room, and then, with the rest of his brethren, petitioned the committee of the navy for a salary, and had it: notwithstanding he was so well rewarded for his pains, after he had pretended to serve them for nothing, yet, with his brother, Colonel Harvy, and Captain Langham, came off bluely in the end. He was of the Little Parliament, and helped to dissolve it; one of the late Parliament also. He hath, by degrees, sadly lost his principles, and forgotten the good old cause, and espoused and taken up another; being so very officious for the new Court-interest, and such a stickler for them, he is become a great favourite; it is not hard to read his change, it being in so great letters. All things considered, he is, no question, fit to be called Lord Tichborn; being also so willing to receive and resolve to own that title, whoever maligns it, as also of the judgment, 'That whatever passes from him, in any other name, will be void in law:' wherefore, to have a negative voice in the other House over London, and all the good people of these lands, is very

³⁹ For which good service, upon his petition to the Protector, he discharged him from an account of sixteen thousand pounds, which he and others were liable to make good to the treasury of the customs.

suitable to him ; and, what though he was so great an opponent to those things formerly, it is no matter ; then was then, and now is now.

33. Sir William Roberts, a gentleman who, in the time of the Bishops' ruffling, went into Holland, and lived there for a season : the Parliament ruling, and in war with the King, he came over again, and (after the then mode) found favour ; having, upon the fore-mentioned account, been out of the land ; and was made a great committee-man, and in much employment, whereby he well advanced his interest, and is grown a great man. He was of the Little Parliament, and helped to break it, and then, according to Revel. xi. 10. rejoiced, and made merry with the rest of his brethren in Colonel Sydenham's chamber, &c. as the lawyers, and other wild persons, made bonfires, and drank sack at the Temple, and elsewhere. But, if ever a spirit of life, from God, which is not far off, comes in to raise up that honest spirit by which some of them were acted ; will not he, his brethren, and the rest of that earthly rout, the false spirit of magistracy and ministry, be tormented and afraid ? He was of the Parliaments since, and, no doubt, of right principles to the Court-interest, wherein his own is bound up : is one that helps on the bondage⁴⁰ in divers great committees where he sits, and is therefore (no question) the more fit to be called Lord Roberts, and to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House over the people ; being so greatly experienced in that way already, having continued in the aforesaid committee so long.

34. Colonel John Jones, a gentleman of Wales, one of the Long Parliament, was a commissioner in Ireland for governing that nation under the Parliament. One of good principles for common justice and freedom, had he kept them, and not fallen into temptation : he helped to change the government, and make those laws of treason against a single person's rule ; hath a considerable revenue, and, it is likely, did not lose by his employment ; he is governor of the Isle of Anglesey, and lately married the Protector's sister, a widow ; by which means he might have become a great man indeed, did not something stick which he cannot well get down. He is not thorough-paced for the Court-proceedings, nor is his conscience fully hardened against the good old cause ; but there is great hope, no question, that in time he may be towardly : however, for relation-sake, he may be counted fit (with his namesake and countryman Philip) to be called Lord Jones, and to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House over the people ; and all his being against such things formerly may be forgiven, and not once remembered against him.

35. Mr. Edmund Thomas, a gentleman of Wales, of considerable means, a friend of Philip Jones's, and allied to Walter Strickland, both of the council, and brought in upon their account ; and of complying principles, no question, to say no more of him ; not having been long in play, being none of the great Zealots or high Sectaries, so called, in Wales, may doubtless be counted wise and good enough to make a simple Lord of the other House, and to be called Lord Thomas, and to have a negative voice over all the good people of Wales, with his countrymen John and Philip, and over all the people of these lands besides.

36. Sir Francis Russel, Knight-baronet of the old stamp, a gentleman of Cambridge-shire, of a considerable revenue. In the beginning of the wars was first for the King, then for the Parliament, and a colonel of foot under the Earl of Manchester ; a man, like William Sedgwick, high flown, but not serious or substantial in his principles ; he continued in his command till the new model, then took offence, and fell off, or laid aside by them : no great zealot for the Cause, therefore not judged honest, serious, or wise enough to be of the Little Parliament, yet was of these latter Parliaments. Is also chamberlain of Chester, at about five-hundred pounds *per annum* : he married his eldest daughter to Henry Cromwell, second son of the Protector, then colonel of horse, now Lord-deputy (so called) of Ireland ; another to Colonel Reynolds, a new knight, and general of the English army in France, under Cardinal Mazarine ; since, with Colonel White⁴¹ and

⁴⁰ His salary, nine-hundred pounds *per annum*, though he hath a good estate.

⁴¹ White, who assisted Colonel Goff to turn the honest members, left behind, out of the House. Let Goff look to it.

others, cast away coming from Mardike; there is no question but his principles are for Kingship and the new Court, being so greatly concerned therein; wherefore it were great pity if he should not also be taken out of the House to be a Lord of the other House, his son-in-law being so great a Lord, and have a negative voice over Cambridgeshire, and all the people of these lands besides.

37. Sir William Strickland, Knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Yorkshire, and brother to Walter Strickland; was of the Parliament a long time; but hath now, it seems, forgotten the cause of fighting with, and cutting off the late King's head, and suppressing the Lords, their House, and negative voice. He was of these latter Parliaments, and of good compliance (no question) with the new Court, and settling the Protector a-new in all those things for which the King was cut off; wherefore he is fit, no doubt, to be taken out of the House and made a Lord: the rather, for that his younger brother, Walter, is so great a Lord, and by whom, in all likelihood, he will be steered to use his negative voice in the other House over Yorkshire, and the people of these lands, to the interest of the Court.

38. Sir Richard Onsloe, Knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Surrey, of good parts, and a considerable revenue: he was of the Long Parliament, and with much ado, through his policy, steered his course between the two rocks of King and Parliament, and weathered some sore storms. Was not his man taken in his company, by the guard of Southwark, with commissions of array in his pocket from the King, and scurrilous songs against the Roundheads? Yet, by his interest, rode it out, till Colonel Pride came with his purge; then suffered loss, and came no more in play till about Worcester fight, when (by the help of some friends in Parliament) he was empowered to raise, and lead as colonel, a regiment of Surrey men against the Scots and their King, but came too late to fight; it being over. Being popular in Surrey, he was of the latter Parliaments; is fully for Kingship, and was never otherwise, and stickled much among the seventy Kinglings to that end; and, seeing he cannot have young Charles, old Oliver will serve his turn, so he have one; so that he is very fit to be Lord Onsloe, and to be taken out of the House, to have a negative voice in the other House over Surrey, if they please, and all the people of these lands besides, whether they please or not.

39. Mr. John Fiennes, son of the Lord Say, and brother to Commissioner Fiennes; brought in, it is likely, for one upon his score; is, in a kind, such a one as they call a Sectary, but no great stickler; therefore, not being redeemed from the fear and favour of man, will, it is probable, follow his brother, who is, as it is thought, much steered by old Subtlety, his father, that lies in his den, as Thurloe by his Mr. St. John; and will say *No* with the rest, when any thing opposes the interest of the new Court, their power and greatness; and may therefore pass for one to be a Lord, and to have a negative voice in the other House over all in Oxfordshire (the University-men only excepted), and over all the people of these lands besides.

40. Sir John Hubbard, Knight-baronet of the old stamp, a gentleman of Norfolk, of a considerable estate, part whereof came lately to him by the death of a kinsman: he was of these latter Parliaments, but not of the former; had meddled very little, if at all, in throwing down Kingship, but hath stickled very much in helping to re-establish and build it up again; and a great stickler among the late Kinglings, who petitioned the Protector to be King. His principles being so right for Kingship and tyranny, he is in great favour at court, as well as Dick Ingoldsby, and, no question, deserves to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the House to exercise a negative voice in the other House over all the good men in Norfolk, and all the people of these lands besides, being become so very tame and gentle.

41. Sir Thomas Honywood, Knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Essex, of a considerable revenue: he was a committee-man in the time of the Long Parliament, and also a military man; and led, as colonel, a regiment of Essex-men to the fight at Worcester; came in good time, and fought well against Kingship and tyranny in the House of the Stewarts; was of the last Parliament. He is not so wise as Solomon, or so substantial and thorough in his principles for righteousness and freedom, as Job, chap. xxix. but

rather soft in his spirit, and too easy (like a nose of wax) to be turned on that side where the greatest strength is: being therefore of so hopeful principles for the new Court-interest, and so likely to comply with their will and pleasure, no doubt need be made of his fitness to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House over all the good men in Essex, (the now Lord of Warwick, the Protector's brother-in-law, excepted,) and all the people of these lands besides.

42. Lord Ewre, a gentleman of Yorkshire, not very bulky or imperious for a Lord; he was once well esteemed of for honesty, and therefore chosen to be one of the Little Parliament; hath also been of all the Parliaments since. The Yorkshire men happily may like his being new lorded, and that he should have a negative voice over them; the rather, because they never chose him to any such thing. The Protector being so well satisfied with his principles, and easiness, like his fellow-lord Honeywood, to be wrought up to do whatever their will and pleasure is, and to say *No*, when they would have him; it is very meet he also passes for one to be taken out of the House, to have a negative voice in the other House, not only over Yorkshire, but all the good people of the commonwealth besides; being a Lord of the old stamp already.

43. Mr. Hampden, now Lord Hampden, a young gentleman of Buckinghamshire, son of the late Colonel Hampden, that noble patriot and defender of the rights and liberties of the English nation; of famous memory, never to be forgotten, for withstanding the King in the case of ship-money; being also one of the five impeached members, which the said King endeavoured to have pulled out of the Parliament; whereupon followed such feud, war, and shedding of blood. This young gentleman, Mr. Hampden, was the last of sixty-two, which were added singly by the Protector, after the choice of sixty together; it is very likely, that Colonel Ingoldsby, or some other friend at court, got a cardinal's hat for him, thereby to settle and secure him to the interest of the new Court, and wholly take him off from the thoughts of ever following his father's steps, or inheriting his noble virtues; as likewise, that the honest men in Buckinghamshire, and all others that are lovers of freedom and justice, that cleaved so cordially to, and went so cheerfully along with his father, in the beginning of the late war, might be out of all hopes of him, and give him over for lost to the good old cause, and inheriting his father's noble spirit and principles, though he doth his lands. He was of the latter Parliament, and found right; saving in the design upon which he was made a Lord after all the rest, and the Protector's pleasure. It is very hard to say how fit he is to be a Lord, and how well a negative voice over the good people of this land, and his father's friends in particular, will become the son of such a father; and how well the aforesaid good people, now called Sectaries, will like of it; but, seeing it is as it is, let him pass for one as fit to be taken out of the House, with the rest, to have a negative voice; and let him exercise it in the other House over the good people for a season.

44. Sir Arthur Haslerigg. Lord? No; stop there! not Lord Haslerigg: a knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of a very large estate and revenue, was one of the Long Parliament, and one of the five impeached members, whom the King endeavoured to have pulled out of the House with the other, but was hindered from doing it; was a colonel in the army; and adventured far in the wars, continued of that Parliament till the dissolution thereof; was also chosen of these latter Parliaments, but not permitted to sit at the first: he was by the Protector (as may be seen in the printed list) cut out for a Lord of the other House, and to have a wooden dagger, to wit, a negative voice with the rest; but he missed his way, and, instead of going into the other House, among the simple Negative-men, the off-spring⁴² of the bastard of William, the sixth Duke of Normandy, he went

⁴² See Army's declaration in a 'Looking-glass,' p. 5. (say they) 'The first ground and rise of tyranny, over the free people of this nation, did proceed from the bastard of William, the sixth Duke of Normandy, who, to prevent the English of all relief by their parliaments, created Lords by his patent and prerogative, to sit by succession in the parliament, as representatives of his conquest and tyranny over us; and not by election of the people, as the representers and patrons of the commonwealth: and to make his usurpation firm and inviolable, he subdued the law-giving power of the free people in parliament, to the negative voice of himself and posterity; and under the yoke of this Norman captivity and villanage, we have been held by that succession to this very day,' &c. See large Petition, p. 11, 12, of that book.

into the parliament-house among his fellow Englishmen, and there spake freely; bearing a good witness in behalf of the good old cause, the rights and liberties of the people of England; at which the Court were vexed and sore displeased. However, for all this losing of his way, and the loss sustained by it, his fame and name, amongst all true English spirits, will be higher and more honourable than the simple title of a 'New Lord' could make him; and, instead of a negative voice in the other House, he will be honoured by after-ages as a rare phoenix, that, of forty-four, was found standing alone to his principles, and the good old cause so bled for. Oh sad and wonderful! but one of forty-four to be found standing firm to so noble a cause as ever was on foot since the world began? Let all true English spirits love and honour him, and that will be better than a feather in his cap, or a wooden dagger. His name for ever in the chronicles will live, as one that was a true patriot of his country's liberties; which noble action (if he persevere, and be more refined in that honest spirit) may deservedly obliterate all human frailties and miscarriages of his, during the sitting of the Long Parliament; and the free people of England may, doubtless, for ever bury them in oblivion. No question, the Protector found he was mistaken in him, and that he was not fit to be a Lord, or to have a negative voice, being of no more complying principles to his interest and designs, and the then new model of government; and will scarcely adventure to give him a second invitation to that great honour and dignity he so ungratefully and disdainfully slighted.

There were one or two more of the new champions, that with their wooden daggers went into the other House to fight against the rights and liberties of the good people of these lands; but, their names being wanting, and not worthy the enquiring after, nothing can be said of their noble virtues; save that in all likelihood they were of such worthy principles as their fellows were of, and such as would concur to carry on any design or interest they should be put upon, and would say *No* with the rest, when any thing came in question that seemed to be against the Protector's height and absoluteness, or interest of the new court; which he that hath but half an eye may see, was the only design of calling them thither, as a balance of government to the Parliament, so greatly, though falsely, pretended for the good of the people.

There were also, of this chosen number of sixty-two, some of the old Earls and Lords, called Peers, which stood off, viz. three Earls, Warwick, Musgrave, and Manchester, and two Lords, Say and Wharton, and sat not at all; disdaining, as some thought, to sit with these new up-start Lords; though others again apprehend, that this their forbearance was only out of their old state-policy, till they saw whether a House of Lords formerly so abominated, and thrown down (by the consent and desire of the good people) would again be resented and established, and then intended to come in: but I shall leave it. Some were in Scotland, viz. General Monk, Earl of Cassils, Lord Warriston, and Sir William Lockhart; which persons may also discover to him, that hath but half an eye, what a pitiful, carnal, low design, they were carrying on. Some in Ireland, viz. Henry Cromwell lord-deputy (so called), Recorder Steel, and Colonel Tomlinson. Some, it may be, had no great mind to it, to wit, Colonel Popham, Mr. Pierrepont. Others, it is probable, were lettered by political or state-illness, or other occasions, viz. Chief-justice St. John, Mr. John Crew, Sir Gilbert Gerrard; so as they also appeared not, there being not above forty-four or forty-five of that worthy choice of sixty-two, that appeared and sat there; and it is very likely, some think, there were too many of them.

Thus far 'The Description and Narrative.'

Three or four general queries are further proposed for a close to the whole; and it is humbly offered to all ingenious people, and queried,

First; Whether if it should come to pass (as how soon we know not) that that noble spirit should, like a lion raised from sleep, rise again in the English people, such as it was in forty-one, or forty-two, or about that time, whether these champions, with their feathers in their caps, and their wooden daggers, and those fifty-three persons, who pretended to settle the government by the 'Humble petition and advice,' would be able to fight with,

stand against, and overcome the same, any otherwise than their predecessors the Lords Temporal, and the Bishops the Lords Spiritual, did then? And whether it would not in all likelihood fare with them and their dependents, the patentees of the excise, (and all others employed by them, that so oppress and impoverish the nation,) as formerly it did with them, if not far worse? They may please to think of it at their leisure,

Secondly; Whether in these five years now passed of the Protectoral government, that blessed reformation which the Protector (then general), and other grandees of the army, so often promised, and for not bringing forth of which, they pretend, they dissolved the old Parliament, hath so been set upon, as to make any the least proceed therein? Or rather, hath there not been a gradual, and an apparent relapsing into those very evils and enormities formerly so greatly shaken, and in some degree broken, but now healed again of their wound, and flourishing afresh with open face; the spirit of wickedness and profaneness being risen very high, even among professors, like the unclean spirit cast out, and entering again? And, in particular, that abominable corruption and abuse in the law, and administration of justice, touching which the Protector (so called) sometime said, "It was not to be endured in a Christian commonwealth, that some should so enrich and greatness themselves in the ruin of others." So, likewise, that often complained of grievance of tithes, touching which he also said, (as was lately attested in an open court of judicature, several standing by to witness the truth thereof, to whom the words were spoken,) "That if he did not take away tithes, by the third of September next, to wit, 1654, or such a time; they should call him the greatest juggler that ever was, and would juggle in all things else." Yet is there any thing done in any of these? or any thing gone about tending thereto, now in these five years? As if it were so, that no fruit would ever grow upon such a tree, viz. the Monarchical foundation, which the Lord hath pulled up and cursed, as 'the barren fig-tree' was: only there is one goodly amendment, to wit, a confirmation of the act for *treble damages*, to the undoing of many an honest man; that, upon conscientious grounds, do scruple the payment of them. And as for the law and the lawyers, they are as before, if not much worse; and is there any ground of hope, that the next five years (should he continue so long) will produce any better fruit, than the five that are already past?

Thirdly; Whether this calculation of these ignoble Lords of the new stamp, being of several complexions, and standing in the afore-mentioned capacities and relations, having also such dependence upon, and lying under so great engagements unto the Protector (so called), as his sons and kindred, flattering courtiers, corrupt lawyers, degenerated swordsmen, and a sort of lukewarm indifferent country-knights, gentlemen, and citizens, most of them self-interested salary-men, be not likely, according to the very specious pretence, to prove a brave balance of government? And whether the good people of this land are likely to have their just rights and freedoms, or religious men the liberty of their consciences by this constitution, any otherwise, than according to the pleasure of the Protector and the Court? or than they had in the time of the late King? And whether this calculation were made to any other end than so?

Lastly; Whether, all things soberly weighed and considered, the times be now so happy and blessed, as some do loudly bespeak them to be? And whether, for the future, we are likely to have such prosperity, success, and good days, as some so largely promise themselves? And others it may be expected? Or whether such smiling upon old wickedness, and frowning and turning the back upon righteousness, suppressing its growth, be any comfortable ground of such hope and expectation? Or whether, upon the whole series of things, as they now appear, there be not rather to be expected some sadder matter, if the Lord in mercy prevent not? Let the wise in heart consider.

A seasonable Speech, made by a worthy Member¹ of Parliament in the House of Commons, concerning the other House; March 1659.

[Quarto, containing Eight Pages.]

Mr. Speaker ;

THIS day's debate is but too clear a proof, that we Englishmen are right Islanders, variable and mutable like the air we live in. For, Sir, if that were not our temper, we should not be now disputing, whether, after all those hazards we have run, that blood we have spilt, that treasure we have exhausted, we should not now sit down, just where we did begin ; and of our own accords, submit ourselves to that slavery, which we have not only ventured our estates and lives, but I wish I could not say, our souls and consciences, to throw off. What others, Sir, think of this levity, I cannot tell ; I mean those that steer their consciences by occasions, and cannot lose the honour they never had. But truly, Sir, for my own part, I dare as little not declare it to be my opinion, as others more prudential dare avow it to be theirs ; that we are this day making good all the reproaches of our enemies, owning of ourselves oppressors, murderers, regicides, subverters of that, which now we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful government ; but by recalling it, confess it now to be the best. Which, Sir, if it be true, and that we now begin to see aright, I heartily wish, our eyes had been sooner open ; and for three nations' sake, that we had purchased our conviction at a cheaper rate. We might, Sir, in forty-two, have been what we thus contend to be in fifty-nine ; and our consciences have had much less to answer for to God, and our reputations to the world.

But, Mr. Speaker, I wish with all my soul, I did state our case to you amiss, and that it were the question only, whether we would voluntarily relapse into the disease we were formerly possessed with, and of our own accords take up our old yoke ; that we, with wearing and custom, had made habitual and easy ; and which (it may be) it was more our wantonness than our pressure, that made us throw it off. But this, Sir, is not now the question : that which we deliberate, is not whether we will say we do not care to be free ; we like our old masters, and will now be content to have our ears bored at the door-posts of their house, and so serve them for ever. But, Sir, as if we were contending for shame, as well as servitude, we are carrying our ears to be bored at the doors of another House : a House, Sir, without name, and therefore, it is but congruous it should consist of members without a family : a House that inverts the order of slavery, and subjects it to our servants ; and yet (in contradiction to Scripture) we do not only not think that subjection intolerable, but are now pleading for it. In a word, Sir, it is a House of so incongruous and odious a composition and mixture, that certainly the grand Architect would never have so framed it, had it not been his design as well to shew to the world the contempt he had of us, as to demonstrate the power he had over us.

Sir, that it may appear, that I intend to be so prudent, as far as my part is concerned, as to make a voluntary resignation of my liberty and honour to this excellent part of his late Highness's last will and testament, I shall crave, Sir, the leave to declare, in a few particulars, my opinion of this other House ; wherein I cannot but promise myself to be favourably heard by some, but patiently heard by all. For these Englishmen, that are against this House, will certainly with content hear the reasons why others are so too ; those courtiers, that are for it, give me evidence enough to think that, in nature, there is nothing which they cannot willingly endure.

¹ [This was Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, on whom it reflects much credit. The Speech has twice been printed elsewhere, viz. in the Duke of Buckingham's Works, vol. i. and in the Parliamentary History, vol. xxi.]

First, Sir, as to the author and framer of this House of Peers. Let me put you in mind, it was he, that with reiterated oaths, had often sworn, to be true and faithful to the government without it; and not only sworn so himself, but had been the chief instrument, both to draw, and counsel others, to swear so too: so, Sir, that the foundation of this noble fabrick was laid in perjury, and was begun with the violation and contempt, as well of the laws of God, as of the nation. He, Sir, that called Monarchy *antichristian* in another, and indeed made it so in himself: he that voted a House of Lords dangerous and unnecessary, and too truly made it so in his partisans: he that with fraud and force, deprived you of your liberty, when he was living, and entailed slavery upon you, at his death; it is he, Sir, that hath left you these worthy overseers of that his last will and testament; who, however they have behaved themselves in other trusts, we may be confident they will endeavour faithfully to discharge themselves in this. In a word, Sir, had this other House no other fault but its institution and author, I should think that original sin enough for its condemnation: for I am of their opinion who think, that for the good of example, all acts and monuments of tyrants are to be expunged and erased; that, if possible, their memory might be no longer-lived than their carcases. And the truth is, their good laws are of the number of their snares, and but base brokage for our liberty.

But, Sir, to impute to this other House no other faults, but its own; you may please in the first place to consider of the power, which his Highness hath left it, according to that 'humble petition and advice,' which he was pleased to give order to the Parliament to present unto him. For, Sir, as the Romans had kings, so had his Highness parliaments, amongst his instruments of slavery: and I hope, Sir, it will be no offence for me to pray, that his son may not have them so too. But, Sir, they have a negative voice, and all other circumstances of that arbitrary power, which made the former House intolerable; only the dignity and quality of the persons themselves is wanting, that our slavery may be accompanied with ignominy and affront. And now, Mr. Speaker, have we not gloriously vindicated the nation's liberty; have we not worthily employed our blood and treasure to abolish that power that was set over us by the law, to have the same imposed upon us without a law? And after all that sound and noise we have made in the world, of the people's legislative power, and of the supremacy and omnipotency of their representatives; we now see there is no more power left them, but what is put in the balance, and equalled by the power of a few retainers of tyranny, who are so far from being of the people's choice, that the most part of them are only known to the nation by the villainies and mischiefs they have committed in it.

In the next place, Sir, you may please to consider, that the persons, invested with this power, are all of them nominated and designed by the Lord Protector, for to say, 'By him, and his council,' hath in effect no more distinction, than if one should say, 'By Oliver, and Cromwell.' By this means the Protector himself, by his own, and his Peers' negative, becomes in effect two of the three estates; and by consequence, is possessed of two parts of the legislative power. I think this can be a doubt to no man, that will but take the pains to read over that fair catalogue of those noble Lords; for certainly no man that, reads their names, can possibly fancy, for what other virtues or good qualities, such a composition should be made choice of, but only the certainty of their compliance, with whatsoever should be enjoined them by their creator. (Pardon, Sir, that name, for it is properly applicable, where things are made of nothing.) Now, Sir, if in the former government, increase of nobility was a grievance; because the new nobility, having fresh obligation to the crown, were the easilier led to compliance with it. And, if one of the main reasons, for exclusion of the Bishops out of the Lords, was because that they, being of the King's making, were in effect so many certain votes, for whatever the King had a mind to carry in that House; how much more assured will that inconvenience now be, when the Protector, that wants nothing of the King, but, in every sense, the title, shall not only make and nominate a part, but of himself, constitute the whole House? In a word, Sir, if our liberty was endangered by the former House, we may give it for lost in the other House; and it is in all respects as advantageous and secure for the liberty of the nation, which we come

hither to redeem, to allow this power and notion to his Highness's officers or council, nay his very chaplains, as to his other creatures and partisans, in his other House.

Now having considered, Sir, their author, power, and constitution, give me leave to make some few observations, though but in general, of the persons themselves that are designed to be our lords and masters, and let us see what either the extraordinary quality or qualifications are of these egregious legislators, which may justify their choice, and prevail with the people to admit them, at least, into equal authority, with the whole representative body of themselves. But what I shall speak, Sir, of their quality, or any thing else concerning them, I would be thought to speak with distinction, and to intend only of the major part. For I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, the mixture of this other House to be like the compositions of apothecaries, who are used to mix something of relish, something grateful to the taste, to qualify their bitter drugs; which else, perchance, would be immediately spit out, and never swallowed. So, Sir, his Highness (of deplorable memory to this nation), to countenance as well the want of quality, as honesty, in the rest, hath nominated some, against whom there lies no other reproach, but only that nomination; but not, Sir, out of any respect to their qualities, or regard to their virtues, but with regard to the no quality, to the no virtues of the rest; which truly, Mr. Speaker, if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express name, to his other House, than he hath been pleased to do. For we know a house, designed only for beggars and malefactors, is 'a House of Correction,' and termed so by your law. But, Mr. Speaker, setting those few persons aside, who, I hope, think the nomination a disgrace, and the ever coming to sit there much a greater. Can we, without indignation, think on the rest? He, that is first in their roll, a condemned coward; one that out of fear and baseness, did once what he could to betray your liberties, and does now the same for gain. The second, a person of as little sense as honesty, preferred for no other reason, but his no worth, his no conscience; except that his cheating his father of all he had was thought a virtue, by him, who, by sad experience, we find hath done as much for his mother, his country. The third, a Cavalier, a Presbyterian, an Independent; for a Republick, for a Protector, for every thing, for nothing; but only that one thing, money. It were endless to run through them all; to tell you, Sir, of their Lordships of seventeen pounds land a year, of inheritance; of their farmer-Lordships, dray-men Lordships, cobbler-Lordships, without one foot of land, but what the blood of Englishmen hath been the price of: these, Sir, are to be our rulers, these the judges of our lives and fortunes: to these we are to stand bare, whilst their pageant stage Lordships deign to give us a conference upon their breeches. Mr. Speaker, we have already had too much experience, how unsupportable servants are, when they become our masters. All kind of slavery is miserable in the account of all generous minds; but that which comes accompanied with scorn and contempt, stirs up every man's indignation, and is endured by none, whom nature does not intend for slaves, as well as fortune.

I say not this, Mr. Speaker, to revile any man with his meanness; for I never thought either the malignity or indulgence of fortune to be, with wise or just men, the grounds either of their ill or their good opinion. Mr. Speaker, I blame not in these men the faults of their fortune, any otherwise, but as they make them their own; I object to you their poverty, because it is accompanied with ambition: I mind you of their quality, because they themselves forget it. So that it is not the *men* I am angry with, but with their *lordships*; not with Mr. Barkstead, or Mr. Jailer, (titles I could well allow him,) but with the Right Honourable, our singular good Lord and Jailer. It is this incongruity, Mr. Speaker, I am displeased with.

So, Sir, though we easily grant poverty and necessity to be no faults, yet we must allow them to be great impediments in the way of honour, and such as nothing but extraordinary virtue and merit can well remove. The Scripture reckons it amongst Jeroboam's great faults, that 'he made priests of the meanest of the people;' and sure it was none of the virtues of our Jeroboam (who hath set up his calves too, and would have our tribes come up and worship them), that he observed the same method, in making of Lords.

One of the few requests the Portuguese made to Philip the Second of Spain, when he

got that kingdom (as his late Highness did this) by an army, was, 'That he would not make Nobility contemptible, by advancing such to that degree, whose equality or virtue could be no way thought to deserve it.' Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such inconveniences ourselves. It was, in Richard the First's time, one of the Bishop of Ely's accusations, that castles and forts of trust he did *obscuris & ignotis hominibus tradere*, 'put in the hands of obscure and unknown men.' But we (Mr. Speaker) to such a kind of men are delivering up the power of our laws, and in that the power of all.

In 17 Edw. IV. there passed an act of parliament for the degrading of John Nevil, Marquis Mountague and Duke of Bedford; the reason is expressed in the act, 'Because he had not a revenue sufficient for the maintaining of that dignity:' to which was added, 'That, when men of mean birth are called to high estate, and have no livelihood to support it; it induceth briberies, extortions, and all kinds of injustices that are followed by gain.' And in the Parliament of 2 Carol. the Peers, in a petition against Scottish and Irish titles, told the King, 'That it is a novelty without precedent, that men should possess honours, where they possess nothing else; and that they should have a vote in Parliament, where they have not a foot of land.' But, if it had been added, Sir, 'Or have no land but what is the purchase of their villainies;' against how many of our new Peers had this been an important objection? To conclude, Sir; it hath been a very just and reasonable care amongst all nations, not to render that despised and contemptible to the people, which is designed for their reverence, and their awe: which, Sir, bare and empty title, without quality or virtue, never procured any man any more than the image, in the fable, made the ass adored that carried it.

After their quality, give me leave, Sir, to speak a word or two of their qualifications, which certainly ought, in reason, to carry some proportion with the employment they design themselves. The House of Lords, Sir, are our King's hereditary great councils; they are the highest court of judicature; they have their part in judging and determining of the reasons of making new laws, and of abrogating old. From amongst them we take our great officers of state; they are commonly our generals at land, and our admirals at sea. In conclusion, Sir, they are both of the essence and constitution of our old government; and have, besides, the greatest and noblest share in the administration. Now, certainly, Sir, to judge according to the dictates of reason, one would imagine some small faculties and endowments to be necessary for the discharging of such a calling; and those such as are not usually acquired in shops and warehouses, nor found by following the plough. Now what other academies have most of their Lordships been bred in, but their shops? What other arts they have been versed in, but those which more require good arms and good shoulders, than good heads, I think, Mr. Speaker, we are yet to be informed. Sir, we commit not the education of our children to ignorant and illiterate masters; nay, we trust not our very horses to unskilful grooms: I beseech you, Sir, let us think it belongs to us to have some care into whose hands we commit the management of the commonwealth. And, if we cannot have persons of birth and fortune to be our rulers, to whose quality we would willingly submit: I beseech you, Sir, for our credits and safeties, let us seek men, at least, of parts and education, to whose abilities we may have some reason to give way. If, Sir, a patient dies under a physician's hand, the law esteems that not a felony, but a misfortune in the physician; but, if one that is no physician, undertakes the management of a cure, and the party miscarries, the law makes the empirick a felon, and sure, in all men's opinion, the patient a fool. To conclude, Sir; for great men to govern, it is ordinary; for able men, it is natural; knaves many times come to it by force and necessity, and fools sometimes by chance: but universal choice, in any election of fools and knaves for government, was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.

But, methinks, Mr. Speaker, I see, ready to rise after me, some gentlemen, that shall tell you the great services that their new Lordships have done the commonwealth; that shall extol their valour, their godliness, their fidelity to the cause; the Scripture too, no doubt, as it is to all purposes, shall be brought in to argue for them; and we shall hear of

the 'wisdom of the poor man that saved the city;' of the 'not many wise, not many mighty;' attributes I can no way deny to be due to their Lordships. Mr. Speaker, I shall be as forward as any man to declare their services, and acknowledge them; though I might tell you, that the same honour is not purchased by the blood of an enemy, and of a citizen; that, for victories in civil wars, till our army's march through the city, I have not read that the conquerors have been so void of shame as to triumph. Cæsar, not much more indulgent to his country, than our late Protector, did not so much as write public letters of his victory at Pharsalia, much less had days of thanksgiving to his gods, and anniversary feasts, for having been a prosperous rebel, and giving justice and his country the worst.

But, Sir, I leave this argument, and (to be as good as my word) come to put you in mind of some of their services, and the obligation you owe them for the same. To speak nothing, Sir, of one of my Lords-commissioner's valour at Bristol, nor of another noble Lord's brave adventure at the Bear-garden³; I must tell you, that most of them have had the courage to do things, which, I may boldly say, few other Christians durst have so adventured their souls to have attempted. They have not only subdued their enemies, but their masters, that raised and maintained them. They have not only conquered Scotland and Ireland, but rebellious England too; and there suppressed a malignant party of magistrates and laws. And, that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed complete conquerors (without the help of philosophy) they have even conquered themselves. All shame they have subdued, as perfectly as all justice: the oaths, they have taken, they have as easily digested, as their old General could himself: public covenants and engagements they have trampled under foot. In conclusion, so entire a victory they have over themselves, that their consciences are as much their servants as (Mr. Speaker) we are. But, Sir, give me leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shews the confidence they have of themselves and us. After having many times trampled on the authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five times dissolved them, they hope, for those good services to the House of Commons, by the House of Commons to be made a House of Lords.

I have been over-long, Sir, for which I crave your pardon; therefore in a word I conclude. I beseech you let us think it our duty to have a care of two things:—First, That villainies be not encouraged with the rewards of virtue; secondly, That the authority and majesty of the government of this nation be not defiled, by committing so considerable a part of it to persons of as mean quality as parts.

The Thebans did not admit merchants into government, till they had left their traffick ten years! Sure, it would have been long before coblers and dray-men would have been allowed. If, Sir, the wisdom of this House shall find it necessary to begin where we left, and shall think we have been hitherto like the prodigal, and that now, when our necessities persuade us, (i. e. that we are almost brought to herd it with swine,) now it is high time to think of a return: let us, without more ado, without this motley mixture, even take our rulers as at the first; so that we can be but reasonably secured, to avoid our counsellors as at the beginning.

Give me leave, Sir, to release your patience with a short story. Livy tells us, there was a state in Italy, an aristocracy, where the nobility stretched their prerogative too high, and presumed a little too much upon the people's liberty and patience; whereupon, the discontents were so general and so great, that they apparently tended to a dissolution of government, and the turning of all things into anarchy and confusion. At the same time, besides these distempers at home, there was a potent enemy ready to fall upon them from abroad, that had been an over-match for them, at their best union; but now, in these disorders, was like to find them a very ready and very easy prey. A wise man, Sir, in the city, that did not at all approve of the insolency of the nobility, and as little liked popular tumults, bethought himself of this stratagem, to cozen his country into safety. Upon a pre-

³ See page 136 of the present Volume.

tence of counsel, he procured the nobility to meet all together; which when they had done, he found a way to lock all the doors upon them; goes away himself, and takes the keys with him. Then immediately he summons the people; tells them, that, by a contrivance of his, he had taken all the nobility in a trap; that now was the time for them to be revenged upon them for all their insolencies; that therefore they should immediately go along with him, and dispatch them. Sir, the officers of our army, after a fast, could not be more ready for the villainy, than this people; and, accordingly, they made as much haste to the slaughter, as their Lord Protector could desire them. But, Sir, this wise man I told you of, was their Lord Protector indeed. As soon as he had brought the people where the Parliament was sitting, and, when they but expected the word, to fall to the butchery, and take their heads: ‘Gentlemen, (says he,) though I would not care how soon this work of reformation were over; yet, in this ship of the commonwealth, we must not throw the steersmen over-board, till we have provided others for the helm: let us consider, before we take these men away, in what other hands we may more securely trust our liberty, and the management of the commonwealth.’ And so he advised them, before the putting down of the former, to bethink themselves of constituting another House. He begins and nominates one, a man highly cried up in the popular faction, a confiding man, one of much zeal, little sense, and no quality: you may suppose him, Sir, a zealous cobbler. The people, in conclusion, murmured at this, and were loth their fellow mutineer, for no other virtue but mutinying, should become to be advanced to be their master; and, by their looks and murmur, sufficiently expressed the distaste they took at such a motion. Then he nominates another, as mean a mechanick as the former: you may imagine him, Sir, a bustling drayman, or the like. He was no sooner named, but some burst out a-laughing, others grew angry, and railed at him, and all detested and scorned him. Upon this, a third was named for a lordship; one of the same batch, and every way fit to sit with the other two. The people then fell into a confused laugh and noise, and enquired, ‘If such were *Lords*, who (by all the gods!) would be content to be the *Commons*?’

Sir, let me behold, by the good leave of the other House and yours, to ask the same question? But, Sir, to conclude this story, and with it, I hope, the other House. When this wise man, I told you of, perceived they were now sensible of the inconvenience and mischief they were running into, and saw that the pulling down their rulers would prove, in the end, but the setting up of their servants; he thought them then prepared to hear reason, and told them, ‘You see, (said he) that as bad as this government is, we cannot, for any thing I see, agree upon a better; what then, if, after this fright we have put our nobility in, and the demonstration we have given them of our powers, we try them once more, whether they will mend, and, for the future, behave themselves with more moderation?’ That people, Mr. Speaker, were so wise as to comply with that wise proposition, and to think it easier to mend their old rulers, than to make new. And, I wish, Mr. Speaker, we may be so wise to think so too.

News from France: Or, a Description of the Library of Cardinal Mazarine, before it was utterly ruined. Sent in a Letter from Monsieur G. Naudæus¹, Keeper of the public Library.

London, printed for Timothy Garthwait, at the little North Door of St. Paul's, 1652.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

To the Parliament of Paris.

Gentlemen;

SINCE all the ordinances of your famous company are like thunder-bolts, which dash in pieces each person whom they strike, and make dumb or astonish every one that sees them fall: Give me leave to tell you, (yet with all respects and submissions possible) that what you thundered out on the twenty-ninth of the last, against the library of the most eminent Cardinal Mazarine, my master, hath produced these two effects, with so much force and violence, that forasmuch as concerns the said library, it is not likely it should ever recover those losses which it hath already suffered, nor yet avoid those wherewith it is still threatened, unless by some very remarkable effect of your singular goodness and protection.

And, as for me, who cherish it as the work of my hands, and the miracle of my life; I protest to you ingenuously, that, since that stroke of thunder which was cast, from the heaven of your justice, upon a piece so rare, so beautiful, so excellent, and which I have, by my watches and labours, brought to such perfection, as none can morally desire a greater: I have been so extremely astonished, that if the same cause which once made the son of Cræsus, though naturally dumb, to speak, did not now untie my tongue, to utter some sad accents; my last complaints, at the decease of this my daughter, (as he there did, in the dangerous estate wherein he found his father,) I should remain eternally dumb. And, in truth, Gentlemen, since that good son saved the life of his father, in making them know, wherefore he did it: why may not I promise myself, that your benevolence and ordinary justice will save the life of this daughter, or, to speak plainer, this famous library; when I shall in few words have represented to you an abridgement of its perfections, being the most beautiful, and the best furnished of any library, now in the world; or that is likely, if affection do not much deceive me, ever for to be hereafter? For it is composed of more than forty-thousand volumes, collected by the care of several kings and princes in Europe, by all the ambassadors that have set out of France these ten years, into places farthest remote from this kingdom. To tell you that I have made voyages into Flanders, Italy, England, and Germany, to bring hither whatever I could procure that was rare and excellent, is little in comparison of the cares which so many crowned heads have taken to further the laudable designs of his Eminence. It is to these illustrious cares, Gentlemen, that this good city of Paris is beholden for two-hundred Bibles, which we have translated into all sorts of languages; for an history, that is the most universal, and the best followed of any yet ever seen; for three-thousand five-hundred volumes, purely and absolutely ma-

* [Naudæ had the mortification to see the celebrated library of Cardinal Mazarine, which he had collected with such assiduous zeal, dispersed by public sale. He afterwards became librarian to Christina, Queen of Sweden; but on returning to France, from some disgust, the fatigue of his journey caused a fever, and he died at Abbeville, July 29, 1653.]

thematical; for all the old and new editions, as well of the holy fathers, as of all other classic authors; for a company of schoolmen, such as never was the like; for lawyers of above an hundred-and-fifty provinces, the most strangers; above three-hundred bishops, concerning councils; for rituals and offices of the church, an infinite number; for the laws and foundations of all religious houses, hospitals, communities, and confraternities; for rules and practical secrets in all arts, both liberal and mechanic; for manuscripts in all languages, and all sciences. And to put an end to a discourse, which may never have one, if I should particularize all the treasures which are heaped together within the compass of seven chambers, filled from top to bottom, whereof a gallery, twelve fathoms high, is reckoned but for one: it is to these illustrious royal personages, that this city of Paris, and not Paris only, but all France, and not France only, but all Europe, are indebted for a library. Wherein, if the good designs of his Eminence had succeeded as happily, as they were forecast wisely, all the world should, before this, have had the liberty, to see and turn over, with as much leisure as benefit, all that Egypt, Persia, Greece, Italy, and all the kingdoms of Europe, have given us, that is most singular and admirable. A strange thing, Gentlemen, that the best furnished lawyers were constrained to confess their want, when they saw the great collection that I had made of books in their profession in this rich library: that the greatest heap of volumes, in physick, were nothing, compared with the number of those which were here gathered in that faculty: that philosophy was here more beautiful, more flourishing, than ever it was in Greece: that Italians, Germans, Spaniards, Englishmen, Polonians, Dutch, and other nations, found here the histories of their own nations, far more rich and better furnished than they could find in their several native countries: that Catholics and Protestants might here try all sorts of passages in authors, and accord all manner of difficulties. And to accumulate all these perfections, to enhance them, and set them in their true lustre: is it not enough, Gentlemen, to shew you assured proofs of his Eminence's intentions, that he resolved to present it to the publick, and to make it a common comfort for all poor scholars, religious persons, strangers, and for whoever is learned, or curious, here to find what is necessary or fit for them? Is it not enough, Gentlemen, to shew you the inscription, which should have been put upon the gate of the library, to invite the world to enter with all manner of liberty, and which should have been set up about three years ago; if wars, and domestic dissensions, had not prejudiced the good intentions of his Eminence? It is this:

Ludovico XIV. feliciter imperante, Annâ Austriacâ, Castrorum Matrē Augustissimâ Regnum sapienter moderante, Julius, S. R. E. Cardinalis Masarinus, utrique Consiliorum Minister acceptissimus, Bibliothecam hanc omnium Linguarum, Artium, Scientiarum, Libris instructissimam, Urbis splendori, Galliarum ornamento, Disciplinarum incremento, lubens, volens, D. D. D. publicè patere voluit, censu perpetuo dotavit, Posteritati commendavit. MDCXLVIII.

Behold, Gentlemen, an inscription, that may now be called ancient; for it is long since it was first spoken of, and though it contain many things, I can assure you, that his Eminence intended somewhat more in his generous design of founding a public library in the midst of France, under the direction and protection of the prime presidents of three sovereign courts of this city, and of the Lord Attorney-general, persuading himself, that by this means, so potent and venerable, posterity would perpetually enjoy a very advantageous pledge; and such, as without disparagement to the famous libraries of Rome, Milan, and Oxford, might pass, not only for the most goodly heap of books, that this age can shew, but likewise for the eighth wonder of the world.

And this being true; as I am ready to swear upon the holy Gospels, that the intention of his Eminence was always this, as I tell you: can you permit, Gentlemen, the publick to be deprived of a thing so useful and precious? Can you endure that this fair flower, which yet spreads its odour through all the world, should wither in your hands? And can you suffer, without regret, so innocent a piece (which can never suffer, but all

the world will bear in a share in its loss,) to receive the arrest of its condemnation from those who were appointed to honour it, and to favour it with their protection? Consider, Gentlemen, that when this loss hath been suffered, there will not be a man in the world, though he have never so much authority in public employment, never so much zeal to learning, that will be able to repair it. Believe, if you please, that the ruin of this library will be more carefully marked in all histories and calendars, than the taking and sacking of Constantinople. And, if my ten years toil in helping to gather such a work; if all the voyages which I have made for materials to it; if all the heavy cares that I have taken to set it in order; if the ardent zeal that I have had to preserve it to this hour, are not means sufficient to make me hope for some favour at your singular goodness; especially at this time, when you have the same excellent occasion to shew it towards this library, which you had three years since, when, by a solemn arrê or ordinance, you resolved it should be preserved, and that I should have the keeping of it: yet give me leave, Gentlemen, to have recourse to the Muses, seeing they are so far concerned in the preservation of this new Parnassus, and joining the interest they have in you, with my most humble prayers, speak to you in the same language which the Emperor Augustus used, when the question was, ‘Whether Virgil’s *Æneids* should be destroyed or saved?’ Which doubtless, was not so inimitable a piece then, as this library will be to all posterity:—

—————*solvetur litera dives?*
Et poterunt spectare oculi, nec parcere honori
Flamma suo; dignumque operis servare decorem?
Noster Apollo, veta! Musæ prohibete Latinæ!
Sed legum est servanda fides, suprema voluntas
Quod mandat fierique jubet, parere necesse est:
Frangatur potiùs legum veneranda potestas,
Quàm tot congestos noctesque diésque labores,
Hauserit una die, supremâque jussa senatûs.

‘Must such a rich and learn’d work be dissolv’d,
 Can eyes with patience see ’t in flames involv’d?
 Methinks the flames should spare it, sure the fire
 (More merciful than men) will save ’t entire.
 Ah, sweet Apollo, hinder! Muses, stay
 Their violence! and what though fond men say,
 “It is decreed; the ordinance is made;
 The will of supreme power must be obey’d.”
 Rather let laws be broke, let reverend power
 Lie prostrate, ere’t be said, that in one hour
 A work so toil’d for many years, was late
 Quite ruin’d, by commandment from the state.’

GABRIEL NAUDÉUS, a Parisian.

A true List of the Jury impanneled at Huntingdon Assizes,
before Judge Dodderidge; 1619.

MAMILIAN, KING of Tozland.
Henry, PRINCE of Godmanchester.
George, DUKE of Somersham.
William, DUKE of Weston.
William, MARQUIS of Stukeley.
Edward, EARL of Hartford.
Robert, LORD of Warsley.
Richard, BARON of Bythorpe.
Robert, BARON of Winwich.
Edmund, KNIGHT of St. Neots.
Peter, ESQUIRE of Euston.

George, GENTLEMAN of Spaldock.
Robert, YEOMAN of Barham.
Stephen, POPE of Weston.
Humphrey, CARDINAL of Kimbolton.
William, BISHOP of Bugden.
John, ARCHDEACON of Paxton.
John, ABBOT of Stukeley.
Richard, FRIAR of Ellington.
Henry, MONK of Stukeley.
Edward, PRIEST of Graffham.
Richard, DEACON of Catsworth.

N.B. Judge Doddridge having (in the circuit precedent to this) found fault with the Sheriff, for impanneling men not qualified for the grand-jury; he, being a merry man, resolved to fit the Judge (with sound at least), and calling over the abovesaid names emphatically, made him believe he had indeed a jury of gentility.

The Arraignment and Acquittal of Sir Edward Mosely, Baronet;
Indited at the King's-Bench Bar for a Rape, upon the Body
of Mrs. Anne Swinnerton. Taken by a Reporter there present,
who heard all the Circumstances thereof, whereof this
is a true Copy.

London, printed by E. G. for W. L. 1647.

[Quarto, containing Twelve Pages.]

This Trial was taken, the twenty-eighth Day of January, in the twenty-third
Year of King Charles, *anno Dom.* 1647.

SIR EDWARD MOSELY, Baronet, indicted for felony and rape, upon the body of
one Anne Swinnerton (wife to one Mr. Swinnerton, a gentleman of Gray's-Inn). This
trial was taken, the twenty-eighth day of January, in the twenty-third year of King Charles,
anno Dom. 1647, before Mr. Justice Bacon and Mr. Justice Rolls, in Hilary-term, in *Banco*
Regis.

First, Sir Edward Mosely appeared at the bar, and pleaded 'Not guilty.' Then Mr.
Swinnerton and his wife appeared to give evidence. Then the Court demanded of Mr.
Swinnerton, what counsel he had ready to open the indictment? Mr. Swinnerton answered,

that there had been such tampering with him and his witnesses to stop the prosecution, that he could get no lawyers to open his wife's case.—The Court asked him, whether he had spoken with any lawyers to be of his council? He said he had, but none would undertake it, only Mr. Cook had promised him that he would open the indictment for him, but he appears not; so that, by the tampering of Sir Edward Mosely, Mr. Lowder, Mr. William Stanley, Mr. Blore, Mr. Brownnell, and twenty more, none would assist him in maintaining of the indictment.—These gentlemen, before-named, appeared in court, and did not deny, but that they did use what means they could, in a fair way, to put up the business betwixt Sir Edward Mosely and Mrs. Swinnerton; which they conceived they might lawfully do, believing it could not possibly be a rape, having had intelligence of some former passages in it. Then the Court said, Mr. Swinnerton, if you had desired council, the Court would have assigned you council.—Then Mr. Swinnerton proceeded with his evidence; saying, Coming home to my chamber, about six of the clock in April 1647, I found Sir Edward Mosely come rushing out of my chamber; and I, entering, saw my wife thrown upon the ground, with all her clothes torn, the bed-clothes torn, and hanging half-way upon the ground, my wife crying and wringing her hands, with her clothes all torn off her head, and her wrist sprained; Sir Edward Mosely having thrown her violently upon the ground: whereupon, seeing her in this condition, I asked her what was the matter; she said, Sir Edward Mosely had ravished her. Mr. Swinnerton further informed the Court, That Sir Edward Mosely, two or three days before he did the rape, said that he would ravish my wife, though he were sure to be hanged for it.—Then Mrs. Swinnerton began her evidence; saying, Upon my oath here I swear, that he said he would force me to my bed; and then he swore, God d— him, he would lie with me, though he were sure to die for it: then he takes me, and carries me to a narrow place, betwixt the wall and the bed, and with his hands, forced my hands behind me, and lay with me, whether I would or no.—Then Sir Edward Mosely interrupted her; saying, Did not your husband come to the chamber-door at that time you pretended you were ravished, and knocked at the door, and I would have opened the door for him; whereupon you said, It is my husband, let the drunken sot stay without; and would not suffer me to open the door; and asked her whether she did not say so? She said, it was false. Then the Court demanded of Mr. Swinnerton, what he said to his wife, when he found her in this manner? Mr. Swinnerton answered, I said, if she were ravished, as she said she was, she must take her oath of it, and indict him for it; and, if she did not, he would believe that she had played the whore with him, and he would turn her off, and live no more with her, and she should be Sir Edward Mosely's whore altogether: but, said he, being desirous to be further satisfied in the business, I often sought for Sir Edward Mosely, but could not find him, for he had fled away from his chamber.

One day I met him accidentally in Holbourn, and desired to speak a word with him: he said, he knew my business, but he was in haste, and could not stay. Then I told him I had earnest business with him, and must speak with him. He told me, he suspected I had some design to arrest him, and would not be persuaded to stay. Then I pressed him, that if he would go and drink a cup of ale with me, he should come to no danger concerning any arrest at all; and if he then would give me any satisfaction, I would not prosecute the law against him.—The Court demanded of him, what he meant by satisfaction? Mr. Swinnerton answered, Only to know what he could say to excuse himself.—The Court said, Why, would you believe him before your wife? Mr. Swinnerton answered, My meaning was, if he could satisfy me, that my wife was consenting to it, I had rather wave the prosecution, than bring my wife and myself upon the stage; and this was my intent; and no other.

Then the Court asked Sir Mosely, how Mr. Swinnerton's wife came to be so with her clothes torn, and ruffled in this manner, none but he and she being in the room? Sir Edward Mosely answered, She always went very ill-favouredly in her apparel.—Then the Court asked Mrs. Swinnerton, whether there were any in the room but Sir Edward and herself? She answered, A little before there was my maid, but I had sent her to the ba-

ker's house for bread for my children, and in the mean while he lay with me against my will.

Then the Court asked the maid, what she could say?—She said, When I came from the baker's, and entering into the chamber, I found my mistress crying, and wringing her hands, saying she was undone. Also, I heard Sir Edward Mosely say, before I went to the baker's, that he would lie with my mistress, though he were sure to be hanged for it; and at all times he was wont to be very uncivil and rude, when he came into the chamber. Once he came into the chamber, when I was there alone; truly, I durst not stay in the chamber, for I always observed he was so lecherously given, that any woman, were she never so mean, would serve his turn. At this time he came into the chamber, a little before I went to the baker's; I observed he would fain have thrown my mistress upon the bed, when I was there; but my mistress would not yield to it, but grew very angry with him, and said he was a rogue, and spit in his face; yet he would not let her alone: whereupon I told him, if he would not be more civil, I would call my master, and if he came, he would crack his crown for using my mistress so uncivilly. Sir Edward Mosely answered, he cared not a f— for my master, and that, for me, I was a base jade, and he would make me kiss his — &c. What? said the Court. But the maid, having some modesty, could not bring it out. Then said her mistress, He said she should kiss something that was about him. What was that? said the Court again. Mr. Swinnerton answered, He said he would make her kiss his a—. Then the Court said to the maid, You must not be so nice in speaking the truth, being upon your oath.—Mrs. Swinnerton said, Then came Mr. James Winstanley, to tamper with me, from Sir Edward Mosely, and told me, If I pleased to accept of a hundred pounds, I should have it, if I would be reconciled to Sir Edward Mosely.—Then the maid said, My mistress made him answer, she cared not for money.—Mrs. Swinnerton said, It is true, I said so; and this I said, If Sir Edward Mosely would down upon his knees, and confess that he had wronged me, I would not prosecute him; but, also, I resolved that he should wear a paper upon his breast, or upon his hat, acknowledging the injury he had done unto me: if he would do so, I would forgive him. Then said she, Mr. James Winstanley desired to know where the place was in the room where I was ravished; whereupon I shewed him. Mr. James Winstanley answered, This was such a place for such a business, that, if I had the strongest woman in England, I could ravish her here, whether she would or no.

Then, the prosecutors for the King having ended their evidence, the Court asked Sir Edward Mosely, What he could say for himself? He said he had many witnesses, and desired that they might be examined what they could say in his behalf.

Then Mr. Kilvert was called in, who appeared. The Court said, Mr. Kilvert, though you be not upon your oath, you must speak the truth in the fear of God. Mr. Kilvert answered, I know it, my Lord; what I shall say here, I speak it in the presence of God, and I shall speak no more than what is truth.—Mrs. Swinnerton, seeing of him, said, I hope nobody will believe what this knave Kilvert will say; for he is a knave known to all the Court, and all that hear him.—Then Mr. Kilvert went on with his evidence, saying, I thank God this is the second time I ever came in this woman's company; the first time was at the Fleece-tavern in Covent-Garden, where she came to a dinner, to meet with Sir Edward Mosely. As soon as she had sat down at the table, she said, that this room had been a very lucky room to her, for once before, in this room, she had received three-hundred pounds for the composition of a rape, which she charged a reverend divine withal: I shall not stick to name the man, she said it was Dr. Belcanquell. This Doctor I knew to be a reverend man, and, to my knowledge, is long since dead, and in heaven; and for this rape, she said then, she would not take under two-thousand pounds for a composition of Sir Edward Mosely, which she said was little enough, he having three-thousand pounds a year. Mrs. Swinnerton hearing of this, clapped her hands at him, and said, he was a knave, and a rascal, and all was false which he said.

Then the Court said to her, Mrs. Swinnerton, you should carry yourself soberly and moderately, otherwise you will disparage all your witnesses. Then the Court asked her

whether she did meet at this tavern, (having affirmed before, that she never was in Sir Edward Mosely's company, but in her own chamber;) whereupon she staggered at it a little, and loth to confess it: at last she answered, True, she was there, but this rascal Kilvert had bewitched her to come thither. Mr. Kilvert said further, After she had sat a while at the table, she takes her stool, and removes it to sit next to Sir Edward Mosely, and there falls a-hugging and embracing him; whereupon, said he, Surely, lady, whereas you say Sir Edward hath ravished you, I do believe, rather, you have ravished him; otherwise you would not make so much of him.—So Mr. Kilvert made an end of his evidence.

Then Mr. Wood, another witness, said he met her at Islington, in Sir Edward Mosely's company, and there she confessed to him, that Sir Edward Mosely had many times left the key of his chamber with her, to go to him when she pleased; and, she said, she had often made use of it. Then, said this witness, after I had seriously looked upon her, and seeing of her a woman of that strength of body, I said, I wondered Sir Edward Mosely should ravish her. She said, Do you wonder at that, why? Do you take me behind the bed there, there being a bed in the room, and see whether you may not do it.

Another witness said, that she had confessed to him, that Sir Edward Mosely once lay with her, with her consent; afterwards she asked him, Now what will you give my maid, you must give her something? He answered, I will give her forty shillings; whereupon she said, Forty shillings! that is base, you cannot give her less than ten pounds and a silk petticoat: but, when he went forth of doors, she said he gave her nothing but a groat, and so basely went his way.

Another witness said, he heard her say (that it being generally known that Sir Edward Mosely had ravished her) she was like to lose many of her best customers in town.

Another witness said, he heard Swinnerton say, that, if she would not take her oath that she was ravished by him, she should never be no wife of his. Afterwards Mr. James Winstanley was called into the court: he said, It is true, she took me, and shewed me the place where she was ravished. He wondering how Sir Edward, being but a little man, and she such a lusty woman, should be ravished by him! Why, said she, should you wonder at that? Then she put her leg between my legs, and put her other leg, setting her foot against the wall, saying now, In this posture, as you see me here, I myself could ravish any woman whatsoever.

Another witness said, The night before she went to prefer the bill of indictment against Sir Edward Mosely, she confessed she had like to have been distracted, and run mad, for fear the grand jury should find the bill.

Two other witnesses affirmed, upon their credit, Whereas it was said by Mr. Swinnerton, and his wife, that Sir Edward Mosely fled from his chamber immediately after the act was done, they said they had daily recourse to his chamber, and walked to and fro with him, sometimes in Gray's-Inn walks, sometimes to Westminster, and to other places in the town, for six weeks together, after this pretended rape; and many times they saw Mrs. Swinnerton stand at her own door, looking upon him as he passed by, (which was but six steps from Sir Edward's chamber-door,) and never questioned about it; but oftentimes, they said, (seeing her stand watching there,) they feared she would go up to him, and tempt him to wickedness.

Then, evidence being given on both sides, the jury went from the bar, and returned, and gave their verdict, That Sir Edward Mosely was 'Not guilty.' Then the Court said, Sir Edward Mosely, take heed what company you keep hereafter. Let this be a warning to you. You see in what danger you bring yourself to, in keeping ill company.

Imprimatur, Gilbert Mabbot,
February 8, 1647.

News from the Channel: Or, the Discovery and perfect Description of the Isle of Serke¹, appertaining to the English Crown, and never before publicly discoursed of. Truly setting forth the notable Stratagem whereby it was first taken, the Nature of the Place and People; their Government, Customs, Manufactures, and other Particulars, no less necessary than pleasant to be known. In a Letter from a Gentleman, now inhabiting there, to his Friend and Kinsman in London.

London; printed by John Lock, for John Clarke, at the Bible and Harp in West-Smithfield, 1673.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

DEAR COUSIN;

THE Anne of Bristol, touching here homewards-bound, brought safe those commodities I gave you the trouble to send me, and enriched me with the treasure of your more welcome letter; to which, though I cannot answer in the same handsome expressions and embroidery of language, (a failure easily excusable in a place where my native tongue is almost a stranger, and French generally spoken more barbarous than that of Littleton;) yet be confident I shall never, when opportunity offers itself, come short in the real offices of good-will and affection. I am glad some of our old acquaintance are still so kind as to preserve me in their memories; and could not but call Ned and Jenny to help laugh at the pleasant narration you make, of the surprise many of them are in, when you tell them, I have left Southampton to go to dwell in the Isle of Serke: some enquiring in which of the Indies that strange island lies; others offering wagers there is no such place in the world, but that it is younger sister to the Isle of Pines. Nor, indeed, can I condemn their wonder, since, although this place hath, for about four-score years, paid obedience to the English sceptre; yet scarce one Englishman of a thousand hath heard, or can give any good account of it. Our geographers have herein proved land-lopers; and the very maps, wherein oftentimes painters gratify their wives with jointures of imaginary islands, have been content to omit the real one. - However, to satisfy the curiosity of my friends, but more especially to comply with your desires, which I must ever interpret commands; I shall venture on a brief description of this little part of the world, where Providence hath allotted me at present; and, I thank Heaven, no uncomfortable habitation.

Serke, the place whence this letter comes to kiss your hands, is an island situate in the channel betwixt England and France, lying at once in view of the banks of Normandy, and of our two other more eminent islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and about four leagues to the south-west of the latter; though its circuit or extent can yield no great temptation to any prince's ambition to make himself master of it; its dimensions being not above five miles in length, and about two miles in breadth, where it is largest over, in other places not so much; yet nature, as if she had here stored up some extraordinary treasure, seems to have been very solicitous to render it impregnable; being on every side surrounded with

¹ [See Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 60.]

vast rocks and mighty cliffs, whose craggy tops, braving the clouds with their stupendous height, bid defiance to all that shall dream of forcing an entrance. Two only ascents or passages there are into it: the first where all goods and commodities are received, called *La Soguien*, where, for a large space through a solid rock, there is a cart-way cut by art down to the sea, with two strong gates for its defence, (wherein most of the storage for navigation, as masts, sails, anchors, &c. belonging to the island, are kept,) and two pieces of ordnance above, always ready to prevent any surprise: the other is *La Frikeree*, where only passengers can land, climbing up a rock by certain steps, or stairs cut therein to a vast height, and somewhat dangerously; nor is it possible there for above one person to come up at once.

This description of its situation, I persuade myself, Cousin, will put you into a little fit of longing, to know by what means our countrymen came at first to make themselves masters of a place so naturally fortified; and truly, in discovering that, we shall acquaint you with a stratagem, excelling most you shall meet with in the Greek and Roman histories, and equalled by few of those in the Low-country wars, or any more modern expeditions.

In the reign of our matchless maiden Queen, this island being wholly possessed by France (as most of the inhabitants, not only thereof, but of Jersey and Guernsey too, are to this day of that nation), a sea-captain (whose name I at present remember not, though it is pity it ever should be swallowed by oblivion) apprehending its neighbourhood, if it continued in the French hands, might, one time or other, portend no good to the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, the only remaining trophies of our French conquests, solicited the Queen to commission him to reduce it to her obedience; who, having received former information of it, told him the place was so small, and the attempt so hazardous, it would scarce be worth while; and that she feared the loss of men about it would be more damage than its taking of importance or advantage. For you must note at that time the passage down at *La Soguien* was not made, nor did it appear half so accessible as now it appears. But our subtle captain replied, "If her Majesty would but give him command and necessities, he durst assure her to settle the English colours there without the loss of a man." The Queen, seeing his confidence, yields to his importunity; who, accompanied with about one hundred resolved men, puts to sea, and, after some time cruising up and down, comes and lies before this island of Serke, in quality of a merchantman homewards-bound; and, making out his boat with several taking commodities, the people suffered three or four of their crew to land, and traded with them, with much amity, for a day or two. At last, having insinuated into the good opinion of the credulous islanders, they told them, having been a long trading-voyage in the Streights, their master was some time since dead, but had engaged them not to expose his corpse into the ocean to be devoured of the fish, but to inter it with Christian burial, in the next place where they should touch ground; and therefore they desired that Christian favour of them, that they might lay him in their church-yard, coming only some few of them a-shore, without any arms, to perform the ceremony. The unwary people consent, and our captain, with about twenty of his stoutest men, with a coffin, and much seeming solemnity, got a-shore, the natives assisting them to get their Trojan horse up the precipice: but no sooner were they arrived at the church, but clapping to the door, (as if they had some private devotions to celebrate, at which the inhabitants might not be present,) they break open their coffin filled, instead of a dead body, with instruments of death; and, instantly arming themselves, slay that small French guard that there offered resistance, and retiring to the landing-place, secure that, get in more of their company, and, in five hours time, without the loss of one man, made themselves masters of the whole island; which, ever since that time, has had the honour to boast itself part of the dominions of the English crown.

But since nothing is more necessary to the life of man, than those four elements, whereof he, together with the rest of the universe, is originally composed; I shall, in the next place, observe how we are therewith accommodated.

Our air, considering the narrowness of the place, and how it is encompassed with the ocean, is much better than can be expected; our haven serene, and our sky generally free from that nasty dish-clout of fogs and clouds, which in your marshes and city too, are wont to muffle up the sun's glorious face. In brief, it is so agreeable to nature, that although I know not one physician in the island, (and, perhaps, we live the longer for their absence,) yet to meet here with a hearty old man of fourscore is nothing rare or unfrequent.

Our water, I confess, is sometimes not very ready, and yet we have in the island no less than six very fine springs generally running, whose water purified in its under-ground passage, and by being drawn so high through nature's lembick, bubbles up so free from any smack of brackishness, that it may compare with your Lamb's-conduit; and, for aught I know, is no less miraculous for curing sore eyes than Crowder's-well.

Our earth or soil is, for the most part, hot and sandy, yet fruitful enough to afford all necessaries to its inhabitants; excellent for bearing all kind of roots, as parsnips, carrots, turnips, &c. and very well stored with fruit-trees, for the most part planted of late, by the good husbandry of the people, furnishing us with cyder, not at all inferior to your Herefordshire redstreak; and, to render it the more wholesome, it is generally boiled with a little spice, which preserves it and gives it an incomparable relish. Corn we have of most sorts, but not in any extraordinary quantity; our pasture is but short, yet exceeding sweet, and therefore we have rare mutton, but no great plenty of beef, and cows only enow to supply us with milk and butter, for our cheese we have generally from England.

Our firing (to speak of the most aspiring element last) is for the most part furzes and sometimes turf; for we have but little wood, and no timber at all growing throughout the whole island; so that we are forced either to make shift with old apple-tree for our houses, or furnish ourselves as well as we can with deal.

For belly-timber, our three staple commodities are fish, fowl, and rabbits: of the first a little industry will purchase us a hundred sorts; particularly, a large fish we call a Vrack-fish, which we split, and, nailing it to our walls, dry it in the sun for part of our winter provision; as also a large shell-fish taken plentifully at low tides, called an Ormond, that sticks to the rocks, whence we beat them off with a fossil or iron-hook; it is much bigger than an oyster, and like that good, either fresh or pickled, but infinitely more pleasant to the gusto; so that an epicure would think his palate in paradise, if he might but always gormondize on such delicious ambrosia, (to borrow Aretine's phrase, upon his eating a lamprey).

For fowl, your city cannot be better furnished with woodcocks or widgeons, besides the abundance of duck, mallard, teal, and other wild-fowl, with clift-pigeons, with which, at some seasons, almost the whole island is covered.

O sconies we have every where exceeding plenty, and yet, lest we should want, nature has provided us a particular warren, placing at a small distance in the sea an island of about half a mile every way over, which is inhabited by nothing else; whither we commonly go a-ferreting, and have thence such abundance, that it has been confidently told me some families here have made fifteen or twenty pounds a year only of their skins. If all this rich fare will not content you, we have a most excellent pottage made of milk, bacon, coleworts, mackarel, and gooseberries, boiled together all to pieces; which our mode is to eat, not with the ceremony of a spoon, but the more courtly way of a great piece of bread furiously plying between your mouth and the kettle.

But, lest you should think we mind too much our bellies, take next a survey of our political government. First, for our defence, we have a captain, with about forty soldiers, who continually keep guard, and are maintained by contribution of the inhabitants; then we have a court of judicature held every Tuesday, where an honest fisherman we call the judge; another, at present his son, that is intitled, *Monsieur Le Provost*, a person that has the gift of writing, and learning enough to read the obligation of a bond, serving as

clerk or recorder, with five other sage burghers that are justices, or some of them meet, and without any tedious formalities, intricate demurrers, special verdicts, wire-drawn arguments, chargeable injunctions, multiplied motions, or endless writs of error, briskly determine all causes *secundum equum et bonum*, (according to their mother-wit and grave discretions,) except in criminals where life is concerned; in which case the offenders are immediately sent away for trial and punishment to Guernsey.

Since the taking the place by the English, Huguenot ministers officiating, the people have subscribed to the discipline which, beyond the seas, they call 'Reformed;' but wanting much of that beauty and decent order wherewith the church of England entertains her children. The present minister (whom I must acknowledge a person of more industry and parts, than could be hoped for among such people) hath lately begun to teach grammar to the children, with writing and arithmetick, erecting a school for that purpose; so that who knows to what prodigious learning we may here one day arrive? Sure I am, the genius of the people cannot but be docible, since they are naturally of a courteous affable temper, and the least tainted with pride that ever I saw any of their nation; that apish variety of fantastic fashions, wherewith Paris is justly accused to infect all Europe, has here no footing, where every one retains the same garb their ancestors wore in the days of Hugh Capet and King Pippin; so that I can give small encouragement to any of the knights of the thimble, to transport themselves hither, where cucumbers are like to be more plenty than in the back side of St. Clement's: each man religiously preserving his vast blue trunk-breeches, with a cod-piece larger than King Harry's, and a coat almost like a Dutch fro's vest, or one of your watermen's liveries. Nor are the women behind-hand with them in their hospital-gowns of the same colour, wooden sandals, white stockings, and red petticoats, so mean they are scarce worth taking up. Both sexes on festivals wear large ruffs; and the women, instead of hats or hoods, truss up their hair; the more genteel sort in a kind of cabbage-net; those of meaner fortunes in a piece of linen; perhaps an old dish-clout turned out of service, or the fag-end of a table-cloth, that has escaped the persecution of washing ever since the Reformation: this they, tying on the top, make it shew like a Turkish turban, but that part of it hangs down their backs like a veil, which might be of use to our wanton youngsters when the spirit moves them to a kissing exercise, but that we are never, in such case, put to use violence: for though our females, for proportion and complexion, are perfect French, and may, for the most part, without any usurpation, assume Don Quixot's title of damsels of the ill-favoured face; yet to compensate that, and it is much this sex should know their own defects, they are the most kind and obliging in the world; so sprightly, frolic, and gay-humoured, that I am confident Mahomet can no-where pick up more buxom girls to stock his paradise with.

But it is more than time to release your patience, save that I persuade myself you have not had enough to read half thus far. Let me conclude with a word or two of our trade, which, I confess, is not very great to the Levant or either of the Indies; Bristol, and some other of your western ports, being the furthest places of our traffick: for the grand, and almost only manufacture of our island being knitting, which our people perform with a wonderful dexterity, both for stockings, gloves, caps, and waistcoats; men, women, and children, being brought up to it; so that you may commonly see thirty or forty of them assembled in a barn, which you would take for a conventicle of your sweet singers of Israel: for, though all ply their knitting devoutly, yet at the same time they tune their pipes, and torture some old songs, with more distracted notes, than a country quire does one of Hopkins's psalms. These commodities, when finished, we vend into England at the places aforesaid, having several small vessels for that purpose, and thence in return furnish ourselves with necessaries.

I doubt not, but by this time you repent your curiosity, and confess that I have sufficiently tormented you with the Isle of Serke: nor know I any way to receive your good opinion (which, I am more than confident, my tediousness has forfeited), but by begging your pardon, and drinking your health in a black-jack of French wine, which, paying no

custom, we have here as plentifully cheap as in France itself. I hope you will pledge me at the Bear, where, if the old Bacchus be still living, commend me to him : assure all my friends, that I shall return their loves with usury : speak my respects particularly to Esquire D. and Captain S. and, to yourself, take me as I am,

All this, though you read it not till
Michaelmas, was told you at Serke,
this first of April, O. S. 1673.

Wholly and entirely,
Your most affectionate kinsman
And humble servant,
F. W.

Articles of High-Treason, and other High-Crimes and Misdemeanours, against the Duchess¹ of Portsmouth. [1680.]

IMPRIMIS, That the said Duchess hath and still doth cohabit and keep company with the King, having had foul, nauseous, and contagious distempers ; which, once possessing her blood, can never admit of a perfect cure ; to the manifest danger and hazard of the King's person, in whose preservation is bound up the weal and happiness of the Protestant religion, our lives, liberties, and properties, and those of our posterity for ever.

II. She hath laboured to alter and subvert the government of church and state, now established by law ; and, in the room thereof, to introduce popery and tyranny in the three kingdoms, by her counsels from time to time.

III. She hath, by her persuasion, countenance, and other artifices and insinuations, reconciled several of her servants, and others, natural-born subjects, to the communion of the see of Rome, in defiance of the statute which makes it capital, Jac. 3, 4.

IV. She advised, and still does nourish, foment, and maintain that fatal and destructive correspondency and alliance between England and France ; being sent over and pensioned by the French king to the same end and purpose, and consequently hath rendered ineffectual those frequent addresses in parliament for a war with the French king : and, in order to the propagating these her malicious, detestable, and destructive designs against our religion and government, the several French ministers who have resided here since the breach of the Triple League (from whence we of these three kingdoms have, and still groan under) have, and do still resort to her apartment in his Majesty's royal palace ; where, having several conferences with his Majesty, they have pried into his secret counsels, and by the assistance of her, her agents, and French ministers, have fixed and continued the aforesaid accursed amity between England and France, against the grave and repeated advice of the whole nation in parliament.

V. That she hath endeavoured, to her power, to stifle and vilify the King's evidence, to create a disbelief in the King, of the plot against his royal person, subversion of the Protestant religion and government, interceded for by traitors impeached by parliament, and other arch-traitors, particularly Father Ireland the Jesuit, arraigned, heard, fairly and legally condemned, and most justly executed.

VI. She has, from time to time, intermeddled and advised in matters of the highest

¹ Louise de Querovaille.—This half-sheet was published by the favourers of the Duke of York, to ruin her character with the people ; because (as it is worded in the twentieth article) she endeavoured to foist herself and son upon the nation, to the detriment of the said Duke, and strove to set him aside from the throne by the bill of Exclusion.

moment and importance in government; as peace and war, several dissolutions and prorogations of parliament, matters depending, wherein the very life and soul of the government in church and state was concerned.

VII. That she advised a disgeneral peace, so destructive to Christendom, and particularly to these three kingdoms, it being in our power to have turned the scale.

VIII. That she placed and displaced great ministers in church and state, as she judged might be most serviceable in promoting the French-popish interest.

IX. That she not only took upon her to make chief ministers as aforesaid, but either received sums of money in hand, or pensions yearly out of their profits, salaries, and perquisites, which hath, in great measure, contributed to that general corruption in all places; and nothing being more unnatural; for when trust and places are bought, justice must be sold.

X. That she hath been an unspeakable charge and burthen; having had given her, for many years past, prodigious sums of money in other people's names, the better to disguise the matter, as well out of the public treasury, as the privy-purse; and such is her ascendant over the King, that in her own apartment, she prevailed with the King there to sign and seal warrants for grants of vast sums of money, and particularly procured the King's warrant to the Earl of Danby, now impeached and in the Tower, for one-hundred thousand pounds, and this at one time, which ought to have been applied for the safety, honour, and reputation of this kingdom.

XI. That hardly any grant, office, or place was given, but through her, or her emissaries' intercession, and money given to them.

XII. Those vast prodigious sums she hath, for the most part, caused to be transported to a nation by religion, interest, and practice, an enemy to our religion and government; to the weakening and impoverishing of our nation, and the strengthening and enriching of our adversaries.

XIII. That she hath procured farms and undertakings of the several branches of the revenue, at lower rates than really worth; having been bribed for so doing.

XIV. That she hath protected several from justice, and particularly the Earl of Ranelagh, who had cheated, defrauded, and abused the King in his revenues of Ireland, supporting him against many representations from the government of Ireland, and many orders of the King and council here; full-well knowing several articles were in the secret committee against the said Earl, not only for cheating his Majesty in Ireland, but for combining with the Earl of Danby in England to defraud the King, and particularly in the excise-farm, undertaken by the Dashwoods; and notwithstanding, such is her power, she still protects the said Earl, not only from his accounts, but in his place of treasurer, which does reflect upon his Majesty to keep such a person in place, in spite of all the orders in council, and his own convictions; and does wholly discourage a parliament ever to give a supply, when such are employed; and has procured several lords in favour of the said Earl of Ranelagh, as well to the present as former governors, to the dishonour of the King, and interruption of justice.

XV. That she got grants in Ireland, in other persons' names, as well to crown-rents, as others; to the great disorder, distraction, and vexation of the subjects, who are liable to have their estates and titles questioned and disturbed by commissions of enquiry, and other ways, as officers for the King.

XVI. That she procured to herself a grant of the revenues, arising by the wine-licences, towards the defraying of her extravagant debts, most contrary to the express letter of the act of parliament, which provides most positively, That the revenues, arising therefrom, shall not be employed or granted to any private use whatsoever: yet such was her power with his Majesty, and the Earl of Danby, late lord-treasurer, that she procured three able honest servants to his Majesty, to be turned out of their commissions in the wine-licence office, because they would not lend her money upon the security of the said revenue, contrary to the act of parliament above-mentioned; and such is her power with the Earl of Essex, and other commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, that she hath procured Dr. Tay-

for, her servant, to be made a commissioner in the new commission of wine-licence office, in prejudice of those persons turned out by the Earl of Danby, as aforesaid; on purpose that he, the said Doctor Taylor, should govern that branch of the revenue (in spite and contempt of an act of parliament, appointing it to a public end and government) for the Duches's use and behalf; neither can it be for any other end and purpose, for that the said Doctor Taylor, by reason of the many affairs he has to manage with the Duchess, cannot attend the King's service.

XVII. That she hath, and doth relieve and countenance in her family and lodgings in Whitehall, several servants, whom she knows to be papists, and ill-affected to the Protestant religion and government; giving them frequent and private access to his Majesty, to the hazard and danger of his Majesty's person, and in contempt of a late act of parliament, whereby all papists whatsoever (except father Huddleston², seven women-servants, and some foreign servants to her Majesty) were prohibited to come within the limits of his Majesty's palace or court; notwithstanding which act of parliament, she hath, and still doth not only relieve in her lodgings, as aforesaid, several servants of the popish persuasion, but she hath lately taken into her service a French papist, whom she formerly preferred to his Majesty as a confectioner, and who was entered of his Majesty's service upon the aforesaid act; which said confectioner doth daily prepare sweet-meats and other banquetings, in triumph over the late fresh act of parliament, for his Majesty at her lodgings; so that his Majesty may be in an eminent danger from the aforesaid French papist, who has such opportunity to poison his sacred Majesty, by mixing poison in the sweet-meats, whom God long preserve!

XVIII. That the day before his Majesty fell sick at Windsor, she persuaded his Majesty, being then in her lodgings, to eat a mess of broth, prepared by some of her papist-servants; whereupon his Majesty fell immediately sick, it being the opinion of some able physicians, that his Majesty's diseases were much augmented, if not wholly created, by the aforesaid broth.

XIX. That, during his Majesty's sickness, she introduced several unknown persons, by a back-door, to his Majesty's bed-chamber, who, in all likelihood, were Romish priests, French physicians, agents or ministers of the French king's; all which persons could have no honest or lawful business with his Majesty, at that time especially, being privately introduced, and his Majesty's proper servants, belonging to his bed-chamber, being all sent out, except such as were popishly affected; her creatures consequently, and her footmen ordered to wait in the anti-chamber, as is judged, to prevent any body's hearing, or seeing them, as if they had been of his Majesty's bed-chamber.

XX. That she has, by her creatures and friends, given out, and whispered abroad, that she was married to his Majesty, and that her son, the Duke of Richmond, is his Majesty's legitimate son, and consequently Prince of Wales, his health being frequently drunk by her, and her creatures, in her night-debauches and merry-meetings, to the great dishonour and reflection of his Majesty, and the manifest peril and danger of these kingdoms, who may hereafter, by such false and scandalous stories, and wicked practices, be embroiled in distractions, if not in blood and civil wars, to the utter ruin of his Majesty's subjects, and subversion of the Protestant religion; it being manifest, she, being a papist herself, will breed her son in the same religion, however she may pretend to the contrary³.

XXI. That, she having that high and dishonourable absolute dominion and power over the King's heart, she has opportunity to draw from him the secrets of his government; opportunity by herself, or other engines of her's, to poison, or otherwise to destroy the King; opportunity, at least, to promote a French-papist interest, so that it is not only impossible the Protestant religion should live, but it is not possible the King can have a due sense of the danger he was, or may be in, from the Romish conspiracy; which has, is, or may be, against his royal person and government.

XXII. That she has had the highest honours and rewards conferred on her, and her's;

² A Benedictine monk.

³ This proved a mistake.

to the high dishonour of God, the encouragement of wickedness and vice (which by such examples is overspread the nation, and for which God's anger is kindled and inflamed against us), suppressing and discouraging of virtue, whose rewards those high titles and honours ought to be; and this to the eternal reproach of his Majesty's reign and government.

A brief and perfect Journal of the late Proceedings and Success of the English Army in the West-Indies, continued until June the 24th, 1655. Together with some Queries inserted and answered. Published for Satisfaction of all such who desire truly to be informed in these Particulars. By I. S. an Eye-witness.

Veritas nudata celari non potest.

London, printed 1655.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-seven Pages.]

IN all records, ancient or modern, of the actions and transactions of kingdoms and nations, there are not to be seen more suitable successes, attending strange and occult proceedings, than lately in the West-Indies; and although the managing of so grand affairs, and matters of high concernment, were committed to some, who had the repute of being well-principled, valiant and politic in war; yet there wanted not means to frustrate the design, and expectations of most men, the particulars whereof I shall deliver in as brief and true a manner as possibly I may: but before I proceed further, it will not be amiss to insert these queries with their resolutions.

1. Whether or not the setting forth of this army, were really intended for the glory of God and propagation of the Gospel?
2. Whether those that were of this army, were fit instruments to be employed in the exaltation of God's work, and pulling down of Antichrist?
3. And lastly, Whether the hand of Almighty God hath not been plain and manifestly seen, in opposition to their actings and proceedings?

To the first is answered, that after divers serious debates and results, *pro* and *con*; it was at length resolved, by the supreme authority and council of state, to send an army into the West-Indies; what preparation was made, is not unknown to most of the nation; but for what, or against whom, was scarce understood by any, except some few superiors: and for this cause, divers conscientious men, who preferred the service of God before that of men, and treasure in heaven beyond riches and honour on earth, scrupled the design, and deserted the service. For what zealous heart would willingly embrace an unknown enterprise, which might perhaps tend to his own destruction sooner than his enemies, by endeavouring to pull that down, which God hath set up, and to set up that which he never called him unto? Shall a multitude perish, through means of some few particular men, in fulfilling that proverb, by pinning their faith on others' sleeves? Hath not God conferred as much of the gifts of grace and nature on the mean men of the world, as

on those of the greatest rank and dignity? Doth honour add zeal, riches, valour; or have the most eminent, in office and command, always the greatest eminency of wisdom and conduct? Certainly we have found otherwise, for oftentimes such involve themselves in eminent and irrecoverable dangers; nor is it always pregnancy of wit, valour, and discretion, (although these be famous in war,) that gives the victory, but God that worketh all in all, and who can say, 'What dost thou?'

To conclude the design to be altogether grounded on a wrong and corrupt principle, were to accuse our grandees with folly, irreligion, and what not; when indeed it is beyond the ability of man to pry into the secret thoughts and intents of the heart, it is only the Almighty can do it: and although there may be a probable conjecture given of the intent of the workman, by the instrument he taketh in hand, yet God hath been sometimes pleased to make the wicked—instruments of good; but it doth not therefore follow, that such should be employed in good works, neither the servants of God in bad. All created things move in their proper sphere; the natural man acts in his natural function, and mindeth only the things of the world; and the spiritual man (although he be in the world) is not of the world, but mindeth the things of the Spirit, and the fulfilling of the glory of God; whose power and justice are as well seen in the destruction of the wicked, as preservation of the righteous.

Now to return to the good intent of the cause whereof I treat; if we reflect upon the consequence of actions, it will soon appear, there was nothing less aimed at, than God's glory, and establishment of the Gospel; nor nothing more coveted, than gain to themselves, and establishment in the rich possessions of others: but servants often disobey the command of their masters, and act contrary to his will and pleasure; it is possible it might be so now, and that might cause their greater punishment.

If we look upon this expedition in reference to the lawfulness thereof (as it is in itself), we may find, by these following considerations, that it was both lawful, just, and warrantable by the word of God, and law of nations. First, in regard those they went out against were idolaters, hereticks, and members of the false church. Secondly, for that they, some years since, most wickedly and inhumanly murdered and destroyed divers of our nation that traded peaceably with them in the West-Indies. Thirdly, there was no breach of league in the prosecution of this war, there being no articles of peace or cessation in force betwixt both nations to the southward of the Tropick. Lastly, conquest is free to all people, no law of nations can prohibit the power of the sword; it is only God that sets its bounds and limits, and where his pleasure is, it should make a final conquest; there it is free inheritance to the conqueror, and his successors. By that power did the Normans invade and conquer England, since which time there have no less than twenty-five kings and queens successively, although not successfully, reigned. By the same power was there lately a period put to that government, and a new established. By this power had the kingdom of France been subject to the crown of England, and by the same power again recovered. By this power are the Turks and infidels, at this day, possessors of the best and fruitfulest parts of the earth; and by the same power Julius Cæsar became conqueror of the whole world: many and incredible are the difficulties and admirable exploits run through and performed by this power, and that sometimes by a weak hand; for when the Omnipotent punisheth the wicked, and correcteth his own people, he often maketh choice of one and the same means to be instrumental to both.

And thus much for the legality of the cause, by which we must not measure the good intent; if we do, we may deceive ourselves, for (as hath been said) the very actions and deportments of this army were such, that no good at all might be expected from them, either in their intent or proceeding. To condemn all, because many were guilty, were an act of much injustice: some might be better principled, otherwise of all armies were they most miserable: but the bias of riches and honours many times carrieth men headlong to destruction.

A common-wealth of people is as man's body, some member may be corrupted, and yet the vitals preserved, and the head not impaired; in such cases the skilful surgeon,

that takes care to keep and preserve the microcosm, dismembereth that part from the rest of the body, that might otherwise destroy the whole fabrick.

Those who are called unto high places, and bear rule and dominion over nations, ought not only to be replete with true zeal and wisdom, but also valour and state-policy; that so, the gifts of grace and nature being united, they may (as pious patrons, and good surgeons) preserve the body of the nation, in spiritual and temporal health.

God hath already begun a good work amongst us, and let not England now despair of such a governor; there are yet some consequences to be shewn, that the primary intents of our grandees were nothing suitable to the following actings, or rather misactings of this army. 'Grapes could not be expected from thorns, nor figs from thistles;' but rather that 'the bad tree should be cut down, and cast into the fire.' England is now very populous, and the abundance of fruitless trees so incumber the vines, that they cannot fructify; the late civil-war hath yet left some species of malignancy, the sores and corruptions of the nation are not healed, because not cleansed, for the tincture of ungodliness is yet savoury in their palates; men of desperate fortunes have desperate means of remedy, they subsist not by sweat of their own brow, but reap the fruit of others' labours; sowing the seed of sedition, and abominable wickedness, in a land where they have no right inheritance. Can a Christian commonwealth flourish either in godliness, plenty, or peace, when it abounds with such profane vile caterpillars, and corrupters of all good manners? Is it not justice in God, and wisdom in man, to expel such unworthy and unwelcome guests from among his people? Ireland hath already a sufficient share, and Barbadoes, with the rest of those small islands, subject to this dominion, who were wont to be a receptacle for such vermin; are now so filled, that they vomit forth of their superfluities into other places.

Could there be a less cruel, and more just means used, than to employ such in a foreign war? The Indies are spacious, pleasant, and rich; too rich indeed for either the vicious inhabitants, or no less vicious invaders. But those, whom England sent forth on this first expedition, were not many, their number was completed elsewhere, and the design being advanced with much secrecy even to the members of the army itself, manifestly argueth what they were which were intended for that service; even such who willingly proceeded, although they knew not whither.

That which now remaineth, is the proof of the cause, whether really intended for God's glory, and propagation of the Gospel, as was first propounded? The arguments and consequences conducing to the confirmation hereof, are briefly comprehended in this, that if it had pleased God in mercy, for the righteous' sake, to prosper the proceedings of the wicked, and to give the Spaniards and their rich possessions into the hands of those who were more sinful than themselves; that then there would be a fair gap opened for the enriching divers good people of the nation, and utter extirpation of all idle, profane, and irreligious ones, that should be sent over as soldiers and servants into this new-conquered commonwealth: that so, all impediments being removed, the glory of God, above all things else, might be exalted, and the Gospel have free passage and recourse throughout the dominions.

Secondly, Whether the instruments were suitable to the work, hath been in part already resolved, but more fully will appear in the following journal; wherein is declared, what and whence they were that acted, also what and where their actions were from time to time, together with the manner of success.

In the whole written word of God may not be seen in any one instance, that ever he employed those of his people (in his intended work and service) which remained polluted in their sins and wickedness, but always first brought them, by some means or other, unto true humiliation and repentance; and this was sometimes performed by giving part of them over to be destroyed of their enemies; in which is seen, that (by God's permission) good is sometimes acted by means of the wicked; good consequences may be drawn from bad subjects, as in the former sense; but that ever such should persevere in any good or godly work (as to the completing thereof) is not only very improbable, but impossible; for that which is divided against itself, cannot stand; human reason will also tell

us that any rare and curious piece of work cannot be performed by dull and unfit instruments.

But to return to the resolutions of the third and last query ; that the hand of God hath been plain and manifestly seen in opposition to their actions, doth not only appear in the manner of success, but also of proceeding, and that in so miraculous a manner, that scarcely any age may parallel: God indeed confounds the counsels of the high and mighty, and turneth their wisdom into mere foolishness. That an army so numerous, strong, and well provided, should be so cowed out, beaten, and shamefully repulsed, by less than a handful of men in comparison, was certainly the work of God ; and it is marvellous in our eyes. O that men could be sensible of the guilt of sin, and humble themselves by repentance, before destruction sweep them hence that they be no more seen ; or that they could take ensample by the destruction of others, to persist no longer in the ways of wickedness ! But such were the obdurate hearts and seared consciences of this people, that neither blessings nor cursings could mollify ; the golden calf was already set up in their hearts, and, although Aaron were present with them, yet there wanted a Moses to destroy it, and supplicate the Almighty to avert his just judgments from a people that were so exceeding sinful.

Now follows the Journal itself, wherein is described each Proceeding and Action in due Place as they happened (with all Things pertinent thereunto). Whereby the judicious and impartial Readers may, at Leisure, give that solid and just Construction of each Particular Matter, according as the Justness or Unjustness of the Cause requireth ; which probably (through Haste, Multiplicity of Business, and a troubled Spirit) I may not have so well performed in Resolution to the former Queries.

AFTER it was absolutely resolved to send an army into the West-Indies, preparations were accordingly made as well by land as sea ; the generals appointed for both were his Excellency Robert Venables, and the right honourable William Pen, men who had seen much of God's actings for his people, in going in and out before them to their deliverance, and crowning their endeavours with many glorious and triumphant victories ; divers good ships and frigates were allotted for this service, had they been but as well victualled and manned ; and all seamen, that were willing to proceed in the service, received entertainment ; but, for want of a due complement, many fresh-water sailors, and others, were pressed. Drums were also beaten up for such voluntary soldiers as were willing to serve the commonwealth beyond sea ; which gave encouragement to several who go by the name of hectors, and knights of the blade, with common cheats, thieves, cutpurses, and such like lewd persons, who had long time lived by the sleight of hand, and dexterity of wit, and were now making a fair progress unto Newgate, from whence they were to proceed towards Tyburn ; but, considering the dangerousness of that passage, very politically directed their course another way, and became soldiers for the state. Some slothful and thievish servants likewise, to avoid the punishment of the law, and coveting a yet more idle life, followed after in the same path ; there were also drawn forth, out of most of the old standing regiments, such as were newly enlisted, to complete the number. For those who were better principled, and knew what fighting was, were (as it should seem) reserved for a better purpose, some few only excepted ; which were as a mixture of little wine with much water, the one losing its proper strength and vigour, and the other thereby little bettered. And thus went on the preparation by land, whilst the ships were rigging, victualling, and manning ; the general rendezvous for the navy and army was at Portsmouth and thereabouts ; where, by the tenth of November, 1654, most of the ships were arrived, and such proportions of victuals and other necessities ordered to be completed,

as each vessel could conveniently store ; some that was defective was also exchanged, notwithstanding there remained much in the fleet. There likewise the sailors and soldiers received some wages, for better encouragement before their departure.

On the eighteenth of December following, divers companies of soldiers were shipped, and the rear-admiral, having orders, set sail accordingly with his squadron the next day. Within two days after, followed the generals with the remainder of the fleet and land-army, consisting, in all, of about three-thousand men, divided into five regiments, besides commissioners, treasurers, and other officers of the states. The next rendezvous appointed was the island of Barbadoes, whither it pleased God to grant them a fair passage and safe arrival, and that within four days one of another : so that the whole fleet, being about thirty sail, (one-half being victuallers,) were riding together in Castle-Bay by the first day of February ; there remaining behind, only two ships of the Commonwealth's, the Great and Little Charity ; which proved afterwards prejudicial to the army, in their proceeding ; not only in respect of the proper signification of their names (which indeed, in that sense, were both wanting) but quality of their loading ; the one being ordered to carry mortar-pieces, granado-shells, and store of other ammunition ; and the other, horses with arms and furniture for horsemen : but, through what intent or policy they were left in England, more than an ordinary capacity cannot apprehend ; and although expedition be said to be the life of action, yet, through inconsiderate rashness, many a gallant design and action are merely overthrown.

Immediately after the arrival of the fleet, as aforesaid, the soldiers were all put on shore, and distributed into several quarters on the island, where they had allowed such diet as the country afforded, which was none of the worst. The carpenters of each ship were ordered to set up those shallops, with expedition, which were brought over in quarters out of England ; and all the coopers were busied in trimming and fitting of water-casks. In the mean season, two frigates, with a commissioner and others, were dispatched to the islands of Christophers and Meaves, for the raising of as many volunteers there, as were thought convenient ; neither were the colonels and other officers at Barbadoes negligent in completing their regiments and companies, and raising new ; the islanders likewise contributed, of free-cost, to set forth a troop of gallant horse, for the furtherance of this service ; the carcasses whereof were afterwards, at the island of Hispaniola, either eaten, for want of other food, or there left behind, for the use of the enemy. During the abode of the fleet at Barbadoes, divers Dutch vessels (near twenty in number) were made prizes ; whereof some were there found at anchor ; others, the frigates that were a-cruising at sea, brought in, and that in regard they presumed to traffick thither with such commodities, as were prohibited by the late articles of peace concluded betwixt both nations. The victuallers taken were employed to the use of the navy, and the vessels for transportation of soldiers.

It is also remarkable, that in the mean time, there was an order for all boys, belonging to the fleet, although not supernumeraries, to be cancelled out of the states books ; and, for the future, not to have any allowance of diet, or wages, notwithstanding there was no care taken for their transportation homewards, or disposal otherwise ; they, still remaining in the ships, became burthensome to those, on whom they had dependency, in participating of such victuals, as they had sparingly allowed for themselves. But the hand of Providence, (as it should seem) willing, in part, to ease them of their burthen ; a shark-fish devoured at one time two youths, belonging to a states ship, as they were swimming near the vessel. All that may be attributed to the good intent of this rigorous order, was for the better husbanding of vital provisions, and to prolong the time of victualling. But this, with other matters, (if it be not treason to speak it,) might have been more seasonably performed at home.

The new shallops being launched, and the fleet furnished with fresh water, and other necessities, were in a readiness to depart ; the field-army was also drawn down and shipped ; they being now so numerous, that each ship's share was as many as they could well carry.

March the thirty-first, they set sail from that island, and within two days, passed be-

twixt the islands of Martinico and Sancta-Lucia, where they anchored that night; the day following, they weighed from thence, and passing by the small islands of Dominico, Guadalupe, Monserat, and Meaves, the sixth of April, came by the lee under Christophers; where those voluntary soldiers, that came off from that island and the next adjacent, were already shipped in prizes there taken, and waited only the motion of the fleet. The number of these were about thirteen-hundred, which, together with the other Barbarians (viz. men of Barbadoes) completed five-thousand, besides women and children; whom, out of ill-grounded confidence and high presumption, they had brought along with them; which made them seem rather as a people that went to inhabit some country already conquered, than to conquer: but for this, perhaps, they had too good a precedent.

What manner of soldiers these planters proved, may soon be imagined; for, if we look with an impartial eye, upon the major part of those that came out of England, to be (as indeed they were) raw soldiers, vagabonds, robbers, and renegado servants; certainly these islanders must be the very scum of scums, and mere dregs of corruption, and such, upon whose endeavours it was impossible to expect a blessing.

But to return to the fleet, who now shaped their course towards the island of Hispaniola; conceiving it requisite to reduce that by the way, as well for the refreshment of the army, as to keep men in action, until the long-expected arrival of more granado-shells and mortar-pieces; there being only one in the fleet, besides some wooden ones lately made, which were deemed unfit for so great an enterprise as was intended.

April the eighth, they passed by Sancta Cruz, and the day following was ordered to be observed, throughout the fleet, as a day of humiliation, for the good success of the army; but one day was not effectual for the humbling of those, who had remained so many years obdurate in wickedness. The next island was that of St. John, and, having gained the length of the western end thereof, the distance to Hispaniola was two-and-twenty leagues.

The colonels and other officers were now ordered to get their men in readiness to land; and, to augment the number, there was drawn forth a regiment of rugged sailors, whose manners argued them better fed, than either instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, or rudiments of martial discipline.

April the thirteenth, they came fair by the island, and plainly discovered the town of Domingo; and, after some consultation had with the pretended pilots and guides, (for the better landing and conducting the army to the town,) the land-general, with a squadron of ships, seven-thousand foot-soldiers, a troop of horse, and three days provision of victuals, went farther to the leeward, and landed the day following in safety, some ten leagues to the westward of the town.

No sooner were they all landed, having no opposition, but they began to promise to themselves mountains of gold; nothing busied their minds and thoughts more, than the riches of the place; their talk was all of the money, plate, and gallant plunder, they were like to have: but they were soon taken off from these vain hopes; proclamation being then made, in the head of the army, to this effect: 'That, when they should enter into the town, (not including the pleasure of God in the business) they should not plunder any money, plate, or jewels, neither kill any tame cattle, upon pain of death.'

Thus may be seen the avaricious intents of some (more than ordinary) men, who desire rather to heap up to themselves abundance of treasure, enjoy fair houses, rich plantations, and all things suitable thereunto, than to glorify God in their actions; making the price of blood their inheritance, and that, before they know, whether they shall first obtain, or afterwards live to possess.

The chiefest part of the army, thus landed, gained but evil encouragement by the late proclamation; yet, after some signals of discontents, on they marched, in a way that directed through woods of incredible thickness, receiving little or no opposition, except the excessive heat of the sun, and intolerable drought, that oppressed them; having not had, in many miles march, one drop of water. Those, who took upon them to conduct

the army in the most commodious ways and passages near water, proved but blind guides, and deceived them, so that some became exceeding faint, scarce able to march; others were necessitated to drink their own urine; and all in general so extremely weakened, that it was wonderful to behold.

The ships that landed them, soon after turned up to windward unto the general, who continued with the fleet, plying to and again within view of the town; only one squadron was commanded into a bay, two leagues to the westward of the town of Domingo, whereinto a large fresh-water river disburtheneth itself. There the remnant of the army, being three regiments, were landed, and that within two days after the other; the place appointed for conjunction of both parties, was at this river; notwithstanding, Colonel Bullard, with those regiments, without any farther order, marched towards the town; and for want of water, soon retreated, performing not any thing worth the memory. By this time, the land-general, with the main body of the army, came up; and after some short refreshment at the river, proceeded also towards the town; but before they came within three miles thereof, a small party of the enemy suddenly encountered the forlorn-hope, consisting of five-hundred men, and forced them to an unseemly retreat. The next regiment, with some others seconding, were also repulsed; and the general himself, left in a lone condition, very hardly escaped. The body of the army coming up, the Spaniards at length retreated into a fort of theirs, not far distant from thence; and some, pursuing, were cut off with the great shot from the fort, which was situate near the sea-side, and commanded that passage through the wood to the town. In this exploit, some were lost on either part; but the greatest number were English, amongst which Captain Cox, the chief guide for that place, was one.

The general, taking into consideration the disability of the army at that time, and exceeding want of water amongst them, (there being none betwixt that and the town, except in the former fort; which, as it was none of the strongest fortifications, being only a plain brick-wall, triangular, and without flankers, yet was it furnished with nine pieces of good ordnance, and about three-hundred desperate fellows to manage them; and there appeared little hopes, that those who, even then, received so much damage by less than half that number, in the high-way, should now storm and take the place by sudden assault, without eminent loss to the whole army; being also unprovided of ladders and other necessities for that purpose,) whereupon a retreat was made unto the river in the bay, where they refreshed with water, and such provisions of victuals, as were daily brought on shore from the ships. Preparation was also made for another march; a mortar-piece was landed, with granado-shells and two small drakes; scaling-ladders were likewise made, but never used; for, being too ponderous for carriage, they were sent by water, and so to be landed in a convenient place near the town. All things being now in readiness, as was supposed, the twenty-fourth of April, the army proceeded on their march; the guides promising to direct them in a way they had not yet known, which led to a fresh-water river, distant but two miles from the north-part of the town, whither they might pass without danger of any fort. That there was such a path, was known to be certain; but, taking another to be it, they drew near the way they had formerly gone; advancing but slowly, by reason the mortar-pieces and small drakes (for want of horses and furniture) the soldiers drew, by turns.

The day following, before noon, they approached near the fort, but with worse success than before; for the enemy, having charged the forlorn-hope, beat them clearly to the general's regiment, and routed those also; executing them in the backs, in as great numbers as they listed.

Major-general Haines, being then in the van of the army, was most unworthily and shamefully deserted by the soldiers, notwithstanding that he earnestly entreated that, for God's sake, some few of them would stand by him, if but ten in number; but such was their vile cowardice and baseness of spirit, that not one man would do it; whereupon he sacrificed his life, amongst the thickest of his enemies, at as dear a rate, as became a stout

soldier, and gallant commander, who, in his life-time, was as much beloved of his friends, as feared by his enemies; such was his worthiness; too worthy, indeed, to be a member of so antichristian an army.

The Spaniards pursued this victory, made as great a slaughter as they were able, and that without the least resistance; near the one-half of the army flying before them, to the great amaze and discouragement of the rest, that were not as then marched up. Some, having broken off the head of their lances, continued still the pursuit, knocking down some, beating and driving others along, with their lance-staves, like slaves and cow-hearted villains, until, at length, being tired with slaughter, not able to proceed farther, (like as the painful workman, after a laborious and hard day's labour, goeth to rest) they returned to the town, carrying with them, as sure trophies of victory, seven English colours.

The number, at this time, slain out-right, were no less than six-hundred men, besides two-hundred more that crept into bushes, and were left behind in the woods, whom the Negroes and Molattoes soon after dispatched; there were also three-hundred wounded, whereof many were past recovery, most of them all receiving their hurts in their backs. As for those that did all this spoil and mischief (O miracle to believe, and shame to think of it!) exceeded not in all the number of fifty men. The pursuit now ended, these running regiments stood still, taking opportunity (with sorrow and shame) to look back on their miserable fellows, groaning with wounds, and weltering in blood.

The Spaniards' manner of onset was thus: After they had fired their volley of small-shot out of the woods (being assisted by Negroes and Molattoes) they most desperately fell in, and charged with their sharp steel lances, which, being directed by able bodies and strong arms, found little opposition of the weak and feeble multitude, parched by the heat of the sun, and half dead with thirst; no care being taken to supply this defect. The other disadvantages were these: The dis-equality betwixt the English pikes and Spanish lances was such, that the one being over-long, and top-heavy, could not be managed with that dexterity, and to so good a purpose (especially in narrow ways and woods) as the lance, which is about three-quarters of that length; neither are the English half-pikes of sufficient length to reach these lances: the Spaniards also (by often use and practice) become more expert and ready in the use of these weapons than Englishmen, who (although perhaps old soldiers) never made use of pike or lance, except against horses. Divers, likewise, in this expedition, that were of more valour and strength than others, and would have fought, were so overwhelmed, and trampled under foot, (by the shameful flight of the multitude that were about them) that they were not able to make resistance, but became a prey, with the rest, unto the merciless enemy. But, above all, the hand of the Almighty was much seen in the business, who struck so great a terror in their hearts, that they became the people of his wrath, fitted to destruction.

After this sad success and lamentable loss, the army, that night, drew up nearer the fort, as if they intended to execute revenge upon that; and, having found a convenient place, within musquet-shot thereof, where the enemy could not bring any great gun to bear, the pioneers cut down the trees, and made a kind of breast-work, such as the time would permit, and there planted the mortar-piece; which being then in a readiness to do execution on the fort, speedy orders were given to mount it on another carriage, fit to be drawn off, and to burn that; which being performed, and the granado-shells buried under ground, the army began their march back to the watering-place in the bay. But, what ground there was for this action, or what the real intent of the thing signified, let those determine, who have power to punish offences and reward deserts.

In the mean season, the general of the navy with divers ships, anchored in the road at such a distance, as that the forts could reach them with great shot, and they both the forts and town; and having discerned parties of men passing to and fro, without the town, conceived them to be the English army there encamped, and thereupon sent in divers boats with provision of victuals, and other necessaries for their supply; who, approaching near the shore, discovered their error, and found them to be Spaniards, who (as it seems) had the leisure to cast up outworks, and so returned on board in safety, both going and coming,

underneath the fort and bank-sides, from danger of the shot; by which they manifestly found how good and convenient a place it was to have landed an army of men.

The army lying in the bay, as formerly, had not that supply of victuals from the ships as before, but were necessitated to go abroad in parties through the woods, to seek for cattle; and, oftentimes meeting with some few Negroes, were by them put to the rout, and divers slain; others, casting away their arms, betook themselves to their heels, and so escaped the fury of these naked pagans; and, at some times, when neither men nor beasts were near, only the leaves of trees making some little noise, and crabs stirring in the woods, possessed them with such eminent fear, that, leaving their weapons behind, they ran over cliffs into the sea; but at length this bold army was grown so politic, that they would no more adventure into the woods amongst these cow-killers, (whose sable deformities had often struck as great a terror in their hearts, as Pluto and all his infernal rout could do, had they been there present to have tortured them,) exercising their valour only on horses, asses, necoes, and such like; making a slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring skin, entrails and all, to satiate their hungers; and thus were all their troop-horses belonging to the army by them eaten, the general's own hardly escaping; this behaviour and diet they continued for some days.

What number of men had been lost in small parties, and by straggling (besides at the total rout) was not known, until by a general muster, was found, that of nine-thousand seven-hundred men first landed, there remained then only eight-thousand (the sea-regiment included). Many of these were sick and wounded, and most of them faint-hearted, not fit for service. To have adventured a third time with such, in the face of the enemy, were an act of no less rashness than madness; for, had the commanders been ever so valiant, able, and worthy (except it had pleased God miraculously to perform the work by them alone, which could be as little expected as deserved) these sheep-like soldiers (I mean in courage, not innocence) would questionless have left them in the lurch; experience had already shewn it, and too true they should have found it: and again, to have shipped this wretched rabble, not well knowing whither to go, or how to dispose of them, would also have been the destruction and loss of the whole fleet, having provisions but for a short time, for so great a multitude. Of these two evils, it pleased Providence, that the least was chosen; and a place was now thought on, absolutely fit indeed for such an army, where they might have food without fighting, and a land to inhabit without opposition, and that within some few days sail. This being resolved upon, care was taken to ship the men, the mortar-piece, two small drakes, and two iron guns, (which were placed in a small fortification by them, made at the mouth of the river, for the better securing of the watering-place). Before the performance of these things, I should have declared how Adjutant-general Jackson (that great man of little courage) was cashiered for a coward, and the ceremony performed, of breaking his sword over his head, for example to others: but my opinion is, that if all of like nature had been so dealt with, there would not have been many whole swords left in the army.

The third of May, all were shipped, except the bodies of seventeen-hundred men, most of whose arms, seven field-colours, with all their honours, if any they had, were left behind. It is also observable, that as, at their landing, they had no opposition, so neither, at their shipping off; the Spaniards, with their small numbers, rather shewed themselves defensive, than offensive; resting content with what they had already done, strongly fortifying for the future: whereas, if they had taken but this last opportunity (by the disability, weakness, and cowardice of the army) to have charged in with two or three hundred able resolute men, within few days before, or at their going off, certainly they had destroyed and spoiled the most part of them all; who were more willing and ready to run into the sea and there perish, than to oppose or look upon their enemies.

All the benefit or good the army had found in this place, was only, at the first, some few cattle, and a good quantity of sugar; part whereof they made use of, casting the rest into the river, to dulcify that (such was their ignorance and folly), but this sweet diet had sour sauce.

The fleet also recruited with fresh water out of this fair and goodly river (whose golden sands had a bloody price), and the soldiers being all on board, as aforesaid, they set sail that day before the wind, and before they had performed the least part of their intent or desires.

Having now briefly, but truly, related their manner of proceedings and success on this unfortunate island; it will not be altogether impertinent to describe the situation of the town and forts adjacent, with the nature and quality of the country; which take as follows.

The town of Sancta Domingo (metropolis of Hispaniola, and residence of the Spanish viceroy) is situate on the south-side of the island, distant from the easternmost cape or land's-end twenty-eight leagues, having north latitude 18 degrees, 22 minutes. It is well watered, and, in some sort, strengthened by a great river, which passeth near the north-east part thereof; at the mouth of this river is a harbour, which although of no great magnitude, yet is capable of entertaining ships of good burthen. The entrance to the harbour is through a bay of reasonable latitude, where there is good anchorage, and a road for ships; on the larboard-side going in, is a fort strengthened with twelve or more good guns, which commandeth the harbour and south-west side of the town; the other parts whereof, on the land-side, have for their defence, an old ruined wall, encompassed thick with lime-trees; which is, now lately, well repaired, and strongly fortified. Within one mile's circumference of the town is open ground, and plain fields, or savinars, as they there call them; being made by industry and art, as are all their ways and passages through the woods and fields, for sugar-canes, with other open places for husbandry; the whole land being naturally over-grown and covered over with trees, amongst which, of lemon, orange, cocoa, cabbage, palmetto, cedar, mastick, and *lignum-vitæ* trees, there are good plenty.

About two miles to the westward of the town, and near the bay-side, is placed another fort; the description whereof, as also the damage it did the army in their march towards the town, I have already declared.

Four miles farther to the west from thence, is that river and bay formerly spoken of, where the army encamped, and the fleet took in fresh water; which place the Spaniards had not then fortified; but, it is to be supposed, that, in the strengthening of that, and all places else of consequence, in the West-Indies, they have not since been negligent.

The commodities these rivers afford, besides the goodness of their waters, consist in the divers sorts of dainty fish therein abounding, as also pieces of gold minerals, washed from forth their banks at certain times, together with sand-gold, a small quantity whereof was found by some English soldiers. The discommodities these streams engender are allegators, which, farther up in the country, are in too great plenty.

The whole land (except some hills of great ascent) is certainly very fruitful, which, although it produces not such fruits and corn as England doth, and other more temperate climates, (the scorching heat of the sun depriving it of that happiness,) yet of sugar-canes, oranges, lemons, bonanoes, bonuist, plantanes, pine-apples, potatoe and cassadra roots (whereof they make their bread) with divers other roots and fruits, there is no scarcity.

It is also replenished with store of oxen and cows of good magnitude, as well wild as tame. Sheep there are some, not many; and abundance of hogs, and fair horses, which last are there of little use or service in war, by reason of the exceeding thick woods. But beyond all, the inestimable mines of rich gold and silver, hid within the bowels of that land, make amends for all other defects. The north and west parts of the island are scarcely at all inhabited, except by some few cow-killers, rogues that have been thither banished for murder, or some other villainy, who make it their labour to kill and destroy many cattle, and that only for their tallow and hides, which are sent in to the Spaniards. As for the towns and villages, in the habitable parts, they are neither fair nor many, the chiefest whereof I have already mentioned; which, doubtless, at the time of the English army's being there, was very rich; for the neighbouring villages and plantations being alarmed by their landing, they had the leisure to convey themselves, with much treasure, plate,

and jewels, thither, as to a place of their best strength and refuge. And thus much of Hispaniola.

The island of Jamaica must now be the subject of my following discourse, whither the fleet approached. The seventh of May was observed as another day of humiliation, for all such, whom hunger, thirst, and the sword of the enemy, had not yet given a feeling sense of their presumptuous wickedness, and disobedience towards God. And, considering the great cowardice that had lately possessed them, it was also proclaimed to the whole army, that whosoever should be found to turn his back to the enemy, and run away, the next officer that brought up the rear of that division, should immediately run him through, which if he failed to perform, himself was to suffer death without mercy: which strict order might have wrought better effect at Hispaniola, there being little probability of engaging with an enemy in this place.

The ninth of May, they drew nigh the island, and having sailed about sixteen leagues within the south-side thereof, the day following came to an anchor in a spacious harbour, called also Jamaica, where there was good ground, and deep water; and, manning all their small vessels and boats with soldiers, soon landed the army in a bay, that lay yet farther within the harbour, and that without the loss of one man: for the Spaniards, having only three or four small and slight breast-works, with some few guns, and seeing so numerous an army in readiness to land, made not many shot, but fled in haste to the town of Oristano, which was altogether unfortified, and distant from thence six English miles; from whence they conveyed away all things of value and concernment, together with their families, and departed farther into the country; for such was their weakness, and disability for resistance, that their number (on that part of the island) exceeded not five-hundred men, besides some negroe slaves: but what they could not act by force of arms, they did by policy; as too soon will appear.

The English army, being possessed of the breast-works, and guns that commanded the landing-place; the forlorn-hope was drawn forth, and sent towards the town, who, that night, would not adventure to enter therein, until the morrow following; at which time they found it destitute of inhabitants, or any thing else necessary for their entertainment or accommodation, except bare walls, bedsteads, chairs, and cow-hides. Soon after, the general, with the whole army, consisting of about seven-thousand men, marched up thither; where there then came in divers Spaniards, which seemed to be of quality, to treat; bringing with them (as presents for the general) wine, poultry, divers sorts of fruits, and other rarities that the country yielded; promising also to send in beeves, sufficient for the maintenance of the army, with other large overtures, and high compliments.

This treaty being continued for certain days, the enemy had free egress and regress as well into the town, and English quarters, as elsewhere, continuing their welcomed presents, bringing cattle for the use of the army, and behaving themselves with such civil and kind, although feigned, deportment, that they invited divers soldiers of the army to visit them in their quarters, where they had wine given them, and were much made of; by which means they gained knowledge, by some overcome with liquor, that they had been at Hispaniola, and how they were there dealt withal, as also the extremities and wants they were driven to in their marches, for want of water and other necessities, in those hot countries, whereby they were much disabled. The Spaniards understanding this, and viewing the present weak condition of the army (by which they guessed at the future, if their wants were not supplied from time to time) were now animated to put in practice their uttermost endeavours for preservation of their goods and estates, and not to stand to any articles of agreement, to depart the island, with some few clothes only to their backs, as was expected; notwithstanding, they fairly dissembled the matter, and, to avoid all suspicion, sent their governor, as they pretended, an old decrepid seignior, full of the French-disease; and brought in betwixt two in a hammock, to sign the articles of agreement, which he, with some others, accordingly did.

In the mean season, these subtle and sly Spaniards had conveyed far away in the woods

all their riches and best goods, which in some days after the army was possessed of the town, remained in the Spanish quarters near at hand, and might have been soon intercepted; they also gathered up all the ablest and best horses, during the treaty, as well in the English quarters, as their own; and the time limited for their departure from the island, according to the articles signed, being near expired, they drove away most of all the cattle near the town, and, following after their goods, wives, children; and servants, which were gone before at least three days' journey, swept and cleared the country, as they went, of all vital provisions, leaving their old pocky governor as a hostage for their return.

And thus were they overcome by the subtlety and deceit of the Spaniards at Jamaica, as well as they had been lately vanquished by their lances at Hispaniola; and all the redress, that could be now thought on, was to send a party in pursuit of them. Colonel Bullard, with two-thousand men, was employed on the business, part of which number were shipped in small vessels and shallops, and so conveyed by water unto a bay, seventeen leagues to the eastward of that where the fleet lay; where they came in conjunction with the rest that had marched thither on foot. The politic intent of this grand design was to surprize the Spaniards and their luggage, betwixt both parties, as they were shipping off for the main, which was supposed would be at that place; but in that they deceived themselves, for the enemy had no such intent, but rather directed their passage through by-ways, thick woods, and over high hills and large mountains, of which there are plenty, having scouts and sentinels abroad, in each passable way and path, to discover the approach of any; it being almost an impossible thing for an army, except well acquainted with the country, to follow or find them out: and again, the excessive heat of the sun, the want of water in many places, with other defects and impediments, naturally incident to the place, and disagreeing to English constitutions, did more weaken and disable them in ten miles march there, than forty in their own country. But I shall now leave this pursuing party, to wander in the woods a while, and there kill cattle (if any they find, to preserve life, rather than hazard it at so great disadvantages against the Spaniards), and shew in what posture and condition those in the town were in, who, after the departure of the Spanish cators, were in so great want, that dogs and cats were the best part of their diet, with such sort of food as they had formerly tasted at Hispaniola, as horses, ass-necoos, and such like; there being a strict order, that on pain of death, none should presume to kill any cows or oxen; and, if at any time there went forth, by especial order, some small party that brought in beeves, they were distributed among the superior officers of the army, the inferior men having only inferior meat; the often use whereof made them somewhat participate of the nature of the beasts; sometimes living the life of dogs, and, at other times, bearing the burthen of asses; and what other encouragement or comfort could they have, than to ponder in their minds thus, *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris*.

Jamaica harbour, May the twenty-fourth, it was resolved, at a council of war, that the general of the navy and rear-admiral, in the ships Swift-sure and Paragon, with most of the Flemish ships, should return for England; orders being given for their speedy fitting, and recruit with fresh water and other necessaries.

May the twenty-fifth, there happened an ill accident in the fleet; the ship called the Discovery, of the states, a vessel of good force and burthen, was unhappily fired by filling brandy-wine in the steward-room; the flame of the candle, taking hold of that combustible liquor, so vehemently increased the fury of the fire, that there was no prevention. Wherefore, to avoid further danger, most of the ships' boats, that could be had in readiness, towed her off on a bank of sand, some distance from the fleet, where, after she had consumed about four hours, her magazine of powder blew up, and did no more harm; the ship Swift-sure, being then ready to careen, had most of her best guns there on board, which were all afterwards (by industry and art) taken up, notwithstanding that they lay in above three fathom water.

June the first, Colonel Bullard, after a long march to little purpose, returned with his party to the town, bringing with him some cattle, and giving notice of great abundance

that are in the more remote parts of the country : since which time there have gone forth divers parties, who have also brought in droves of cattle, and, amongst the rest, a Spanish lady with some attendants ; who, were she but as good as great, as virtuous as ponderous, and as fair as fat, certainly she would far exceed any three ladies of England, in worth, weight, and beauty.

June the sixth, the ship *Cardiff* set sail for England, as the harbinger of the rest of the fleet which were to follow after.

And the ninth following, a general muster was taken of the land-army, whose number was found to be much diminished of late, not so much by any pestilential or violent disease, as for mere want of natural sustenance ; which, in common reason, may seem strange, that of all men, soldiers should starve in a cook's-shop, (as the saying is,) or perish for want of food in a country so abounding with flesh, fish, and other vital provisions : but it is to be hoped, that for the future, they may have an allowance of better and more wholesome diet than yet they have had ; if the tyranny of their commanders or slothfulness of themselves, or both, prevent not.

There lately arrived at Jamaica divers victuallers with provisions for the fleet, also arms and ammunition for the army ; but hoes and hatchets were fitter for them.

June the twentieth, there came in hither three small vessels, prizes, which were taken by the *Selby* and *Grantham* frigates, who were ordered to lie plying to and again off the island of Hispaniola ; some Spaniards, in them taken, reported, that at the first appearance of the English fleet before the town of Domingo, the inhabitants deserted the place, and went all into the woods, where they continued for three days ; leaving their magazine of powder behind, which they had once intended to have blown up ; but perceiving that in that time, neither the ships approached the harbour, which they much dreaded, nor any else came to molest them, they re-entered the town ; and being much encouraged and strengthened by those of the country, who daily came in thither, fortified what they might ; and blocking up the mouth of their harbour with some vessels which they there sunk, resolved to use their uttermost endeavours to maintain the place.

Oristano, June 24. There was this day a rumour that General Venables was departed this life, which was but a rumour, not real ; but his Excellency hath not been current, since his being at Hispaniola. The grand business that the army is now upon, is to settle each regiment in the several quarters, where they have parcels of land, equally proportioned unto them ; which being subdivided amongst the officers, according to their respective places, some small share is like to fall unto the common soldiers : but what improvement may be made thereof, or how it will please Almighty God farther to deal with this army, let time and truth manifest ; the good hand of Providence having taken me from amongst them, that so (according to my earnest desires) I might no longer be a spectator or recorder of their actions. I shall therefore now conclude, only including a brief description of the island of Jamaica, by comparing it, in divers respects, with Hispaniola, together with some few passages by the way homeward.

The island of Jamaica is situated betwixt the main and the isle of Cuba, distant from the one 96 leagues, and from the other 20, the centre whereof lieth directly in the same lat. with the town of Sancta Domingo, in Hispaniola, already described ; and hath, longitude west from thence, 2 deg. 18 min. Its magnitude is scarcely one-third of the said island ; being in length 46, and breadth 14 leagues. Notwithstanding, for the quality and quantity of land, it is no less fruitful, and altogether as plentiful in fish, fowl, and cattle of all sorts ; it is more mountainous and less woody ; rivers there are divers, but the spring-heads of some arising from copper-mines, the water is somewhat unwholesome, and unsavoury, unless corrected by boiling, which the Spaniards used. Its chiefest defects and impediments are these : it produceth not any mines of gold and silver, as doth Hispaniola, and other parts of the Indies. It is also ill situated for traffick, lying such a distance to leeward, that it is a most difficult thing for vessels to turn up so far to windward as to get clear of the islands and rocks, which are therefore necessitated to make their passage through the Gulf of Florida, which is accounted dangerous, except at some seasons of the year.

June 25. The fleet, bound for England, set sail from Jamaica, Vice-admiral Goodson, in the Torrington frigate, being left admiral of that squadron, ordered to remain in the Indies, they consisting of all the English frigates of this fleet, also three of the best sailing Flemish ships, which completed the number of twelve sail, besides victuallers and prizes there remaining.

July 8. The fleet gained the length of Cape St. Antonio, being the westernmost cape of the isle of Cuba, and the thirteenth following, they (plying to windward), having a fresh gale easterly, came near unto the Tropick, and short of the Cape of Florida, about thirty leagues, where there happened another sad disaster. The Paragon Navy, a ship of the second rank, and at that time rear-admiral, took fire, and consumed to her powder-room, and so blew up; the Rear-admiral Dakins, and some others, with much danger and difficulty escaped, divers ships' boats, which were nearest, coming in to their assistance; notwithstanding there perished about one-hundred and forty men. By what means this lamentable accident was first occasioned, is not yet certainly known; but too certain it is, that the chief neglect was in the steward's room, from whence the fire broke forth, violently increasing, past remedy, as the people were assembled together at divine exercise in the forenoon.

July 19. Having hitherto had the weather variously inclined, many calms and some storms, with diversity of winds, but all of short continuance, the fleet now entered the Gulf of Florida, and the twenty-second following, passed forth of the same; the extent thereof being, in length, from the Cape of Florida, to the uttermost islands north of Cuba, sixty-eight leagues, and in breadth, from those islands to the main, twenty leagues, the current there setting N. N. E. the swiftness or slackness whereof dependeth on the falling of the rains, which about the month of August, are constantly very great; many exceeding large American rivers being augmented thereby, the spacious bay of Mexico becomes their receptacle, and so disburtheneth its swelling floods, through this narrow streight, into the Virgivan ocean; it is therefore of some called the Gulf of Mexico.

August 4. The fleet gained the length of the Bermudas, since when, for the generality, being favoured with fair winds and seasonable weather, the twenty-second of this instant, they had also the length of the Western islands.

August 30. They descried the English shore, near the Lizard, and having a strong gale, S. S. W. the day following the fleet anchored at Spithead, near Portsmouth; three sail having been separated from the rest by obscure weather in the night, before their entrance into the Gulf, came in hither also this day, some few hours before the other.

And now for ever blessed be the Divine Creator, who hath dealt thus mercifully with us, the unworthiest of his servants; giving us so large experience of his abundant goodness towards us, and bringing us once more unto the land of our nativity! The Lord in mercy so incline the hearts of this nation, that those grand sins of presumption and covetousness may no longer reign amongst them, lest, seeking after shadows, they lose the real substance; or coveting the good, or gold of others, they incur the high displeasure of Almighty God upon themselves, and so become the scorn and derision of their enemies, and a by-word to other nations. *Avertat Deus!*

England's Mourning Garment; worn here by plain Shepherds, in Memory of their sacred Mistress, Elizabeth; Queen of Virtue, while she lived; and Theme of Sorrow, being dead. To which is added the true Manner of her Imperial Funeral: After which follows the Shepherd's Spring-song, for Entertainment of King James, our most potent Sovereign. Dedicated to all that loved the deceased Queen, and honour the living King¹.

Non Verbis, sed Virtute.

London, by V. S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his Shop under St. Peter's Church in Cornhill. [1603.]

[Quarto, containing Forty-eight Pages.]

This is the fifteenth in the Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, and contains many peculiar curiosities. Its chief object, it is certain, was to perpetuate the deserved character of Queen Elizabeth, whom our author has (without the borrowed help of bombast, and undeserved praise,) described to be most religious to God; temperate in all things; just, merciful, and charitable to her subjects; a faithful ally, and true friend to her distressed neighbours. But, in this compass, he has adorned her just and admirable encomium, with the history of her royal ancestors, from King Henry VII. inclusive; and, amongst other things, his caution to discontented, murmuring subjects, is worthy our observation. These, with other particulars, are concluded with a Funeral Song, by way of pastoral; then follows the form, or order of the Procession, made at her funeral. To which is added, the Shepherd's Spring-song in gratulation of King James the First's accession to the throne of England.

To all true Lovers of the right-gracious Queen Elizabeth, in her Life; being undoubtedly those faithful Subjects, that now honour and affect our most potent, Lord King James, after her Death.

MY epistle to you is like the little town that the Cynick would have persuaded the citizens was ready to run out at the great gates, being scarce so long as the title. In a word, the negligence of many better able, hath made me bold to write a small epitome, touching the abundant virtues of Elizabeth, our late sacred mistress; treating of her princely birth, chaste life, royal government, and happy death; being a lady born, living, reigning, dying, all for England's good. The manner is handled between Shepherds; the form of speech, like the persons, rude; affection exceedeth eloquence, and I have not shewn much art, but expressed the duty of a loving heart: shed some tears in reading

¹ [From a short notice at the end of this tract, it appears that the author was Henry Chettle, a playwright of some repute, who wrote many pieces in copartnership with the dramatists of his age. See Malone's Additions to his History of the English Stage.]

our Shepherds' sorrow ; and, in that true passion, let your love to our Royal Lord² be shewn, who hateth hypocrites, as just men hell. Farewell, all of you, that give the dead Queen a sad farewell, and the living King a glad welcome; the rest are time-pleasers, and I write not to them.

Fælicem fuisse infaustum.

THENOT. COLLIN.

Thenot.

COLLIN, thou look'st as lagging as the day,
When the Sun, setting towards his western bed,
Shews, that like him, all glory must decay,
And frolic life, with murky clouds o'erspread,
Shall leave all earthly beauty 'mongst the dead ;
Such is the habit of thy new array :
Why art thou not prepar'd to welcome May,
In whose clear moon thy younglings shall be fed,
With night's sweet dews, and open flowers of day ?

Collin.

I answer thee with woe and welaway,
I am in sable clad, sith she cannot be had
That me and mine did glad ;
There's all I'll say.

Thenot.

Well spoken, swain, let me thy sorrow ken,
Rich soul, though wrong'd by idle antic men,
And driven by falsehood to a cloudy den,
Tell me thy grief.

Collin.

O, it is past relief; and which is worst of worst,
Bayards and beasts accurst, with grossest flattery nurst,
Have sung her sacred name, and prais'd her to their shame,
Who was our last and first.

Thenot.

Dear Collin, do not check the humblest song,
The will is ever master of the work ;
Those, that can sing, have done all shepherds wrong,
Like lozels in their cottages to lurk :
The air's the air, though it be thick and murk ;
If they, to whom true pastorals belong,
In needful lays use neither pipe nor tongue,
Shall none the virtuous raise ?

Collin.

Yes, those that merit bays,
Though tears restrain their lays,
Some weeping hours or days

² King James I.

Will find a time,
 To honour Honour still, not with a rural quill,
 But with the soul of skill,
 To bless their rhyme.
 Aye me! why should I dote
 On rhimes, on songs, or note?
 Confusion can best quote
 Sacred Eliza's loss,
 Whose praise doth grace all verse,
 That shall the same rehearse;
 No gold need deck her hearse;
 To her all gold is dross.

With that, Collin, in discontent, broke his pipe, and, in that passion, as if his heart had been like his pipe, parted each piece from the other; he fell without sense on the earth, not then insensible of his sorrow; for it yielded, wept, and groaned at once with his fall, his weepings, and his sighs. Poor Thenot shouted for help, at whose call came some nymphs full of sorrow for their sovereign; and, no whit amazed to see him lie as dead, their hearts were so dead with thinking of that which had astonished his. But yet, as gathering of companies draws more and more to wonder, so procured it among the shepherds, that left none but their curs to attend their flocks, themselves flocking about Thenot and Collin, who now recovered from his trance; and, all asking the reason of his grief, with tears abounding in his eyes, that likewise drew more abundantly from theirs, he distractedly answered,

—*Illum nec enim reprehendere fas est,
 Qui fleat hanc, cujus fregerunt stamina parca,
 Solus honor sequitur mortales ille misellos.*

And therewithal, making a sign for the shepherds and nymphs to sit down, he told them, they had lost that sacred nymph, that careful shepherdess Eliza; but, if it pleased them to lend attention, he would repeat something of her, worth memory, that should live in despite of death; whereupon a still silence seized them all, saving only now and then, by sighing, they expressed their hearts' sorrow, and Collin thus began:

"Seeing honour only followeth mortals, and the works of the virtuous die not with their deaths; and yet those works, nevertheless, with the honour and rites due to the departed, might be much blemished, if there were no gratitude in their successors: Let us, poor rurals, though no otherways able to erect statues for our late dread Sovereign worthy all memory, amongst ourselves repeat part of her excellent graces, and our benefit obtained by her government; for, to reckon all, were *opus infinitum*, 'a labour without end.'

"She was the undoubted issue of two royal princes, Henry of Lancaster, and Elizabeth of York; in whose union the quiet of us poor swains began; for, until that blessed marriage, England was a shambles of slaughtered men, so violent was the blood of ambition, so potent the factions, and so implacable their heads; whose eyes were never cleared till they were washed in blood, even in the dear blood of their subjects' hearts. This King, grandfather to our late Queen, was the first British king, that many a hundred years before, wore the imperial diadem of England, France and Ireland: in him began the name of Tewther³ (descended from the ancient British kings) to flourish; the issue male of royal Plantagenet, ending in his beginning: his wife, grandmother to our late Elizabeth, being the last Plantagenet, whose temples were here circled with a sphere of gold: which king and queen lived and loved, and now lie entombed in that most famous chapel, built at his kingly charge, in the abbey of Westminster. King Henry, dying in a good age, left England rich, beautiful, and full of peace, and so blessed with his issue (after royally matched

³ Or Tudor.

to Scotland and France, besides his undoubted heir, King Henry, of famous memory, the Eighth), that no kingdom in the earth more flourished.

"His son⁴, the father of our Elizabeth, was to his enemies dreadful, to his friends gracious, under whose ensign the Emperor himself served⁵, so potent a prince he was; besides, so liberal and bounteous, that he seemed, like the sun in his meridian, to shower down gold round about the horizon; but he died too, and left us three princely hopes⁶; all which have severally succeeded each other, royally maintaining the right of England, and resisted all foreign wrong.

"For King Edward, our late Sovereign's brother, though he died young in years, left instance he was no infant in virtues: his learning, towardness, and zeal were thought fitter for the society of angels than men, with whom no doubt his spirit lives eternally.

"Such assurance have we of the happiness of that royal, gracious, and worthy lady Mary, his eldest sister, who in her death expressed the care of her kingdoms, so much lamenting one town's loss, that she told her attendant-ladies, if they would rip her heart, when she was dead, they should find Calais written in it. O Thenot, with all you other nymphs and swains, learn, by this worthy Queen, the care of sovereigns, how heart-sick they are for their subjects' loss; and think what felicity we poor worms live in, that have such royal patrons, who cark for our peace, that we may quietly eat the bread of our own labour, tend our flocks in safety; asking of us nothing but fear and duty, which humanity, allows, and Heaven commands."

With this, Thenot interrupted Collin, telling him, there were a number of true shepherds misliked that Prince's life, and joyed greatly at her death; withal beginning to shew some reasons; but Collin quickly interrupted him in these words:

"Peace, Thenot, peace; Princes are sacred things,
It fits not Swains to think amiss of Kings.

"For, (saith he) the faults of rulers, if any be faulty, are to be reprehended by them that can amend them; and, seeing none is superior to a king but God, to him alone refer their actions. And whereas thou terimest them true shepherds that so envied that lady's government, thou art deceived; they are still (as they then were) proud, fanatic-spirited counterfeits, expert in nothing but ignorance, such as hate all rule; for who resisteth correction more than fools, though they deserve it most? Believe me, Thenot, and all you well-affected swains, there is no greater mark for a true shepherd to be known by than humility, which, God knows, those mad-men most want; too much experience have we of their thread-bare pride, who bite the dead, as living curs may lions. Not contented with their scandals of that royal lady, our late Sovereign's sister, but they have troubled the clear springs of our mistress Elizabeth's blessed government; nay, myself have seen and heard with glowing ears some of them, even in the fields of Calydon⁷, when his Excellency, that is now our Imperial shepherd, was only lord of their folds, speak of his Majesty more audaciously and malapertly, than any of us would do of the meanest officer; for, as I said even now, if rulers chance to slip, it is most insufferable that every impudent railer should with the breath of his mouth, stir up the chaffy multitude, whose ears itch for novelties, whose minds are as their numbers divers; not able to judge themselves, much less their sovereigns. But they ought, if they be true pastors, to follow the great Pan, the father of all good shepherds, Christ, who teacheth every of his swains to tell his brother privately of his fault, and again and again; by that glorious number, Three, including numbers numberless, before it be told the church. If then they must, being true shepherds, deal so with their brethren; how much more ought their followers do to their sovereigns, being kings and queens? And not, in the place where sacred and moral manners should be taught, contrarily to teach the rude to be more unmannerly, instructing

⁴ King Henry VIII.

⁵ In France.

⁶ King Edward VI. Queen Mary I. and Queen Elizabeth.

⁷ i. e. Scotland.

every puny to compare with the most reverend prelate; and by that example, to have every cobbler account himself a king."

"Oh (said Thenot) Collin, there are some would ill think of you, should they hear you thus talk; for they reprove all out of zeal, and must spare none."

"Peace to thy thoughts, Thenot, (answered Collin,) I know thou knowest there is a zeal, that is not with knowledge acquainted; but let them and their mad zeal pass, let us forget their railings against princes, and begin with her beginning, after her royal sister's ending; who departing from this earthly kingdom, the seventeenth of November, in the year of our Lord 1558; immediately thereupon Elizabeth, the hand-maid of the Lord of Heaven, and empress of all maids, mothers, youths, and men, then living in this English earth, was proclaimed Queen with general applause, being much pitied, for that busy slander and disrespectful envy had, not long before, brought her into the disfavour of her royal sister Mary, whom we last remembered: in the continuance of whose displeasure (still made greater by some great enemies) how she escaped needs no repeating, being so well known. Preserved she was from the violence of death; her blood was precious in the sight of God, as is the blood of all his saints; it was too dear to be poured out like water on the greedy earth: she lived, and we have lived under her, forty and odd years, so wonderfully blessed, that all nations have wondered at their own afflictions and our prosperity; and she died as she lived with us, still careful of our peace, finishing, even then, the greatest wonder of all, (our deserts considered,) by appointing the kingdom to so just and lawful a ruler to succeed her, whom all true English knew for their undoubted lord, immediately after her death. But, lest we end ere we begin, I will return to her, who, being seated in the throne of majesty, adorned with all the virtues, divine and moral, appeared to us like a goodly palace, where the Graces kept their several mansions.

"First, *Faith* abundantly shone in her, then young, and lost not her brightness in her age; for she believed in her Redeemer, her trust was in the King of kings, who preserved her, as the apple of his eye, from all treacherous attempts, as many being made against her life, as against any princess that ever lived; yet she was still confident in her Saviour, whose name she glorified in all her actions, confessing her victories, preservings, dignities, to be all his, as appeared by many luculent examples; this one serving for the rest, that, after the dissipation of the Spanish Armado⁸, accounted invincible, she came in person to Paul's-cross, and there, among the meanest of her people, confessed, *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis; sed Nomini tuo gloria*⁹. And as she was ever constant in cherishing that faith, wherein she was from her infancy nourished; so was she faithful of her word with her people, and with foreign nations. And albeit I know some, too humourously affected to the Roman¹⁰ government, make a question in this place, whether her Highness first broke not the truce with the King of Spain? To that I could answer (were it pertinent to me in this place, or for a poor shepherd to talk of state, with unreprieveable truths), that her Highness suffered many wrongs before she left off the league."

"O, (saith Thenot,) in some of these wrongs resolve us, and think it no unfitting thing, for thou that hast heard the songs of that warlike poet Philesides, good Melœbee, and smooth-tongued Melicert; tell us what thou hast observed in their saws, seen in thy own experience, and heard of undoubted truths touching those accidents; for that they add, I doubt not, to the glory of our Eliza."

To this entreaty Collin condescended, and thus spake: "It is not unknown, the Spaniards, a mighty nation, abounding with treasure (being war's sinews) torn from the bowels of mines, fetched from the sands of Indian rivers, by the miserable captived natives, have purposed to be lords of Europe. France they have attempted, and failed in; Navarre they have greatly distressed; Lombardy, the garden of the world, they are possessed of; Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, are forced to obey their laws; and, that

⁸ *al.* Armada.

¹⁰ *i. e.* Romish or Popish.

⁹ "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us; but to thy Name be glory."

they reckoned England should be theirs, with such small ease, (even, in a manner, with threatening,) their songs taught little infants, from Andalusia to Galicia bear witness. The dice were cast, her Majesty's subjects craftily put into the Inquisition upon every small colour; if they escaped (which seldom sorted out so well) alive, could of their goods have no restitution. Their King gave pensions to our Queen's rebellious fugitive subjects, and not only to such, that in regard of their religion, fled the land, but unto such as had attempted to resist her in active rebellion; and yet, not staying there, out of his treasury proposed rewards for sundry to attempt the murder of her sacred person; of which perfidious guilt she never was tainted: let any Spaniard, or Spanish-affected English, prove where she ever hired, abetted, or procured any such against their King's Majesty, and I will yield to be esteemed as false as falsehood itself; nay, they cannot deny, but that, even with the rebels of her realm of Ireland, stirred up to barbarous and inhuman outrages by the Spanish policy, she hath no way dealt but by fair and laudable war.

"But before I enter into her Majesty's lenity, in that Irish war, against sundry known rebels, and punishing some of her subjects, that, upon a zeal to her, or, perchance, to get themselves a glory, adventured their own lives, by treachery, to cut off the lives of some great leaders of the rebels; I will a little digress, lest I should be thought, after her death, to maintain the fire of hate, which I ever, in heart, desired might honourably be quenched between these potent kingdoms of England and Spain.

"I wish all that read this, to bury old wrongs, and to pray that it would please God of his inestimable mercy to root out all malice from Christian nations; and as our royal Sovereign, now reigning, hath conserved league and peace with all princes, so, for the weal of Christendom, it may more and more increase, that the open enemies of Christ may the better be repelled from those wealthy kingdoms in the East, where they have, many hundred years, most barbarously tyrannized; for no man doubts, but the blood shed within these thirty years, as well of English, as Scottish, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese, in the quarrel of religion, might, if God had so been pleased, been able to have driven the heathen¹¹ monarch from his nearest hold in Hungaria, to the fall of Danubia in the Euxine-sea; especially with the assistance of the French, that have cruelly fallen either upon other's swords.

"But I trust God hath suffered this offence to add more glory to our mighty King, that he should be the most famous of all his predecessors, as, indeed, he is the most mighty; and hath been raised to this realm, as a saviour, to deliver England, and make it more abundant in blessings, when many looked it should have had all her glory swallowed up of spoil.

"The highness of his imperial place, greatness of his blood, mightiness of his alliance, but most, his constancy in the true profession of religion, even amidst my sorrows, Thenot, fill me with joys; when I consider how a number, that gaped for our destruction, have their mouths shut close, yet empty, where they thought to eat the sweets of our painful sweat: but God be praised, (as I said before,) her Highness, that ruled us many years in peace, left us, in her death, more secure, by committing us to our lawful Prince, matched to a royal fruitful lady, that hath borne him such hopeful issue, that the days we lately feared, I trust, are as far off, as this instant is from the end of all earthly times; who shall not only, with their royal father, maintain these his kingdoms in happy peace, but subject more under him, and spread the banners of Christ in the face of misbelievers.

"In this hope I here break off, and return to our late Sovereign's care of keeping faith, even toward her rebel subjects, which I will manifest in some two or three examples of the Irish.

"When the rebel O'Neale (in the time of that memorable gentleman, Sir Henry Sidney, his deputy-ship of Ireland) was mightily strengthened in his country, and so potent, that the Deputy had many dangerous and unadvantageable skirmishes against him; a servant of her Majesty's, one Smith, thinking to do a worthy piece of service, by poisoning

O'Neale, prepared a little bottle, parted in the midst ; one side containing good wine, the other with tempered poison of the same colour ; and that he carries to O'Neale under colour of gratification, for that his army lay far from the sea, or merchantable towns, and he thought wine was unto him very dainty, which O'Neale accepted kindly ; for that the said Smith was born in O'Neale's country, and such the Irish do especially, and before others, trust, to bring messages even from their greatest enemies, under whom they serve.

" But, the deceit being quickly espied, Smith was, by O'Neale, sent bound to the Deputy, to whose plot he would fain have imputed the same practice ; but contrarily, the Deputy publicly punished the said Smith, and her Majesty refused him for her servant ; saying, she would keep none near her that would deal treacherously, no though it were against traitors.

" The like example was shewn on another, that would have attempted the poisoning of Rory Og, a bloody and dangerous rebel.

" To which may be added, that her Highness, among other trespasses objected by her attorney against a convicted deputy, was, that he went about by poison to have took away the life of Feff Mac-Hue, a rebel more immane and barbarous than any of the other two ; the Lord Chief-justice of the Common-Pleas¹², yet living, opening at the same time, how just a spirit her Majesty was possessed with, that she hated treason, even to traitors ; much more then to anointed kings, whose honours and reputations she so maintained, that she not long since punished, by fine and imprisonment, a wealthy railer, for unreverent words spoken against the person of King Philip, her open and professed enemy ; so faithful, so just, so gracious was she.

" And to make it more plain, that Spain intended England the first wrong, so long time before it was muttered ; but after that memorable battle of Lepanto, wherein Don John of Austria obtained the triumphant Christian victory against the Turks ; to reward him, England was the kingdom set down, being then in her Majesty's possession ; but he had it, when they could give him it that promised the same, which was at latter Lammas. And I trust his niece shall have as good success with her pretended title ; for, if God strengthened her Majesty so, that against her being a woman, they could not prevail, we trust his Almightiness will be as careful of our King, being already lord of three such people as have seldom been equalled in battle, except they have unnaturally contended among themselves ; the sight of which day, dear shepherds, let us pray never again to see. Besides, to express her farther intent, to preserve faith and league, notwithstanding infinite open wrongs, and certain knowledge, that a navy for invasion of this realm had been preparing more than fifteen years ; yet did she bear, until (against all law of nations) the Ambassador-lieger of Spain, honoured with many favours, did, notwithstanding, plot and confederate with native traitors of this land : and, the matter being apparently proved, he was, by her mild sufferance, admitted to depart the realm, without any violence, to his perpetual reproach, and her never-dying glory. Well, I will here conclude ; touching this virtue of faith, both towards God and man, she was as firm in the one as mortality could be, and in the other approved glorious among all the princes of her time.

" For *Hope*, the second divine virtue, she rather therein abounded, than was any way wanting ; for her hope was no way wandering, she believed, and it came to pass ; her enemies arise, but, before their arising, she was certain to see them fall ; she having, by example of things past, nothing doubted of things to come. And she was not deceived till the hour of her death, for ever her expectation was fulfilled ; she kept peace within, chasing the spoiler without ; and, even as it is sung of Epaminondas, that valiant Theban captain, in his last victorious battle, wherein yet death of him got victory, he thus gloried, ' Herein am I comforted, that I die a conqueror.' For, even when death laid his last siege to her yet unvanquished life, Tyrone, the long disturber of her state, besought mercy at her feet. O nymphs and shepherds, doubt not she was full of divine hope, whose heart obtained ever the thing it faithfully desired, and that her desires were all of faith. I could

¹² [Sir Edmund Anderson.]

add infinite examples to these already alleged, but that it is needless to cast water in the sea, or to make a question of that all men know, and will confess; except some whose hearts are strangers from truth, and the professed receptacles of falsehood.

“ Her *Charity*, the third and principal divine grace to the eyes of mortals, (for that faith and hope bend principally their service to heaven, and charity's effects are manifested on earth,) hath been extended over all her realms, and stretched to the comfort of her oppressed neighbours. The multitudes of poor daily relieved from her purse, the numbers of sick persons yearly visited, and, by her own hand, their corrupt sores touched, the washing of poor women's feet, and relieving their wants, was a sign she was humble as well as charitable; for humility is charity's sister, they are two twins born at one time, and, as they are born together in any soul whatever, so do they live and die together; the humble spirit being ever charitable, and the charitable ever humble: for it is as impossible to have a proud man charitable, as to reconcile fire and water, or to make accord between any contraries. As she was, in these particulars, exceeding all ladies of her time, given to this helpful virtue, so had she general impositions through all her kingdom, for her well able subjects to follow her example; and so much did her example prevail, that, besides the ordinary and weekly alms distributed through the realm, there have been more particular alms-houses built for the relief of the aged, than in any six princes' reigns before. And as all parts of England have, in this imitation, been very forward, so hath the city of London exceeded all; wherein divers private men have built sundry houses for the poor, and allowed them pensions; but the corporations have been most bountiful, as most able; and, among all, the right worshipful the Merchant-taylors have exceeded the rest, all having done well, that have done any thing, but they best of any other, as I will one day, in a song of liberal shepherds, thankfully express; though, for myself, I know him not in the least gift to whom I am, in that sort, bound; but I ken not, Thenot, how I may, for there is none living but may lack. As the city, so many knights, gentlemen, honourable and devout persons, have followed her example; above the rest, an honourable, careful, reverend, and learned watchman, as full of mildness and piety, as he is of years, and griefs for his good and royal mistress's loss, within few miles of this city, hath built a worthy receptacle¹³ to the like charitable end.

“ As for the poor and decrepid with age her Royal Majesty had this charitable care, so for soldiers and suitors she was very provident. The last being oppressed, in any part of her realms, by men of much wealth and little conscience, she allowed them council and proceedings, *in formâ pauperis*, and maintenance weekly, in the terms, for some part of their succour. For soldiers and men of service, her decrees of provision are extant. Besides, it is most clear, no prince in the world, to land or sea-men, was more bountiful, or willing, than her Highness; out of her coffers it went. But there is an old proverb, Thenot, ‘Carriage is dear;’ and I have heard, but I will stand to nothing, base ministers and under-officers curtail the liberalities of great and potent masters. Some have, in her time, been taken with the manner, and besides bodily punishment and fines, displaced: as I well remember, and cannot omit, amidst my grief, to tell (though somewhat from this subject it dissent, being of a fellow too mean) how her Highness, in one of her progresses, walking in the garden of a house where she was received, being somewhat near the highway, heard on a sudden a market-woman cry, and from an arbour, beheld one of her own servants (a taker-up¹⁴ of provision) use the woman uncivilly; whereupon, the cause being examined, and the poor woman found by the same fellow to be wronged, as well before as then, her Highness caused him presently to be discharged of her service, and punished. Yet, the fault being but slight, the taker was countenanced to make suit to be restored, and some half year after, fell down before her Majesty, desiring mercy and restoring: her Highness, pitying his distress, commanded him to be provided for in some place, where he could not wrong her poor subjects; but, in any case, not to make him a taker. Many such false ones she hath punished with death. I could in this, as all the

¹³ Called Queen Elizabeth's College, at Greenwich.

¹⁴ Purveyor.

rest, reckon multitudes of examples ; but I will knit all up with her excellence in this act of charity extended to her neighbours¹⁵, whom she hath, by her bounty, delivered from the tyranny of oppression ; and aided the right of others¹⁶ against rebellious subjects ; others¹⁷ assisted to recover their kingdoms, not sparing millions to sustain the quarrel of the righteous. The reward of which mercy and charity she now finds, receiving infinite glories for her abounding charity, being done for His cause that leaveth no deed of mercy unrecompensed.

As she was richly stored with divine graces, so, in moral virtues, no princess, ever living in the earth, can be remembered to exceed her. Her wisdom was, without question, in her life, by any unequalled ; she was sententious, yet gracious in speech ; so expert in languages, that she answered most ambassadors in their native tongues ; her capacity was therewith so very apprehensive, and invention so quick, that, if any of them had gone beyond their bounds, with majesty undaunted, she would have limited them within the verge of their duties ; as she did royally, wisely, and learnedly, the last strutting Poland messenger, that thought, with stalking looks and swelling words, to daunt her undaunted excellence. But, as he came proud, he returned not without repentance, having no other wrong here, but the sin of his own sauciness.

“ Many such examples I could set down, but I will satisfy you with one more. When the Spaniards, having their Armatho¹⁸ ready, temporized with her Highness's commissioners in the Low-countries, thinking to find her Highness unprovided ; at last, when they accounted all sure, they sent her the King's choice, either of peace or war, wittily included in four Latin verses ; portending, that if she would cease to defend the Low-countries ; restore the goods taken by reprisal from the Spaniards ; build up the religious houses diverted in her father's time, and let the Roman¹⁹ religion be received through her land, why then she might have peace ; if not, it was too late to expect any. Which proud commanding embassy, with royal magnanimity, gracious wisdom, and fluent wit, she answered instantly in one known proverbial line²⁰, which she suddenly made into a verse :

Ad Græcas hæc fiant mandata calendas.

“ O Thenot, did not assurance of our kingly poet's love to the muses somewhat comfort me, I should utterly despair ever to hear pastoral song again filled with any conceit ; seeing her Excellence, whose brain, being the Helicon of all our best and quaint inventions, is dried up by the inevitable heat of death.

“ Her justice was such, as never any could truly complain of her ; neither did she pardon faults unpardonable, as murder, rape, sodomy, (that sin almost not to be named ;) neither was there in her time, with her knowledge, extremity of justice shewn to other malefactors. If any such did fall, it was either by falsehood or malice of the evidence, or some other secret, wherewith poor shepherds are unacquainted ; only this we are taught, that God sometimes punisheth the sins of parents on their children, to many generations.

“ But, for herself, she was always so inclined to equity, that if she left justice in any part, it was in shewing pity ; as in one general punishment for murder it appeared ; whereas, beforetime, there was extraordinary torture, as, hanging wilful murderers alive in chains ; she, having compassion, like a true shepherdess of their souls, though they were of her erring and utterly infected flock, said, “ Their death satisfied for death, and life for life was all could be demanded ; ” and affirming more, “ That much torture distracted a dying man.” In particular, she saved many ; among some unworthy of her mercy, that proud fellow, who unjustly named himself Doctor Parry ; and another, as I remember, called Patrick, an Irishman. The first, having offended in burglary, against a lawyer able and willing to take away his life, thereto urged by many misdemeanours ; and, for that Parry doubted his attempt to kill, and act of felony, was without compass of pardon,

¹⁵ The Dutch.

¹⁶ The King of France.

¹⁷ The King of Navarre.

¹⁸ *al.* Armada.

¹⁹ Popish.

²⁰ “ These commands shall be obeyed at latter Lammas.”

considering the place where it was done, and against whom, he thought a lease of life safest, which, of her benign mercy, he obtained, for twenty-one years; but, ere three of them were past, he did unmaturely attempt her death, that had given him life; for which traitorous ingratitude he worthily was cut off. The Irishman likewise, being pardoned for a manslaughter, proved as unthankful; and ended, as he lived, shamefully. Besides, she was so inclinable to mercy, that her just and severe judges told her, how some desperate malefactors, building on friends and hopes of pardon, cared not for offending, but even scoffed at authority; whereof when she heard, she took special care, considering it was as great injustice to pity some, as spare others; taking order to sign no pardon, except the judge's hand were at it first, who truly knew the cause why the party was condemned; by which means, murderers and presumptuous offenders were cut off from all hope.

"One notable example of her justice, among many, I will here remember. Certain, condemned for piracy, having made some end with them they wronged, lay for their lives at her mercy: and, the judge of her admiralty having signified favourably of the quality of their offence, she was moved to pity them, and had commanded their pardon to be drawn. In the mean time, two of them, trained up in the fashion of our common cutters, that, I may tell thee, Thenot, swarm rather like devils, than men, about the country; that swear, as if they had licence to blaspheme, and stab men, as if they had authority: nay, sometimes themselves, for very trifles. Two such, I say, were in the company of those condemned pirates, hourly hoping for their lives, and braving either other of their manhood, saying, "One durst more than the other." The eldest, being master of their late ship, wherein they had sailed to that place of sorrow, slices his own flesh with a knife, asking the other, "If he durst do as much?" The younger was very ready, and two or three times followed the old fool, in that desperate wounding of himself. This brutish act, being committed in the prison belonging to her Majesty's own house, came quickly to her royal ear, and, some few days after, their pardon to be signed; who graciously gave life to all the rest, but commanded them, by express name, to execution, saying, "They were unworthy mercy, that had none of themselves;" adding, "It was very likely, that such, as in prison, and in their state, would be so cruel to shed their own blood, would have small compassion of others, whom they overcame at sea." And so, leaving them to the law, they were worthily executed.

"Of her *mercy* nothing can be said more, but that it equalled, or rather (as I said before) exceeded her justice: among infinite numbers, whom she pardoned, that²¹ one, especially, being a clear witness, who shot the gun off against Greenwich, even into her Majesty's barge, and hurt the next man to her, at broad day-light; almost impossible to be excused by negligence or ignorance; for that any man, having his piece charged, would rather, upon retiring home, have discharged it among the reeds, than toward the breadth of the river, whose silver breast continually bore up a number of vessels, wherein men passed, on sundry affairs. However wilful, or unwilful, the act was; done it was, and, by a jury, he was found guilty, and adjudged to die. Towards execution he was led, with such clamour and injuries of the multitude, as seldom any the like hath been seen, or heard; so heinous and odious his offence appeared unto them, that being upon the ladder, ready to be cast off, the common people had no pity of him; when, even just in that moment of despair and death, her Majesty sent a gracious pardon, which delivered him, to all men's wonder. I want but the Arcadian shepherd's²² enchanting phrase of speaking, that was many times witness to her just mercies and merciful justice; yet, rude as I am, I have presumed to handle this excellent theme, in regard the funeral hastens on, of that sometime most serene lady; and yet I see none, or, at least, not past one or two, that have sung any thing, since her departure, worth the hearing; and, of them, they that are best able scarce remember her Majesty. I cannot now forget the excellent and

²¹ Named Appletree.

²² [Sir Philip Sidney seems here intended.]

cunning Collin²³, indeed (for, alas ! I confess myself too too rude) complaining, that a liberal Mecænas long since, dying, was immediately forgotten, even by those that, living, most laboured to advance his fame ; and these, as I think, close part of his songs :

Being dead, no poet seeks him to revive,
Though many poets flatter'd him alive.

Somewhat like him, or at least to that purpose, of a person more excellent, though in ruder verse I speak :

Death now hath seiz'd her in his icy arms,
That sometime was the sun of our delight ;
And, pitiless of any after harms,
Hath veil'd her glory in the cloud of night :
Nor doth one poet seek her name to raise,
That living, hourly, striv'd to sing her praise.

He²⁴ that so well could sing the fatal strife
Between the royal Roses, white and red,
That prais'd so oft Eliza in her life,
His muse seems now to die, as she is dead :
Thou sweetest song-man of all English swains,
Awake for shame ! honour ensues thy pains.

But thou alone deserv'dst not to be blam'd :
He²⁵ that sung forty years her life and birth,
And is by English Albions so much fam'd,
For sweet mixt lays of majesty and mirth,
Doth of her loss take now but little keep ;
Or else I guess he cannot sing, but weep.

Neither doth Coryn²⁶, full of worth and wit,
That finish'd dead Musæus' gracious song,
With grace as great, and words, and verse as fit,
Chide meagre death for doing virtue wrong :
He doth not seek with songs to deck her hearse,
Nor make her name live in his lively verse.

Nor does our English²⁷ Horace, whose steel pen
Can draw charàcters which will never die,
Tell her bright glories unto list'ning men,
Of her he seems to have no memory :
His muse another path desires to tread,
True satyrs scourge the living, leave the dead.

Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert²⁸
Drop from his honied muse one sable tear,
To mourn her death that graced his desert,
And to his lays open'd her royal ear.
Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
And sing her rape, done by that Tarquin, death.

²³ [Spenser gave himself the pastoral name of Colin Clout. His Mecænas probably was Sir Philip Sidney.]

²⁴ [Samuel Daniel, who wrote a poetical history of the Civil Wars between the houses of York and Lancaster.]

²⁵ [William Warner, the author of *Albion's England*.]

²⁶ [George Chapman completed the version of Musæus, which Marlow left unfinished.]

²⁷ [Probably Hall or Marston.]

²⁸ [Shakspeare is here alluded to particularly for his *Rape of Lucrece*.]

No less do thou, sweet singer Corydon²⁹,
The theme exceedeth Edward's Isabel ;
Forget her not in Poly-Albion,
Make some amends, I know thou lov'dst her well.
Think 'twas a fault to have thy verses seen,
Praising the King, ere they had mourn'd the Queen.

And thou delicious sportive Musidore³⁰,
Although thou hast resign'd thy wreath of bay,
With cypress bind thy temples, and deplore
Eliza's winter in a mournful lay :
I know thou canst, and none can better sing
Hearse-songs for her, and pæans to our King.

Quick Antihorace, though I place thee here,
Together with young Mœlibee thy friend :
And Heroe's last Musæus, all three decree,
All such whose virtues highly I commend.
Prove not ingrate to her that many a time
Hath stoop'd her majesty, to grace your rhyme.

And thou that scarce hast fledg'd thy infant muse
(I use thine own word) and commend thee best,
In thy proclaiming James ; the rest misuse
The name of poetry, with lines unblest'd,
Holding the muses to be masculine ;—
I quote no such absurdity in thine.

Thee do I thank for will, thy work let pass,
But wish some of the former had first writ,
That from their poems, like reflecting glass,
Steel'd with the purity of art and wit,
Eliza might have liv'd in every eye,
Always beheld till time and poems die.

But cease you goblins, and you under-elves ;
That with rude rhymes and metres reasonless,
Fit to be sung for such as your base selves,
Presume to name the muses' patroness.
Keep you low spheres, she hath an angel spirit,
The learned'st swain can hardly sing her merit.

Only her brother King³¹, the muses trust
(Blood of her grandsire's blood, plac'd in her throne)
Can raise her glory from the bed of dust ;
To praise her worth belongs to kings alone.
In him shall we behold her Majesty,
In him her virtue lives and cannot die.

At this, Thenot and the rest desired him to proceed in his discourse of her virtues ; remembering where he left, at *justice* : and, though the matter pleased them so well, that they could endure the hearing many days, yet, seeing the sun began to dye the west sea with vermillion tincture, the palace of the morning being hidden in sable clouds, and that the

²⁹ [Michael Drayton, addressed a congratulatory poem to King James on his accession, which has not been incorporated among his works.]

³⁰ [Perhaps, Churchyard.]

³¹ [James the First.]

care of their flocks must be respected, requested him to be as brief, as the time limited him.

To which Collin answered: "Thenot, I perceive thou art as all or the most part of the world is, careful only of thine own; and, however friends fall, yet profit must be respected. Well thou dost well; and in this I doubly praise thee; to cark for sheep and lambs, that cannot tend themselves, and not to mourn as without hope our great Shepherdess; who, after long life and glory on earth, hath obtained a longer and more glorious life in heaven. But to proceed: As she was constant in faith, stedfast in hope, cheerful in giving, prudent in speaking, just in punishing, but most merciful in pardoning; so, for the third moral virtue, *temperance*, there was, in no age before, a woman so exalted to earthly honour ever read of; that so long, so graciously, in outward and domestic affairs, governed her kingdom, family, and person, with like moderation.

"First, for her kingdom, what can be devised more near the mean, than she hath in all things followed? For in religion, as in other things, there hath been an extreme erring from the truth, which, like all virtues, being indeed the head of all, keepeth place in the midst; so hath she established the 'true Catholic and Apostolical religion' in this land; neither mingled with multitudes of idle superstitions, nor yet wanting true honour and reverence for the ministry, in laudable and long-received ceremonies.

"But here I shall be carped at, in that I call the religion professed in her time, 'true Catholic and Apostolical;' considering the See of Rome, and such English only, as be her sworn sons, think that seat all one to hold the apostolical faith; excluding her Majesty, and all other Christian princes with their subjects, that have not fallen before that chair, as people worthy to be cut off from Christ's congregation; giving them names of Protestants, Lutherans, and I know not what. And on another side, a selected company³², that would needs be counted saints and holy ones, when there is nothing but corruption in their hearts, they forsooth condemned her sacred government for Antichristian; when, to the amazement of superstitious Romans, and self-praising sectaries, God approved his faith by his love towards her. And lest I should be tasked of ignorance, and termed a Nullifidian in defending neither of these sides; and only of the faith that the Collier professed, which was ever one with the most: I say, I was born and brought up in the religion, professed by that most Christian princess Elizabeth, who believed not that the Spirit of God was bound or tied to any one place, no more to Rome, than Antioch; that the candlestick of any church might be removed, for neglecting their first love, and teaching traditions of men, instead of sacred verity; and no man can deny but the church of Rome hath so taught, and standeth not in her first estate: but, if it were in the primitive church, perfectly and fully established, then hath it received many traditions since, which our Elizabeth, nor any of her faithful subjects would obey, being no way by God's word thereunto warranted: besides, there are apparent proofs that the church of Rome hath many hundred years persecuted with great cruelty; [which is no badge of the true Apostolical church.

"For the other sort, it is well known they are, for the most part, ignorant and mechanic people, led by some few hot-spirited fellows, that would fain have all alike. These tying themselves to a more strait course outwardly than other men, and though they bitterly objected to the Romanists, yet have they more he-saints and she-saints among them, than are in the Romish calendar; where none, or at least but very few, are called saints, but holy virgins, martyrs, and confessors; but all the brethren and sisters of the other side are, at the first receiving into their communion, sainted; if it be but Kit Cobler, and Kate his wife; and both he and she presume they have as sufficient spirits to teach and expound the Scriptures, as either Peter, or John, or Paul, for so bluntly they term the blessed Apostles: but their vanity and pride our Elizabeth hated, and therefore bridled their ways, and was not moved with their hypocritical fasts; because 'they fasted to strife

³² Anabaptists and Puritans.

and debate,' as it is written by the prophet *Esaiah*, lviii. and 'to smite with the fist of wickedness.'

"Her Highness, therefore, taught all her people the undoubted truth, that faith in Christ alone, the way, the door, and the life; not turning either to the right hand, or to the left; and in this, being the best mean, her temperance chiefly appeared: this rule she taught her kingdom, her family, herself; at least, caused them to be taught by excellent pastors, to whom humbly she gave public ear.

"As in this, so for apparel, manners, and diet, she made laws, and gave example in her own person; to curb the vanity of pride in garment, by express statutes, appointed all men and women to be apparelled in their degree and calling. To repress the excess of drinking and hated sin of drunkenness, she hath commanded no drink in her land to be brewed above an easy price; and, to avoid gormandizing, she hath yearly commanded the Lent and fasting-days to be kept, as in times before; not for superstition's sake, but common policy, to have God's creatures received indifferently; and also to increase mariners for the strength of the isle, whose numbers, while fish is contemned, by neglect of fishing, mightily decay; fishers, being indeed, pretty trained mariners, by reason that they have experience in most of the havens, creeks, shoals, flats, and other profits and dangers near the places they used. But what should I say, if they, that will only make the Scripture their cloke, and yet respect not this part? Obey the magistrate for conscience; their sin fall upon themselves. I trust the prince is excusable, that would his subjects would do well; and so I am certain was her Excellence."

"True, (said *Thenot*;) but for all her laws, these courses were little set by; I have seen upstarts jet it gayer than lords, numbers drink till they have seemed dead, and multitudes eat flesh even upon Good Friday." "What remedy? (said *Collin*;) they, that will break the King's law, make little account of God's; such subjects are like false executors, they perform not the legacies of the dead: her Highness was not the worse, for that good laws were violated; they that dealt so with her, dealt worse with God; offending him double, by breaking his laws and her's. But in her own household and person she observed all these rules; and though many abroad by corruption were winked at, yet sometimes there were some taken and paid home.

"But her excelling self, though her table was the abundantliest furnished of any prince's in the world with all variety; yet fed she oftenest of one dish, and that not of the daintiest. For quaffing, as it was unfitting her sex, so she extremely abhorred it, hating superfluity as hell; and so far was she from all niceness, that I have heard it credibly reported, and know it by many instances to be true, that she never could abide to gaze in a mirror, or looking-glass; no not to behold one, while her head was tyred and adorned; but simply trusted to her attendant ladies for the comeliness of her attire: and that this is true, *Thenot*, I am the rather persuaded, for that, when I was young, almost thirty years ago, courting it now and then, I have seen the ladies make great shift to hide away their looking-glasses, if her Majesty had passed by their lodgings.

"O humble lady, how meek a spirit hadst thou! How far from affecting beauty, or vain pride; when thou desiredst not to see that face, which all thy subjects longed daily to behold, and sundry princes came from far to wonder at.

"As in all these things she kept truly the mien, so likewise in her gifts; as I first noted touching her charity, which was still so tempered, notwithstanding her great charge, in aiding her distressed neighbours, that she was ever truly liberal, and no way prodigal; as I trust his royal Majesty shall by the treasure find.

"As she was adorned with all these virtues, so was she endued with fortitude and princely courage, so plentifully, that her displeasure shook even her stoutest adversaries; and those unnatural traitors, that came armed sundry times, with bloody resolution to lay violent hands on her sacred Majesty, her very looks would daunt; and their instruments, prepared for her death, dropped from their trembling hands, with terror of their consciences, and amazement to behold her countenance: nay, when she knew they came of purpose to kill her, she hath singled divers of them alone, and let some pass from her with mild caveats

afar off; whose lenity rather increasing than diminishing their malice, they have followed destruction, which too timely overtook them.

"I could, in this place, name many particular men, as Parry, and others; but I will content you with one private example overpassing the general. Fortitude she shewed in her youth, in her captivity, and in her glory, at all times; for defence of her faith, and all oppressed true professors thereof; ending with this example of her high courage and assured confidence in God. When Appletree (whom I remembered before) had hurt her waterman, being next to her in the barge; the French Ambassador being amazed, and all crying, 'Treason, treason;' yet she, with an undaunted spirit, came to the open place of the barge, and 'bid them never fear, for if the shot were made at her, they durst not shoot again:' such majesty had her presence, and such boldness her heart, that she despised all fear, and was (as all princes are, or should be) so full of divine fulness, that guilty mortality durst not behold her, but with dazzled eyes."

"But I wonder, (saith Thenot) she in so many years built no goodly edifice, wherein her memory might live."

"So did she, (answered Collin,) the goodliest building³³ in the earth, such as like floating isles commanded the seas, whose outward walls are dreadful engines of brass, sending fearful thunder amongst enemies. And the inhabitants of those wooden isles are worthy sea-men, such as dread no danger, but, for her, would have run even into destruction's mouth. I tell thee, Thenot, I have seen, in a fight, some, like nimble spirits, hanging in the air by little cords; some lading ordnance with deathful powder; some charging musquets, and discharging ruin on their enemies; some at the foreship, other busy at the helm, skipping here and there like roes in lightness, and lions in courage; that it would have poured spirit into a sick man to see their resolutions. For such tenants made she many buildings, exceeding any emperor's navy in the earth, whose service, I doubt not, will be acceptable to her most worthy successor, our dread sovereign lord the King.

"Other palaces she had great store of, which she maintained and yearly repaired; at least would have done, if those that had care of her surveying, would have been as careful for her's, as for their own.

"What should I say of her? The cloudy mantle of the night covers the beauty of the heaven; and this evening looks like those four days that preceded the morning of her death. The beasts, the night that she ended her fate in earth, kept an unwonted bellowing; so that I assure thee, Thenot, being assured of her sickness, I was troubled, being awakened with their cries, with imagination of her death, that I pitied not my bleating flocks, who, with their innocent notes, kept time with my true tears, till the hour of her death was past, when immediately a heavy sleep shut up the windows of mine eyes; at which time (as I have since heard) death's eternal sleep utterly benumbed all her senses, whose soul (I doubt not) hath already entered endless rest, whither God will draw her glorified body in his great day. Sweet virgin, she was born on the eve of that blessed virgin's nativity, holy Mary, Christ's mother; she died on the eve of the Annunciation of the same most holy virgin; a blessed note of her endless blessedness, and her society in heaven with those wise virgins, that kept oil ever in their lamps, to await the Bridegroom. She came unto the crown after her royal sister's death, like a fresh spring even in the beginning of winter, and brought us comfort, as the clear sun doth to storm-dressed mariners; she left the crown likewise in the winter of her age, and the beginning of our spring; as if the Ruler of heaven had ordained her coronation in our sharpest winter, to bring us happiness, and uncrowned her in our happiest spring, to leave us in more felicity by her successor. O happy beginning, and more happy end; which, notwithstanding, as natural sons and subjects, let her not go unwept for to her grave. This evening let us be like the evening, that drops dewy tears on the earth; and, while our hinds shut up the sheep in their folds, sing a funeral song for the loss of divine Elizabeth; invoking absent scholars to bewail her, whom, in sundry schools, she cherished, and personally, in either of their universities, visited:

³³ A fine fleet of ships.

let us bid soldiers lament her, towards whom, besides many apparent signs of her exceeding love, this is one most worthy memory : she came amongst them mounted at Tilbury, being gathered into a royal army against the Spanish invasion ; promising to share with them in all fortunes, if the enemy durst but shew his face on land. Let citizens likewise shed tears for her loss, especially those of London, to whom she was ever a kind sovereign, and bountiful neighbour.

“ I need not bid the courtiers weep, for they can never forget the countenance of their gracious mistress, till they have engraven in their hearts the favour of their most royal master. For, as poor shepherds, though we are not able to suit ourselves in blacks fine enough to adorn so royal an interment ; yet, Thenot, quicken thy invention, Dryope and Chloris shall bear part ; and let us conclude our sorrow for Eliza in a funeral hymn, that shall have power to draw from the swelling clouds waters to assist our woe. The springs, taught by the tears that break from our eyes, already overflow their bounds : the birds sit mute to hear our musick, and our harmless flock hearken to our moans.”

To this they all, as gladly as their grief would suffer them, consented. Collin for his broken pipe, took Cuddye's, who could neither sing nor play, he was so full of passion and sighs.

The Funeral Song between Collin and Thenot, Dryope and Chloris, upon the
Death of the sacred Virgin Elizabeth.

Collin.

YE sacred Muses, dwelling
Where art is ever swelling ;
Your learned fount forsake,
Help funeral songs to make ;
Hang them about her hearse,
That ever loved verse.
Clio, write down her story,
That was the Muses' glory.

Dryope.

And, ye soft-footed Hours,
Make ready cypress bowers ;
Instead of roses sweet
(For pleasant spring-time meet)
Strew all the paths with yew,
Night-shade and bitter rue.
Bid Flora hide her treasure ;
Say, 'tis no time of pleasure.

Thenot.

And, you divinest Graces,
Veil all your sacred faces,
With your bright shining hair,
Shew every sign of care.
The heart, that was your fane,
The cruel Fates have slain :
From earth no power can raise her,
Only our hymns may praise her.

Chloris.

Muses, and Hours, and Graces,
 Let all the hallow'd places,
 Which the clear moon did view,
 Look like a sable hue :
 Let not the sun be seen,
 But weeping for the Queen,
 That grace and muse did cherish ;
 O that such worth should perish !

Collin.

So turn our verse, and on this lofty pine
 Each one engrave for her some funeral line :

Thus I begin.

COLLIN'S Epitaph.

Eliza, maiden mirror of this age,
 Earth's true Astræa, while she liv'd and reign'd,
 Is thrown by death from her triumphant stage ;
 But by that fall hath endless glory gain'd ;
 And foolish death would fain, if he could, weep
 For killing her, he had no power to keep.

THENOT'S Epitaph.

Eliza, rich and royal, fair and just,
 Gives heaven her soul, and leaves her flesh to dust.

DRYOPE'S Epitaph.

There is no beauty but it fades ;
 No glory, but is veil'd with shades :
 So is Eliza, queen of maids,
 Stoop'd to her fate.
 Yet death, in this, hath little thriv'd,
 For thus her virtues have achiev'd,
 She shall, by verse, live still reviv'd,
 In spite of hate.

CHLORIS'S Epitaph.

Eliza, that astonished her foes,
 Stoop'd her rebellious subjects at her feet :
 Whose mind was³⁴ still the same in joy, in woes ;
 Whose frown was fearful, and her favours sweet :
 Sway'd all this land, but most herself she sway'd,
 Liv'd a chaste queen, and died a royal maid.

These epitaphs ended, the nymphs and shepherds led by Collin and Thenot (who before played heavy tunes on their oaten pipes), got to their several cottages, and spent their time till midnight, mourning for Eliza : but sleep, the equaller of kings and captives, banished their sorrows. What humour they are in after rest, you shall, in the morning, hear ; for commonly, as the day is, so are our affections disposed.

⁴³ Her royal word or motto was, *Semper eadem.*

The Order and Proceeding at the Funeral of the Right, High, and Mighty Princess Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, from the Palace of Westminster, called Whitehall, to the Cathedral Church of Westminster, the 28th of April, 1603.

FIRST, the Knight-marshal's man, to make way.
Next, the two-hundred and forty poor women, by four and four.
Then, servants of gentlemen, esquires, and knights.

Two porters.

Next, four trumpets.

After them,

Rose, Pursuivant at Arms.

Two serjeants at arms.

The standard of the Dragon.

Two equeries leading a horse.
Then the messengers of the chamber, four by four.
Children of the almonry.

Children of the wood-yard.
Children of the scullery.
Children and furners of the pastry.

The scalding-house.
The larder.

After them,

Grooms.

Wheat-porters.
Coopers.
Wine-porters.
Conducts in the bake-house.
Bell-ringer.
Maker of spice-bags.
Cart-takers, chosen by the board.
Long-carts.
Cart-takers.
Of the almonry.

Of the stable.
Of the wood-yard.
Scullery.
Pastry.
Scalding-house.
Poultry.
Cattery.
Boiling-house.
Larder.
Kitchen.
Laundry.

Ewry.
Confectionery.
Wafery.
Chaundry.
Pitcher-house.
Buttery.
Cellar.
Pantry.
Bake-house.
Compting-house.

Then noblemen's and ambassadors' servants.

Grooms of the chamber.

Four trumpets.

Bluemantle.

A serjeant at arms.

The standard of the Greyhound.

Two equeries leading a horse.
Yeomen of the servitors in the hall, four and four.
Cart-takers.
Porters.
Almonry.
Harbingers.
Wood-yard.
Scullery.

Pastry.
Poultry and scalding-house.
Purveyors of the poultry.
Purveyors of the acatry.
Stable.
Boiling-house.
Larder.
Kitchen.
Ewry.

Confectionery.
Wafery.
Purveyor of the wax.
Tallow-chandlers.
Chaundry.
Pitcher-house.
Brewers.
Buttery.
Purveyors.

Cellar.
Pantry.
Garneter.

Bake-house.
Compting-house.
Spicery.

Chamber.
Robes.
Wardrobe.

Earls' and countesses' servants.

Four trumpets.

Portcullis.

A serjeant at arms.

The standard of the Lion.

Two equeries leading a horse trapped with velvet.

Serjeant of the vestry.

Children of the chapel in surplices.

Gentlemen of the chapel in copes.

Clerks.

Deputy-clerk of the market.

Clerks extraordinary.

Cofferer.

Diet.

Master-cook for the household.

Pastry.

Larder.

Scullery.

Wood-yard.

Poultry.

Bake-house.

Acatry.

Stable.

Serjeants.

Catery.

Larder.

Ewry.

Cellar.

Pantry.

Bake-house.

Gentleman harbinger.

Wood-yard.

Scullery.

Pastry.

Master-cook of the kitchen.

Clerks of the equery.

Second and third clerk of the chaundry.

Second and third clerk of the kitchen.

Supervisors of the dresser.

Surveyor of the dresser for the chamber.

Musicians.

Apothecaries and surgeons.

Sewers of the hall.

Marshal of the hall.

Sewers of the chamber.

Groom-porter.

Gentlemen-ushers and waiters.

Clerk, marshal, and avenor.

Chief clerk of the wardrobe.

Chief clerk of the kitchen.

Two clerks comptrollers.

Clerk of the green-cloth.

Master of the household.

Cofferer.

Rouge-dragon.

A serjeant at arms.

The banner of Chester.

Clerks of the council, four and four.

Clerks of the privy-seal.

Clerks of the signet.

Clerks of the parliament.

Doctors of physick.

The Queen's chaplains.

Secretaries for the Latin and French tongues.

Rouge-cross.

Two serjeants of arms.

The banner of Cornwall.

Aldermen of London.	Master of the jewel-house.
Solicitor, attorney, and serjeant.	Knights ambassadors, and gentlemen-agents.
Master of the revels, and master of the tents.	Sewers for the Queen.
Knights-bachelors.	Sewers for the body.
Lord Chief-baron, and Lord Chief-justice of the Common-pleas.	Esquires of the body.

Lancaster and Windsor.

The banner of Wales.

The banner of Ireland.

Master of the requests.	Viscounts.
Agents for Venice and the States.	Dukes' second sons.
Lord-mayor of London.	Earls.
Sir John Popham, Sir John Fortescue.	Marquisses.
Sir Robert Cecill, principal secretary.	Bishop-almoner, preacher.
Comptroller and Treasurer of the household.	Lord-keeper.
Barons.	The French Ambassador.
Bishops.	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Earls' eldest sons.	

Four serjeants of arms.

The great embroidered banner of England.

Somerset and Richmond.

York, helmet and crest.

Chester, target.

Norroy King at Arms, sword.

Clarenceaux King at Arms, coat.

After them the gentlemen-ushers with white rods.	With them the footmen.
The lively picture of her Highness's whole body, crowned, and in her parliament-robcs, lying on the corpse, embalmed and leaded, borne in a chariot, drawn by four horses trapped in black velvet.	A canopy borne over the chariot by four noblemen.
About it, six banner-rolls, on each side: gentlemen-pensioners, with their axes downward.	The Earl of Worcester, master of the horse, leading the palfry of honour.
	Two esquires and a groom, to attend and lead him away.

Gentleman-usher, Garter King at Arms.

Lady Marchioness of Northampton, assisted by the Lord-treasurer and Lord-admiral.	Viscountesses.
Chief Mourner, her train supported by Mr. Vice-chamberlain.	Earls' daughters.
Two Earls, assistants to her.	Baronesses.
Fourteen Countesses, assistants.	Maids of Honour of the privy-chamber.
Gentlewomen of the Privy-chamber.	Captain of the guard, with all the guard following, five and five in a rank, their halberds downward.
Countesses.	

The Shepherd's Spring-song; in Gratulation of the royal, happy, and flourishing Entrance, to the Majesty of England, by the most potent and prudent Sovereign, James, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.

COLLIN.

THENOT and Chloris, red-lipp'd Dryope,
 Shepherds, nymphs, swains, all that delight in field,
 Living by harmless thrift your fat herds yield,
 Why slack ye now your loved company?
 Up, sluggards, learn, the lark doth mounted sing
 His cheerful carols, to salute our King.

The mavis, blackbird, and the little wren,
 The nightingale, upon the hawthorn brier,
 And all the wing'd musicians in a quire,
 Do with their notes rebuke dull lazy men.
 Up, shepherds, up, your sloth breeds all your shames,
 You sleep like beasts, while birds salute King James.

The grey-ey'd morning, with a blust'ring cheek,
 Like England's royal rose, mixt red and white,
 Summons all eyes to pleasure and delight,
 Behold the evening's dew do upward reek,
 Drawn by the sun, which now doth gild the sky,
 With his light-giving and world-cheering eye.

O, that's well done; I see your cause of stay,
 Was to adorn your temples with fresh flowers:
 And gather beauty to bedeck your bowers,
 That they may seem the cabinets of May:
 Honour this time, sweetest of all sweet springs,
 That so much good, so many pleasures, brings.

For now alone the livery of the earth
 Gives not life comfort to your bleating lambs,
 Nor fills the strutting udders of their dams;
 It yields another cause of gleesome mirth;
 This ground wears all her best embroidery,
 To entertain her Sovereign's Majesty.

And well she may, for never English ground
 Bore such a sovereign as this royal Lord:
 Look upon all antiquities record,
 In no inrollment such a king is found.
 Begin with Brute (if that of Brute be true)
 As I'll not doubt, but give old bards their due.

He was a prince unsettled, sought a shore
 To rest his long-toss'd Trojan scatter'd race;
 And (as 'tis said) found here a resting-place:
 Grant this: but yield, he did false gods adore.
 The nations were not call'd to Christ that time,
 Black pagan clouds darken'd this goodly clime.

So, when dissension brought the Romans in,
No Cæsar, till the godly Constantine,
(Descended truly from the British line)
Purg'd this Isle's air from idol-bated sin;
Yet he in care of Rome left deputies.
Our James maintains (himself) his dignities.

The Saxon, and the Dane, scourg'd with sharp steel
(So did the Norman Duke) this beauteous land,
Invading lords reign with an iron hand:
A gentler ruling in this change we feel;
Our lion comes as meekly as a dove,
Not conqu'ring us by hurt, but hearty love.

Even as a calm to tempest-tossed men,
As bread to the faint soul with famine vex'd,
As a cool spring to those with heat perplex'd,
As the sun's light into a fearful den,
So comes our King: even in a time of need,
To save, to shine, to comfort, and to feed.

O shepherds, sing his welcome with sweet notes;
Nymphs, strew his way with roses red and white;
Provide all pastimes that may sense delight,
Offer the fleeces of your flocks' white coats:
He, that now spares, doth in that saving spill;
Where worth is little, virtue likes good-will.

Now from the Orcades to the Cornish isles,
From thence to Cambria, and the Hiberian shore,
The sound of civil war is heard no more;
Each countenance is garnished with smiles,
All in one hymn, with sweet contentment sing
The praise and power of James their only King.

Our only King, one Isle, one Sovereign;
O long-desired, and perfected good!
By him the heat of wrath, and boiling blood,
Is mildly quench'd; and envy counted vain,
One King, one people, blessed unity,
That ties such mighty nations to agree.

Shepherds, I'll not be tedious in my song;
For that I see you bent to active sport;
Though I persuade me all time is too short,
To welcome him, whom we have wish'd for long.
Well done, dance on; look how our little lambs
Skip as you spring, about their fleecy dams.

Thus were ye wont to trip about the green,
And dance in ringlets, like to fairy elves,
Striving in cunning to exceed yourselves,
In honour of your late fall'n summer Queen:
But now exceed; this May excels all springs,
Which King, and Queen, and Prince and Princess, brings.

England's Mourning Garment, &c.

Shout joyfully, ye nymphs, and rural swains,
Your master Pan will now protect your folds,
Your cottages will be as safe as holds;
Fear neither wolves, nor subtle foxes' trains,
A royal King will of your weal take keep,
He'll be your shepherd, you shall be his sheep.

He comes in pomp; so should a King appear,
God's deputy should set the world at gaze;
Yet his mild looks drive us from all amaze.
Clap hands for joy, our Sovereign draweth near,
Sing Iô, Iô, shepherds, dance and sing,
Express all joy in welcoming our King.

The air, the season, and the earth accord
In pleasure, order, both for sight and sense:
All things look fresh to greet his Excellence,
And Collin humbly thus salutes his Lord:
'Dread and lov'd, live England's happy King,
While seasons last fresh as the lively spring.'

A true and perfect Account of the Examination, Confession, Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of Joan Perry, and her two Sons, John and Richard Perry; for the supposed Murder of William Harrison, Gent. being one of the most remarkable Occurrences which hath happened in the Memory of Man; sent in a Letter (by Sir T. O.¹ of Burton, in the County of Gloucester, Knight, and one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace) to T. S.² Doctor of Physick in London. Likewise Mr. Harrison's own Account, how he was conveyed into Turkey, and there made a Slave for above two Years; and then, his Master which brought him there, dying, how he made his Escape, and what Hardship he endured; who, at last, through the Providence of God, returned to England, while he was supposed to be murdered; here having been his Man-servant arraigned, who falsely impeached his own Mother and Brother, as guilty of the Murder of his Master: they were all three arraigned, convicted, and executed, on Broadway-hills in Gloucestershire.

London, printed for Rowland Reynolds, next Arundel-gate, over-against St. Clement's Church in the Strand, 1676.

[Quarto; containing Twenty-three Pages.]

UPON Thursday, the sixteenth day of August, 1660, William Harrison, steward to the Lady Viscountess Campden, at Campden in Gloucestershire, being about seventy years of age, walked from Campden aforesaid, to Charringworth (about two miles from thence) to receive his lady's rent; and, not returning so early as formerly, his wife, Mrs. Harrison, between eight and nine of the clock that evening, sent her servant, John Perry, to meet his master on the way from Charringworth; but neither Mr. Harrison, nor his servant John Perry, returning that night, the next morning early Edward Harrison (William's son) went towards Charringworth to enquire after his father; when, on the way, meeting Perry coming thence, and being informed by him he was not there, they went together to Ebrington, a village between Charringworth and Campden, where they were told, by one Daniel, that Mr. Harrison called at his house the evening before, in his return from Charringworth, but staid not: they then went to Paxford, about half a mile thence; where, hearing nothing of Mr. Harrison, they returned towards Campden; and on the way, hearing of a hat, band, and comb, taken up in the highway, between Ebrington and Campden, by a poor woman then leeing³ in the field, they sought her out; with whom they found the hat, band, and comb, which they knew to be Mr. Harrison's; and being brought by the woman to the place where she found the same, in the highway,

¹ [Sir Thomas Overbury, nephew to his accomplished but ill-fated name-sake.]

² [Thomas Shirley.]

³ [Gleaning.]

between Ebrington and Campden, near unto a great furze-brake, they there searched for Mr. Harrison, supposing he had been murdered, (the hat and comb being hacked and cut, and the band bloody,) but nothing more could be there found. The news hereof coming to Campden, so alarmed the town, that men, women, and children hasted thence, in multitudes, to search for Mr. Harrison's supposed dead body, but all in vain.

Mrs. Harrison's fears for her husband, being great, were now much increased; and having sent her servant Perry the evening before to meet his master, and he not returning that night, caused a suspicion that he had robbed and murdered him; and thereupon the said Perry was, the next day, brought before a justice of peace, by whom being examined concerning his master's absence, and his own staying out the night he went to meet him, he gave this account of himself: That his mistress sending him to meet his master, between eight and nine of the clock in the evening, he went down Campden-field, towards Charringworth, about a land's length, where meeting one William Reed of Campden, he acquainted him with his errand; and further told him, that, it growing dark, he was afraid to go forwards, and would therefore return and fetch his young master's horse, and return with him; he did to Mr. Harrison's court-gate, where they parted, and he staid still: one Pierce coming by, he went again with him about a bow's shot into the fields, and returned with him likewise to his master's gate, where they also parted; and then he (the said John Perry) saith, he went into his master's hen-roost, where he lay about an hour, but slept not; and, when the clock struck twelve, rose and went towards Charringworth, till, a great mist arising, he lost his way, and so lay the rest of the night under a hedge; and, at day-break, on Friday morning, went to Charringworth, where he enquired for his master of one Edward Plaisterer, who told him, he had been with him the afternoon before, and received three-and-twenty pounds of him, but staid not long with him: he then went to William Curtis of the same town, who likewise told him, he heard his master was at his house the day before, but being not at home, did not see him: after which he saith, he returned homewards, (it being about five of the clock in the morning,) when, on the way, he met his master's son, with whom he went to Ebrington and Paxford, &c. as hath been related.

Read, Pearce, Plaisterer, and Curtis, being examined, affirmed what Perry had said, concerning them, to be true.

Perry being asked by the justice of peace, "How he, who was afraid to go to Charringworth at nine of the clock, became so bold as to go thither at twelve?" answered, "That at nine of the clock it was dark, but at twelve the moon shone."

Being further asked, "Why, returning twice home, after his mistress had sent him to meet his master, and staying till twelve of the clock, he went not into the house to know whether his master were come home, before he went a third time, at that time of night, to look after him?" answered, "That he knew his master was not come home, because he saw light in his chamber-window, which never used to be there so late when he was at home."

Yet notwithstanding this, that Perry had said for his staying forth that night, it was not thought fit to discharge him till further enquiry were made after Mr. Harrison, and accordingly he continued in custody at Campden; sometimes in an inn there, and sometimes in the common prison, from Saturday, August the eighteenth, unto the Friday following; during which time he was again examined at Campden, by the aforesaid justice of peace, but confessed nothing more than before; nor, at that time, could any further discovery be made what was become of Mr. Harrison. But it hath been said, that during his restraint at Campden, he told some, who pressed him to confess what he knew concerning his master, that "a tinker had killed him;" and to others he said, "a gentleman's servant of the neighbourhood had robbed and murdered him;" and others again he told, "That he was murdered, and hid in a bean-rick in Campden;" where search was in vain made for him. At length he gave out, "that were he again carried before the justice, he would discover that to him he would discover to nobody else." And thereupon he was, Friday, August the twenty-fourth, again brought before the justice of peace, who first

examined him, and asking him whether he would yet confess what was become of his master; he answered, "He was murdered, but not by him." The justice of peace then telling him, that if he knew him to be murdered, he knew likewise by whom he was; so he acknowledged he did: and, being urged to confess what he knew concerning it, affirmed, "that it was his mother and his brother that had murdered his master." The justice of peace then advised him to consider what he said, telling him, that he feared he might be guilty of his master's death, and that he should not draw more innocent blood upon his head; for what he now charged his mother and his brother with, might cost them their lives: but he affirming he spoke nothing but the truth, and that if he were immediately to die, he would justify it; the justice desired him to declare how and when they did it.

He then told him, that his mother and his brother had lain at him, ever since he came into his master's service, to help them to money; telling him, how poor they were, and that it was in his power to relieve them, by giving them notice when his master went to receive his lady's rents; for they would then way-lay and rob him: and further said, That upon the Thursday morning his master went to Charringworth, going of an errand into the town, he met his brother in the street, whom he then told whither his master was going, and if he way-laid him, he might have his money: and further said, That in the evening his mistress sent him to meet his master, he met his brother in the street, before his master's gate, going, as he said, to meet his master; and so they went together to the church-yard about a stone's-throw from Mr. Harrison's gate, where they parted; he going the foot-way, cross the church-yard, and his brother keeping the great road, round the church; but in the highway, beyond the church, met again, and so went together, the way leading to Charringworth, till they came to a gate about a bow's-shot from Campden church, that goes into a ground of the Lady Campden's, called the Conygree, (which to those, who have a key to go through the garden, is the next way from that place to Mr. Harrison's house :) when they came near unto that gate, he (the said John Perry) saith, he told his brother he did believe his master was just gone into the Conygree, (for it was then so dark they could not discern any man, so as to know him,) but perceiving one to go into that ground, and knowing there was no way, but for those who had a key, through the gardens, concluded it was his master; and so told his brother, if he followed him, he might have his money; and he, in the mean time, would walk a turn in the fields, which accordingly he did: and then, following his brother about the middle of the Conygree, found his master on the ground, his brother upon him, and his mother standing by; and being asked, "Whether his master was then dead?" answered, "No, for that, after he came to them, his master cried, 'Ah rogues, will you kill me?' At which he told his brother, he hoped he would not kill his master; who replied, 'Peace, peace, you're a fool,' and so strangled him: which having done, he took a bag of money out of his pocket, and threw it into his mother's-lap, and then he and his brother carried his master's dead body into the garden, adjoining to the Conygree, where they consulted what to do with it; and, at length, agreed to throw it into the great sink, by Wallington's mill, behind the garden; but said, his mother and brother bade him go up to the court, next the house, to hearken whether any one was stirring, and they would throw the body into the sink." And being asked whether it were there? he said, "He knew not, for that he left it in the garden; but his mother and brother said they would throw it there, and if it were not there, he knew not where it was; for that he returned no more to them, but went into the court-gate, which goes into the town, where he met with John Pearce, with whom he went into the field, and again returned with him to his master's gate; after which, he went into the hen-roost, where he lay till twelve of the clock that night, but slept not: and having, when he came from his mother and brother, brought with him his master's hat, band, and comb, which he laid in the hen-roost, he carried the said hat, band, and comb, and threw them, after he had given them three or four cuts with his knife, in the highway, where they were after found." And being asked, "What he intended by so doing?" said, "He did it, that it might be believed his master had been there robbed and murdered; and,

having thus disposed of his hat, band, and comb, he went towards Charringworth," &c. as hath been related.

Upon this confession and accusation, the justice of peace gave order for the apprehending of Joan and Richard Perry, the mother and brother of John Perry, and for searching the sink where Mr. Harrison's body was said to be thrown, which was accordingly done, but nothing of him could be there found; the fish-pools likewise, in Campden, were drawn and searched, but nothing could be there found neither; so that some were of opinion, the body might be hid in the ruins of Campden-house (burnt in the late wars, and not unfit for such a concealment), where was likewise search made, but all in vain.

Saturday, August the twenty-fifth, Joan and Richard Perry, together with John Perry, were brought before the justice of peace, who acquainting the said Joan and Richard with what John had laid to their charge, they denied all, with many imprecations on themselves, if they were in the least guilty of any thing, of which they were accused. But John, on the other side, affirmed, to their faces, "that he had spoken nothing but the truth, and that they had murdered his master;" further telling them, "that he could never be at quiet for them, since he came into his master's service, being continually followed by them, to help them to money, which they told him he might do, by giving them notice when his master went to receive his lady's rents; and that he, meeting his brother Richard in Campden town, the Thursday morning his master went to Charringworth, told him whither he was going, and upon what errand." Richard confessed he met his brother that morning, and spoke with him, but nothing passed between them to that purpose; and both he and his mother told John he was a villain to accuse them wrongfully, as he had done: but John, on the other side, affirmed, "that he had spoken nothing but the truth, and would justify it to his death."

One remarkable circumstance happened in these prisoners' return from the justice of peace's house to Campden, viz. Richard Perry, following a good distance behind his brother John, pulling a clout out of his pocket, dropped a ball of inkle, which one of his guard taking up, he desired him to restore, saying, "It was only his wife's hair-lace:" but the party opening of it, and finding a slip-knot at the end, went and shewed it unto John, who was then a good distance before, and knew nothing of the dropping and taking up of this inkle; but being shewed it, and asked, whether he knew it, shook his head and said, "Yea, to his sorrow; for that was the string his brother strangled his master with." This was sworn upon the evidence at their trial.

The morrow being the Lord's-day, they remained at Campden, where the minister of the place designing to speak to them, (if possible to persuade them to repentance, and a further confession,) they were brought to church; and in their way thither, passing by Richard's house, two of his children meeting him, he took the lesser in his arms, leading the other in his hand; when, on a sudden, both their noses fell a-bleeding, which was looked upon as ominous.

Here it will be no impertinent digression, to tell how the year before Mr. Harrison had his house broken open, between eleven and twelve of the clock at noon, upon Campden market-day, whilst himself and his whole family were at the lecture; a ladder being set up to a window of the second story, and an iron-bar wrenched thence with a ploughshare, which was left in the room, and seven-score pounds in money carried away; the authors of which robbery could never be found.

After this, and not many weeks before Mr. Harrison's absence, his servant Perry, one evening, in Campden-garden made an hideous outcry; whereat, some who heard it, coming in, met him running, and seemingly frightened, with a sheep-pick in his hand, to whom he told a formal story, how he had been set upon by two men in white, with naked swords, and how he defended himself with his sheep-pick; the handle whereof was cut in two or three places, and likewise a key in his pocket, which he said, was done with one of their swords.

These passages the justice of peace having before heard, and calling to mind, upon

Perry's confession, asked him first concerning the robbery, when his master lost seven-score pounds out of his house, at noon-day: Whether he knew who did it? Who answered, "Yes, it was his brother." And being further asked, Whether he were then with him? He answered, "No, he was then at church; but that he gave him notice of the money, and told him in which room it was, and where he might have a ladder that would reach the window; and that his brother after told him he had the money, and had buried it in his garden; and that they were, at Michaelmas next, to have divided it:" whereupon, search was made in the garden, but no money could be there found.

And being further asked concerning that other passage of his being assaulted in the garden; he confessed it was all a fiction, and that, having a design to rob his master, he did it, that rogues being believed to haunt the place, when his master was robbed, they might be thought to have done it.

At the next assizes, which were held in September following, John, Joan, and Richard Perry, had two indictments found against them; one for breaking into William Harrison's house, and robbing him of one-hundred and forty pounds, in the year 1659; the other for robbing and murdering of the said William Harrison, the sixteenth day of August, 1660. Upon the last indictment, the then judge of assizes, Sir C. T. would not try them, because the body was not found; but they were then tried upon the other indictment for robbery, to which they pleaded, "Not guilty;" but, some whispering behind them, they soon after pleaded "Guilty," humbly begging the benefit of his Majesty's gracious pardon, and Act of Oblivion, which was granted them.

But though they pleaded guilty to this indictment, being thereunto prompted, as is probable, by some who were unwilling to lose time, and trouble the court with their trial, in regard the Act of Oblivion pardoned them; yet they all afterwards, and at their deaths, denied that they were guilty of that robbery, or that they knew who did it.

Yet at this assize, as several credible persons have affirmed, John Perry still persisted in his story, that his mother and brother had murdered his master; and further added, that they had attempted to poison him in the jail, so that he durst neither eat nor drink with them.

At the next assizes, which were the spring following, John, Joan, and Richard Perry, were, by the then judge of assize, Sir B. H. tried upon the indictment of murder, and pleaded thereunto, severally, "Not guilty;" and, when John's confession, before the justice, was proved, *viva voce*, by several witnesses who heard the same; he told them, he was then mad, and knew not what he said.

The other two, Richard and Joan Perry, said they were wholly innocent of what they were accused, and that they knew nothing of Mr. Harrison's death, nor what was become of him; and Richard said, that his brother had accused others, as well as him, to have murdered his master; which the judge bidding him prove, he said, that most of those, that had given evidence against him, knew it; but, naming none, not any spoke to it, and so the jury found them all three *guilty*.

Some few days after, being brought to the place of their execution, which was on Broadway-hill, in sight of Campden; the mother (being reputed a witch, and to have so bewitched her sons, they could confess nothing, while she lived) was first executed; after which, Richard, being upon the ladder, professed, as he had done all along, "that he was wholly innocent of the fact for which he was then to die, and that he knew nothing of Mr. Harrison's death, nor what was become of him;" and did, with great earnestness, beg and beseech his brother, "for the satisfaction of the whole world, and his own conscience, to declare what he knew concerning him:" but he, with a dogged and surly carriage, told the people, "he was not obliged to confess to them;" yet, immediately before his death, said he knew nothing of his master's death, nor what was become of him, but they might hereafter possibly hear.

For Sir T. O. Knight.

HONOURED SIR;

IN obedience to your commands, I give you this true account of my being carried away beyond the seas, my continuance there, and return home. On a Thursday in the afternoon, in the time of harvest, I went to Charringworth, to demand rents due to my Lady Campden; at which time the tenants were busy in the fields, and late before they came home, which occasioned my stay there till the close of the evening. I expected a considerable sum, but received only three-and-twenty pounds, and no more. In my return home, in the narrow passage amongst Ebrington furzes, there met me one horseman, and said, "Art thou there?" And I, fearing that he would have rid over me, struck his horse over the nose; whereupon he struck at me with his sword, several blows, and run it into my side, while I, with my little cane, made my defence as well as I could; at last, another came behind me, run me into the thigh, laid hold on the collar of my doublet, and drew me to a hedge, near to the place; then came in another: they did not take my money, but mounted me behind one of them, drew my arms about his middle, and fastened my wrists together with something that had a spring-lock, as I conceived, by hearing it give a snap as they put it on; then they threw a great cloak over me, and carried me away. In the night they alighted at a hay-rick, which stood near to a stone-pit by a wall-side, where they took away my money: about two hours before day, as I heard one of them tell the other he thought it to be then, they tumbled me into the stone-pit; they staid, as I thought, about an hour at the hay-rick, when they took horse again: one of them bade me come out of the pit, I answered, "they had my money already, and asked what they would do with me;" whereupon he struck me again, drew me out, and put a great quantity of money into my pockets, and mounted me again after the same manner; and on the Friday, about sun-setting, they brought me to a lone house upon a heath, by a thicket of bushes, where they took me down almost dead, being sorely bruised with the carriage of the money. When the woman of the house saw that I could neither stand nor speak, she asked them, "Whether or no they had brought a dead man?" They answered, "No, but a friend that was hurt, and they were carrying him to a surgeon;" she answered, "If they did not make haste, their friend would be dead before they could bring him to one." There they laid me on cushions, and suffered none to come into the room but a little girl; there we staid all night, they giving me some broth and strong-waters. In the morning, very early, they mounted me as before, and on Saturday night they brought me to a place where were two or three houses, in one of which I lay all night, on cushions, by their bed-side. On Sunday morning they carried me from thence, and, about three or four o'clock, they brought me to a place by the sea-side, called Deal, where they laid me down on the ground; and, one of them staying by me, the other two walked a little off, to meet a man with whom they talked; and, in their discourse, I heard them mention seven pounds; after which they went away together, and about half an hour after returned. The man (whose name, as I have heard, was Wrenshaw) said, he feared I would die before he could get me on board: then presently they put me into a boat, and carried me on ship-board, where my wounds were dressed. I remained in the ship, as near as I could reckon, about six weeks; in which time I was indifferently recovered of my wounds and weakness. Then the master of the ship came and told me, and the rest who were in the same condition, that he discovered three Turkish ships; we all offered to fight in the defence of the ship and ourselves; but he commanded us to keep close, and said "He would deal with them well enough." A little while after he called us up, and when we came on the deck, we saw two Turkish ships close by us; into one of them we were put, and placed in a dark hole, where how long we continued, before we landed, I know not. When we were landed, they led us two days journey, and put us into a great house or prison, where we remained four days and a half; and then came to us eight men to view us, who seemed to be officers: they called us, and examined us of our trades

and callings, which every one answered; one said he was a surgeon, another that he was a broad-cloth weaver, and I (after two or three demands) said I had some skill in physick. We three were set by, and taken by three of those eight men that came to view us. It was my chance to be chosen by a grave physician of eighty-seven years of age, who lived near to Smyrna, who had formerly been in England, and knew Crowland in Lincolnshire, which he preferred before all other places in England. He employed me to keep his still-house, and gave me a silver bowl, double gilt, to drink in; my business was most in that place; but once he set me to gather cotton-wool, which I not doing to his mind, he struck me down to the ground, and after drew his stiletto to stab me, but I holding up my hands to him, he gave a stamp, and turned from me; for which I render thanks to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who staid his hand, and preserved me. I was there about a year and three-quarters, and then my master fell sick, on a Thursday, and sent for me; and, calling me, as he used, by the name of Boll, told me he should die, and bade me shift for myself. He died on Saturday following, and I presently hastened with my bowl to a port, almost a day's journey distant; the way to which place I knew, having been twice there employed, by my master, about the carriage of his cotton-wool. When I came thither, I addressed myself to two men, who came out of a ship of Hamborough, which, as they said, was bound for Portugal within three or four days. I enquired of them for an English ship; they answered there was none. I entreated them to take me into their ship; they answered they durst not, for fear of being discovered by the searchers, which might occasion the forfeiture, not only of their goods, but also of their lives. I was very importunate with them, but could not prevail; they left me to wait on Providence, which at length brought another out of the same ship, to whom I made known my condition, craving his assistance for my transportation: he made me the like answer as the former, and was as stiff in his denial, till the sight of my bowl put him to a pause. He returned to the ship, and after half an hour's space, he came back again, accompanied with another seaman, and, for my bowl, undertook to transport me; but told me, I must be contented to lie down in the keel, and endure much hardship; which I was content to do, to gain my liberty: so they took me aboard, and placed me below in the vessel, in a very uneasy place, and obscured me with boards and other things, where I lay undiscovered, notwithstanding the strict search that was made in the vessel; my two chapmen, who had my bowl, honestly furnished me with victuals daily, until we arrived at Lisbon in Portugal; where, as soon as the master had left the ship, and was gone into the city, they set me on shore moneyless to shift for myself. I knew not what course to take, but, as Providence led me, I went up into the city, and came into a fair street; and, being weary, I turned my back to a wall, and leaned upon my staff; over-against me were four gentlemen discoursing together: after a while, one of them came to me, and spoke to me in a language that I understood not. I told him I was an Englishman, and understood not what he spoke: he answered me, in plain English, that he understood me, and was himself born near Wisbeech in Lincolnshire: then I related to him my sad condition, and he, taking compassion on me, took me with him, provided for me lodging and diet, and by his interest with a master of a ship bound for England, procured my passage: and bringing me on shipboard, he bestowed wine and strong-waters on me, and, at his return, gave me eight stivers, and recommended me to the care of the master of the ship, who landed me safe at Dover, from whence I made shift to get to London, where being furnished with necessities, I came into the country.

Thus, honoured Sir, I have given you a true account of my great sufferings, and happy deliverance, by the mercy and goodness of God, my most gracious Father in Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer; to whose name be ascribed all honour, praise, and glory. I conclude, and rest

Your Worship's,

in all dutiful respect,

WILLIAM HARRISON.

SIR;

IT has not been any forgetfulness in me, you have no sooner heard from me; but my unhappy distemper seizing on my right hand, soon after my coming down into the country, so that till now I have been wholly deprived the use of it. I have herewith sent you a short narrative of that no less strange, than unhappy business, which some years since happened in my neighbourhood; the truth of every particular whereof I am able to attest, and I think it may very well be reckoned amongst the most remarkable occurrences of this age. You may dispose of it as you please, and, in whatever else I can serve you, you may freely command me, as, Sir,

Burton, August 23,
1676.

Your most affectionate Kinsman,
and humble Servant,
THO. OVERBURY.

Many question the truth of this account Mr. Harrison gives of himself, and his transportation, believing he was never out of England. But there is no question of Perry's telling a formal story to hang himself, his mother, and his brother: and since this, of which we are assured, is no less incredible than that of which we doubt; it may induce us to suspend hard thoughts of Mr. Harrison, till time (the great discoverer of truth) shall bring to light this dark and mysterious business. That Mr. Harrison was absent from his habitation, employment, and relations, near two years, is certain; and, if not carried away, (as he affirms) no probable reason can be given for his absence; he living plentifully and happily in the service of that honourable family, to which he had been then related above fifty years, with the reputation of a just and faithful servant; and, having all his days been a man of sober life and conversation, cannot now reasonably be thought in his old age, so far to have misbehaved himself, as in such a manner voluntarily to have forsaken his wife, his children, and his stewardship, and to leave behind him, as he then did, a considerable sum of his lady's money in his house. We cannot, therefore, in reason of charity, but believe that Mr. Harrison was forcibly carried away; but by whom, or by whose procurement, is the question. Those, who he affirms did it, he withal affirms never before to have seen; and that he saw not his servant Perry, nor his mother, nor his brother, the evening he was carried away: that he was spirited, as some are said to have been, is no ways probable, in respect he was an old and infirm man, and taken from the most inland part of the nation; and, if sold (as himself apprehends he was) for seven pounds, would not recompense the trouble and charge of his conveyance to the sea-side.

Some, therefore, have had hard thoughts of his eldest son, not knowing whom else to suspect; and believe the hopes of the stewardship, which he afterwards (by the Lord Campden's favour) enjoyed, might induce him to contrive his father's removal; and this they are the more confirmed in, from his misbehaviour in it: but, on the other side, it is hard to think the son should be knowing of his father's transportation; and consequently, of these unhappy persons' innocency, as to the murder of him, and yet prosecute them to the death, as he did; and, when condemned, should be the occasion of their being conveyed above twenty miles, to suffer near Campden, and to procure John Perry to be there hanged in chains, where he might daily see him; and himself to stand at the foot of the ladder, when they were all executed, as likewise he did.

These considerations, as they make it improbable the son should be privy to his father's transportation; so they render the whole matter the more dark and mysterious; which we must therefore leave unto Him who alone knoweth all things, in his due time to reveal and bring to light.

Two Letters, written by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, late Lord High Chancellor of England: One to his Royal Highness the Duke of York; The other to the Duchess; occasioned by her embracing the Roman-Catholic Religion¹.

As these Letters serve to rescue the memory of the worthy Earl, their author, from all imputation of Popery, or of being popishly affected; and, as I can find them no-where recorded, they are deservedly thus preserved from the injury of time, in the vindication of that noble personage.

SIR,

I HAVE not presumed in any manner to approach your royal presence, since I have been marked with the brand of banishment; and I would still with the same awe forbear this presumption, if I did not believe myself bound by all the obligations of duty to make this address to you. I have been too much acquainted with the presumption and impudence of the times, in raising false and scandalous reproaches upon innocent and worthy persons of all qualities and degrees, to give credit to those bold whispers, which have been too long scattered abroad, concerning your wife's being shaken in her religion. But when those whispers break out into noise, and public persons begin to report that the Duchess is become a Roman-Catholic: when I heard that many worthy persons, of unquestionable devotion to your Royal Highness, are not without some fear and apprehension of it; and many reflections are made from thence, to the prejudice of your royal person, and even of the King's Majesty; I hope it may not misbecome me, at what distance soever, to cast myself at your feet, and beseech you to look to this matter in time, and to apply some antidote to expel the poison of it. It is not possible your Royal Highness can be without zeal, and entire devotion for that church, for the purity and preservation whereof, your blessed father made himself a sacrifice; and to the restoration whereof, you have contributed so much yourself, and which highly deserves the King's protection and yours; since there can be no possible defection in the hearts of the people, whilst due reverence is made to the church. Your wife is so generally believed to have so perfect duty, and entire resignation to the will of your Highness, that any defection in her, from her religion, will be imputed to want of circumspection in you, and not using your authority; or to your connivance. I need not tell the ill-consequence that such a mutation would be attended with, in reference to your Royal Highness, and even to the King himself; whose greatest security (under God) is in the affection and duty of his Protestant subjects. Your Royal Highness well knows how far I have always been from wishing that the Roman-Catholics should be prosecuted with severity; but I less wish it should ever be in their power to be able to prosecute those who differ from them, since we well know how little moderation they would or could use.

And if this, which people so much talk of, (I hope, without ground) should fall out, it might very probably raise a greater storm against the Roman-Catholics in general, than modest men can wish; since, after such a breach, any jealousy of their presumption would seem reasonable. I have written to the Duchess, with the freedom and affection of a troubled and perplexed father. I do most humbly beseech your Royal Highness, by your

¹ [Probably from one of the Harleian MSS. as the enlarged Catalogue which is now preparing, may hereafter shew.]

authority, to rescue her from bringing a mischief upon you and herself, that never can be repaired; and to think it worthy your wisdom to remove and dispel those reproaches, how false soever, by better evidence than contempt; and hope you do believe that no severity I have, or can undergo, shall in any degree lessen or diminish my most profound duty to his Majesty, or your Royal Highness; but that I do, with all imaginable obedience, submit to your good pleasure in all things.

God preserve your Royal Highness, and keep me in your favour,

SIR,

Your Royal Highness's

most humble and obedient Servant,

CLARENDON.

The Earl of Clarendon's Letter to the Duchess of York.

YOU have much reason to believe, that I have no mind to trouble you, or displease you, especially in an argument that is so unpleasant and grievous to myself; but as no distance of place that is between us, in respect of our residence, or the greater distance in respect of the high condition you are in, can make me less your father, or absolve me from performing those obligations which that relation requires from me: so when I receive any credible advertisement of what reflects upon you, in point of honour, conscience, or discretion, I ought not to omit the informing you of it, or administering such advice to you, as to my understanding seems reasonable, and which I must still hope will have some credit with you. I will confess to you, that what you wrote to me many months since, upon those reproaches which I told you were generally reported concerning your defection in religion, gave me so much satisfaction, that I believed them to proceed from that ill spirit of the time that delights in slanders and calumny; but I must tell you, the same report increases of late, very much, and I myself saw a letter, the last week, from Paris, from a person who said the English Ambassador assured him, the day before, that the Duchess was become a Roman-Catholick: and which makes greater impression upon me, I am assured that many good men in England, who have great affection for you and me, (and who have thought nothing more impossible, than that there should be such a change in you;) are at present under much affliction, with the observation of a great change in your course of life, and that constant exercise of that devotion which was so notorious; and do apprehend, from your frequent discourses, that you have not the same reverence and veneration, which you used to have, for the church of England; the church in which you were baptized, and the church the best constituted, and the most free from errors, of any Christian church, this day, in the world; and that some persons, by their insinuations, have prevailed with you to have a better opinion of that which is most opposite to it, the church of Rome, than the integrity thereof deserves. It is not yet in my power to believe that your wit and understanding (with God's blessing upon both) can suffer you to be shaken further, than with melancholic reflections upon the iniquity and wickedness of the age we live in, which discredits all religion; and which, with equal licence, breaks into the professors of all, and prevails upon the members of all churches, and whose manners will have no benefit from the faith of any church.

I presume, you do not entangle yourself in the particular controversies between the Romanists and us, or think yourself a competent judge of all difficulties which occur therein; and, therefore, it must be some fallacious argument of antiquity and universality, confidently urged by men, who know less than many of those you are acquainted with, and ought less to be believed by you, that can raise any doubts and scruples in you; and if you will, with equal temper, hear those who are well able to inform you in all such particulars, it is not possible for you to suck in that poison, which can only corrupt and prevail

over you, by stopping your own ears, and shutting your own eyes. There are but two persons in the world who have greater authority with you than I can pretend to, and am sure they both suffer more in this rumour, and would suffer much more, if there were ground for it, than I can do; and truly I am as unlikely to be deceived myself, or to deceive you, as any man who endeavours to pervert you in your religion: and, therefore, I beseech you, let me have so much credit with you, as to persuade you to communicate any doubts or scruples, which occur to you, before you suffer them to make too deep an impression upon you. The common argument, that there is no salvation out of the church, and the church of Rome is that only true church, is both irrational and untrue: there are many churches, in which salvation may be attained, as well as in any one of them; and were many even in the Apostles' time, otherwise they would not have directed their epistles to so many several churches, in which there were different opinions received, and very different doctrines taught. There is, indeed, but one faith, in which we can be saved, the stedfast belief of the birth, passion, and resurrection of our Saviour; and every church, that receives and embraces that faith, is in a state of salvation. If the Apostles preached true doctrine, the reception and retention of many errors does not destroy the essence of a church; if it did, the church of Rome would be in as ill, if not in a worse condition, than most other Christian churches; because its errors are of a greater magnitude, and more destructive to religion. Let not the canting discourse of the universality and extent of that church, which has as little of truth as the rest, prevail over you; they, who will imitate the greatest part of the world, must turn Heathens; for it is generally believed, that above half the world is possessed by them, and that the Mahometans possess more than half the remainder. There is as little question, that of the rest, which is inhabited by Christians, one part of four is not of the communion of the church of Rome; and God knows, in that very communion, there is as great discord in opinion, and in matters of great moment, as is between the other Christians.

I hear you do, in public discourses, dislike some things in the church of England, as the marriage of the clergy; which is a point that no Roman-Catholick will pretend to be of the essence of religion, and is in use in many places, which are of the communion of the church of Rome; as in Bohemia, and those parts of the Greek church which submit to the Roman. And all men know, that in the late council of Trent, the sacrament of both kinds, and liberty of the clergy to marry, was very passionately pressed, both by the Emperor and King of France, for their dominions; and it was afterwards granted to Germany, though under such conditions, as made it ineffectual; which however shews, that it was not, nor ever can be, looked upon as matter of religion. Christianity was many hundred years old, before such a restraint was ever heard of in the church; and, when it was endeavoured, it met with great opposition, and never was submitted to. And, as the positive inhibition seems absolutely unlawful, so the inconveniences, which result from thence, will (upon a just disquisition) be found superior to those which attend the liberty which Christian religion permits. Those arguments, which are not strong enough to draw persons from the Roman communion into that of the church of England, when custom and education, and a long stupid resignation of all their faculties to their teachers, usually shuts out all reason to the contrary; may yet be abundant to retain those who have been baptized, and bred and instructed in the grounds and principles of that religion, which are, in truth, not only founded upon the clear authority of the Scriptures, but upon the consent of antiquity, and the practice of the primitive church. And men, who look into antiquity, know well by what corruption and violence, and with what constant and continual opposition, those opinions which are contrary to ours, crept into the world; and how unwarrantably the authority of the Bishop of Rome, which alone supports all the rest, came to prevail; who hath no more pretence of authority and power in England, than the Bishop of Paris or Toledo can as reasonably lay claim to; and is so far from being matter of Catholic religion, that the Pope hath so much more, and no more, to do in France or Spain, or any other Catholic dominion, than the crown, and laws, and constitutions of several kingdoms gave him leave; which makes him so little, if at all, consi-

dered in France, and so much in Spain. And, therefore, the English Catholicks, which attribute so much to him, make themselves very unwarrantably of another religion than the Catholick church professeth; and, without doubt, they who desert the church of England, of which they are members, and become thereby disobedient to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of their country, and therein renounce their subjection to the state, as well as to the church, (which are grievous sins,) had need have a better excuse, than the meeting with some doubts which they could not answer; and less than a manifest evidence, that their salvation is desperate in that communion, cannot serve their turn. And they who imagine they have such an evidence, ought rather to suspect, that their understanding hath forsaken them, and that they are become mad; than that the church, which is replenished with all learning and piety requisite, can betray them to perdition. I beseech you to consider, (which I hope will over-rule those ordinary doubts and objections which may be infused into you,) that if you change your religion, you renounce all obedience and affection to your father, who loves you so tenderly, that such an odious mutation would break his heart: you condemn your father and your mother (whose incomparable virtue, and piety, and devotion, hath placed her in heaven) for having impiously educated you: and you declare the church and state, to both which you owe reverence and subjection, to be, in your judgment, antichristian: you bring irreparable dishonour, scandal, and prejudice, to the Duke your husband; to whom you ought to pay all imaginable duty, and who, I presume, is much more precious to you than your own life; and all possible ruin to your children, of whose company and conversation you must look to be deprived: for God forbid, that after such an apostasy, you should have any power in the education of your children. You have many enemies, whom you herein would abundantly gratify; and some friends, whom you will thereby (at least as far as in you lies) perfectly destroy; and afflict many others, who have deserved well of you.

I know you are not inclined to any part of this mischief, and therefore offer these considerations, as all those particulars would be the consequence of such a conclusion. It is to me the saddest circumstance of my banishment, that I may not be admitted, in such a season as this, to confer with you: when, I am confident, I could satisfy you in all your doubts, and make it appear to you, that there are many absurdities in the Roman religion, inconsistent with your judgment and understanding, and many impieties, inconsistent with your conscience: so that, before you can submit to the obligations of faith, you must divest yourself of your natural reason and common sense, and captivate the dictates of your own conscience to the impositions of an authority, which hath not any pretence to oblige or advise you. If you will not, with freedom, communicate the doubts which occur to you, to those near you, of whose learning and piety you have had much experience, let me conjure you to impart them to me, and to expect my answer, before you suffer them to prevail over you.

God bless you and yours!

A Declaration¹ of the Right Honourable James, Marquis and Earl of Montrose, Lord Greem and Mugdock, Captain-General of all his Majesty's Forces, raised and to be raised for his Service, in his Kingdoms of Great-Britain; concerning his Excellency's Resolution to settle his Majesty, Charles the Second, in all his Dominions, July 9, 1649.

London, printed in the year 1649.

[Quarto, containing Five Pages.]

ALTHOUGH the universal and just reputation of that cause, in which at present I am engaged; the barbarity of those rebels, against whom I am designed; my manifest constancy and fidelity to the trust reposed in me by the late King, of ever-blessed memory; my honest and honourable behaviour in the late wars; my candid and sincere profession of the true Protestant religion; might very well wipe away all those foul and base aspersions, which my enemies (and not so much mine, as his Majesty's) have maliciously thrown upon me, and remove all those jealousies and causeless suspicions, which many have erroneously conceived against me; yet, that I may clearly demonstrate my disposition and passionate desire to give the world full and perfect satisfaction of the candour of my intentions in this present design, I will, this third time, open the book of my soul, and clearly deliver the very sense of my heart, and tenour of my resolutions, in the prosecution of this present engagement; wherein I shall neglect nothing, that may win credit to my present undertakings, propagate his Majesty's service to the best advantage, and stir up all his Majesty's loyal subjects to an unanimous conjunction with me in this pious and honourable enterprise.

And, first, I must, with very affectionate regret, acknowledge myself to be deeply sensible of that harsh and uncharitable censure which the parliament and kirk of Scotland are pleased to pass upon me, giving a mis-interpretation to the best of my actions; the very worst whereof I am well assured, might have justly deserved an honourable reward. But such is the unhappy fate of some men (in which list I am unfortunately inrolled) that even their best actions are clothed with scandal, and their most faithful services rewarded with disgrace. But to shew that there shall be nothing wanting in me, that may give any satisfaction to that kirk and kingdom, I do here solemnly protest, in the presence of Almighty God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, (and to whom I must one day give a just account of all my actions, whether good or evil,) that I do intend, nor will act, nothing prejudicial to the well-being and present government of that kirk and kingdom; but will, with the utmost hazard of my life and fortune, preserve them in the full perfection of their glory and splendour; and, by God's assistance, will faithfully endeavour to settle his Majesty, my dread Sovereign Lord, in the thrones of his kingdoms; to maintain and continue his just and indubitable prerogative, the privileges of the parliament, the authority of the kirk, and the immunities of the people; and shall freely leave the continuance or alteration of government, either in church or state, in his Majesty's other dominions, to the judgment and discretion of his Majesty and the parliaments thereof. And, by the same solemn protestation, I do further engage to intermeddle with nothing, but the

¹ See No. 56. in the catalogue of Harleian pamphlets.

affairs of the sword ; wherein as always, so my behaviour herein shall declare me a Christian, as well as a soldier ; most cordially desiring my proceedings herein no otherwise to be blessed, or blasted, than I shall exceed, or confine myself to, the limits of my present declaration.

And although the crimes of my combatants are loud and capital, common even in the mouths of the lowest vulgar ; yet I shall think it no vain tautology to make a brief repetition of their tedious treasons ; that the world may see with what justice and conscience I am backed, in pursuing their destruction, who have so far abused the credit of parliaments, that they have made them odious and terrible to the people. And, certainly, the world cannot but take notice, that their oaths, covenants, protestations, declarations, fastings, and thanksgivings, are no other but engines of fraud and deceit to cheat and delude the people ; and their fears and jealousies, and so often suggested dangers, but landskips, or counterfeit thunders, to amaze and affright the admiring multitude ; while, through large and specious pretences, and expectation of liberty and freedom, they are cunningly conveyed into a miserable and eternal bondage. These are they, who (cancelling the sacred bonds of religion and loyalty) forfeited their trust both with God and man ; and, in pursuance of their own base and ambitious ends, (eight years since) in the name, and under the authority of the Parliament of England, waged war against their Sovereign, and under pretence of the defence and preservation of the Protestant religion, his Majesty's royal person, the privileges of parliament, the law of the land, and liberty of the subject, drew the over-credulous people into a most intestine and savage rebellion, to the utter ruin and subversion thereof. For, instead of settling religion in its ancient purity, they have set open the flood-gates of confusion, and overflowed the church with a whole sea of unheard-of errors, heresies, schisms, and damnable blasphemies, to the scandal and ruin thereof. The privileges of parliament are quite broken, they have destroyed the very being thereof, not having left so much as a picture of a parliament. The law of the land is quite subverted and annihilated, the stream thereof being wholly turned into the arbitrary channel of their usurping wills. The liberty of the subject is subjected strangely to the insupportable slavery of their monstrous tyranny : and, for his Majesty's sacred person, it was preserved indeed, but to a miserable catastrophe ; for after their many desperate and bloody battles, wherein they aimed at, but could not reach it, yet at length, being delivered up to them upon their faith, and the faith of the kingdom, after a long and tedious imprisonment, wherein he was debarred from all the common comforts of this life, and when he had granted such large and free concessions, as even themselves had voted satisfactory, and tending to the peace of the kingdom. Yea, and one of his greatest and most ancient enemies had ingenuously acknowledged, in open parliament, to be such, so many, and so gracious, as were never before granted by any king, in any age of the world. Yet, even after all this, laying aside all principles of honour and honesty, nulling their own faith, and the whole kingdom's, contrary to all their vows, protestations, and declarations, to the truth whereof they had so often called God to be a witness ; and abjuring all their oaths, solemn leagues, and covenants, manifesting their thirsty appetites to royal blood, after a most disgraceful manner, they bring his sacred person to the mock-bar of justice ; where, after many taunts, scorns, and contempts east upon the brow of sovereign majesty, (permitting Unjeckt, a villain, to spit in his royal face,) their bloody president passed a grim and ugly sentence upon him, which, upon the thirtieth of January, 1648, was barbarously executed upon a scaffold, in the face of the sun, and sight of his people, before his royal court-gate, where, as a traitor, they suffered his royal head to be chopped off, by the hands of the common hangman. Nor did they cease to pursue their malice, even after death, laying the odious scandals of tyrant, traitor, and murderer on his royal name ; and yet employ their most exquisite skill to perpetuate his memory to posterity, in an infamous and loathsome character.

And, as if they had made a covenant with hell to banish modesty, and put on a resolution to be wicked, that their sin might be as boundless as their wills, and their rebellion as unlimited as either ; they overthrow the foundation of government, even in that instant

that they declared to maintain it, and are entered into a solemn agreement to abolish monarchy, and, in the room thereof, to establish an eternal anarchy; and, to that end, have disinherited all the royal issue, and proclaimed that their act, in the customary places, with all solemnity.

For restoring of whom, and reducing all things, both in church and state, into their ancient and fit channel; although it hath always been my constant and solicitous request to his Majesty, to give me leave to serve him only in a private command, yet I have received a commission, under his royal hand and seal, whereby I have full and free authority to raise an army, and therewith to enter any part of his Majesty's kingdoms of Great-Britain, and there to fight with, kill, and slay, all that I shall find armed, or acting in rebellion against his Majesty; and to give a free and absolute pardon to all such, as, in apprehension of their offences, shall lay down their arms, and submit to mercy. For the due execution of which commission, I declare that I will (by God's assistance) speedily enter the kingdom of Scotland, through which I will march into the kingdom of England, where I will receive into mercy all such, as, by the fifth of November next ensuing, shall lay down their arms; and, renouncing their rebellion, humbly submit themselves to his Majesty's obedience; and will give them such entertainment, as I shall find compatible to their capacities. And I do further declare, that after that day, I will receive none to mercy; and do solemnly protest, never to lay down arms, (not doubting of God's assistance to hold them up,) until I have reduced all rebels to their due obedience; and I will, with all violence and fury, pursue and kill them, as vagabonds, rogues, and regicides; not sparing one that had any hand in that horrible and barbarous murder, committed upon the sacred person of our late dread Sovereign; but utterly extirpate and eradicate them, their wives, children, and families, not leaving one of their cursed race, if possible, to breathe upon the face of the earth.

And I do now conjure all his Majesty's good subjects, by all ties, sacred and civil, by the duty they owe to God, by their loyalty to their Sovereign, by their love to their native country, and by their tender affection to their dear wives, children, and posterity, that they make their speedy repair to Enderness in Scotland, or to any other place upon my march, and join with me in this pious and honourable engagement, for the defence of the Protestant religion, the privileges of parliaments, the laws of the land, the due execution of justice, and their redemption from bondage; and, as a necessary means hereunto, for the speedy establishing of his Majesty in his thrones, in power and greatness, wherein, I doubt not, but we shall meet with the blessing of God, and prosperous success.

From Hafnia in the kingdom of Denmark,
July 9, 1649.

The Copie of a Letter, written by one in London to his Frend, concernyng the Credit of the late published Detection of the Doynge of the Ladie Marie of Scotland¹.

[Without Date, Black-letter, 12mo. containing Fourteen Pages; and, by some, thought to have been written by the learned Buchanan.]

MANY are the practises of Papistes, and other false and hollow-harted subjectes; and wonder it is, what they dare do and say, as if they had the majesty of our Prince in contempt, or did still beare them selves bold upon the successe of some mightie treason,

¹ [See Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets, No. 42.]

the bottome whereof hath not yet bene throughly searched. Of late hath bene published, out of Scotland, a treatise, detectyng the foule doynges of some that have bene daungerous to our noble Queene; by which 'Detection,' is induced a very excellent comparison for all Englishemen to judge whether it be good to chaunge Queenes or no; and, therewith, a necessary enforcement, to every honest man, to pray hartely for the long continuance of our good mother to rule over us, that our posteritie may not see her place left empty for a perilous steppedame. Some caryed with popishe affection, that regardeth neither naturall prince nor countrey, and puffed with the dropsey of a trayterous humor, labour what they can to discredit the same Detection, as untrue. Some of them, whyle they (lyke good sincere men forsoth) would fayne some very indifferent judges, say they will credit nothing, till they heare both parties; not remembryng, that in the same one booke, are both parties to be heard, the one in the former parte, both in the declaration and oration of evidence; the other in the latter parte, in the parties owne contractes, songes, letters, judiciall procedynges, protestations, examinations, and confessions. Some other more open fellows say flatly that all is false; the booke hath no credit, the authour is unknowne, obscure, the mater counterfaite, and all is nothing. If any such rumors come to your eare, first, I think verely, in truth you may be bold to say to the partie, *Et tu ex illis es*, thou art also one of them. And, for the mater, I have thought good to enforme you of so much as I know, for profe of the same treatise to be of credite, wherewith you may aunswere and stoppe the mouthes of such rumor-spreaders.

The booke it selfe, with the oration of evidence, is written in Latine by a learned man of Scotland, M. George Buchanan, one privie to the procedynges of the lordes of the Kyng's secret counsell there, well able to understand and disclose the truth, havynge easie accesse also to all the recordes of that contrey that might helpe hym. Besides that the booke was written by hym, not as of hym selfe, nor in hys owne name, but accordyng to the instructions to hym geven by common conference of the lordes of the privie counsel of Scotland; by hym onely for hys learnyng penned, but by them the mater ministred, the booke overseen and allowed, and exhibited by them as mater that they have offred, and do continue in offeryng, to stand to and justifie before our Sovereigne Ladie, or her Highnesse's commissioners in that behalfe apointed. And what profe they have made of it already, when they were here for that purpose, and the sayd authour of the sayd booke one among them, when both parties, or their sufficient procurators, were here present, indifferently to be heard, and so were heard in deede, all good subjectes may easely gather, by our sayd Sovereigne Ladye's procedyng, sins the sayd hearyng of the cause, who, no dout, would never have so stayed her request, but rather would have added enforcement, by ministring of aide to the Ladie Marie of Scotland, for her restitution, (the president and honor of princes, and her Majestie's own former example of sinceritie, used in defense of the Scottish Queene, her selfe in Scotland against France; and her maintenance of the French King's honor and libertie, against the hye attemptes of some his popish subjectes, considered,) nor would have lived in such good amitie with the yong Kyng of Scotland, the regentes, and the true lordes maintainers of that side²; if these haynous offenses, alleged on that part, had not bene provable; or if the yong Kyng had bene an usurper, or hys regentes, and other lordes of that faction, traytors; as they must have bene, if all be false that is objected against the sayd Ladie Marie. I recite not what subscriptions and assentes have bene to confirme the booke, and the maters in it contained; byside that I do you to wyte, that one written copie thereof, in Latine, was now, upon hys late apprehension, found in one of the Duke of Norfolk's men's houses, and thether sent, by his commaundement, a little before his apprehension, to be secretlie kept there, with divers other pamphelets and writynges: whiche thyng not onely addeth credit to this booke, that it was not counterfait, but also geveth shrewed suspicions, that the Duke could not so well lyke the woman, beyng such a woman, as, for her person's sake, to venture the overthrow of such a flourishing state, wherein he stode before; but that some other greater thing³,

² See page 413 of the present Volume.

³ viz. The crown of England and Scotland.

it might be, that he lyked, the gredynesse whereof myght temper his abhorryng of so foule conditions, and of so great a danger to hym selfe, to be sent after his predecessours⁴. The Byshop of Rosse⁵ lykewise doth both knowe, that the Duke had this booke, and can tell how the Duke came by it. The other mater of the contractes, letters, songes, &c. have, among other, these proves. Lively witnesses, of great honor and credit, can tell, that the very casket, there described, was here in England shewed; the letters, and other monumentes, opened and exhibited; and so much, as is there sayd, to have bene written or subscribed by the sayd Ladie Marie, the Erle Bothwell, or other, hath bene, by testimonies and othes of men of honor and credite of that contrey, testified and avowed, in presence of persones of most honorable state and authoritie, to have bene written and subscribed, as is there alleged, and so delivered without rasure, diminution, addition, falsifieng, or alteration, in any point. And a number there be in England, of very good and worshypfull calling, byside the commissioners thereto apoynted, that have seene the originals them selves, of the same handes whoes this book doth say them to be. Whiche thinges have been heard and understoode by those that can tell, and those whoes truth, in reporting, is above all exception.

Wherefore, sithe the Scottishemen have, for satisfaction of us, their good neyghbours, (among whom the sayd Ladie Marie remayneth, to the perill of both princes as the Scottishemen say,) published these maters, to the intent that the impudencie of the sayd Ladie Marie's fautors, in denyeng those truthes, may not seduce Englishe subjectes to the underminyng of the estate, honor, and noble procedyng of our most gracious Soveraigne, and divertying of affections to undue places, and to the great perill of both realmes, which the adversaries call 'beneficiall unityng;' but is in deede most maleficiall confoundyng; intended to joyne the realmes in other persones, excluding the person of our sayd Soveraigne Lady. Let us receive this admonishment thankfully, and gather the frute thereof, to the stablishment of our loyaltie to our owne Queene, agaynst whom the favorers of the other side have banded them selves in hostilitie and treason.

This I have thought good to write to you, for your satisfaction in knowledge of the case; whom I know already sufficiently satisfied in good and dutifull affection. God disclose these hollow hartes, or rather God graunt her Majestie, and those that be in authoritie under her, an earnest will to see them; for they will disclose them selves fast enough. And God send her Majestie so to remove the groundes of her perill, that not onely we, which by open thrustyng our selves agaynst her enemyes, have set up our rest upon our Queene Elizabeth, and shall never be admitted to favour on the other side; but also all wise and honest men may know, that it shal be safe to be true, and daungerous to be false. Otherwise, the mischief is evident. For men in nature and in policie will seke for their own safeties, which if they may not finde in truth, it is a great avauncement of falsehood. God long preserve our good and gracious Queene Elizabeth, and make her enemyes know, that there is sure perill in treason, and her true subjectes bold to sticke to her, without dread of any revenge or displeasure. So, fare ye well.

For further profe, that the sayd letters, written by the said Ladie Marie, and mentioned in the sayd booke, are not counterfait but her owne; I have herewith also sent you the most autentike testimonie of the three estates of Scotland, assembled in parliament. The copie of which acte you shall receive word for word, as it was enacted in Scotland in December 1567, and remaineth publicly in print, sayyng, that I have for your more easy understanding changed the Scottishe orthography, which I would to God had been done for Englishemen's better satisfaction in maister George Buchanan's booke. Howbeit, the same is not so hard but that, after the readyng of two leaves, a man may easily enough grow acquainted with it; and, doubtlesse, the knowledge and monumentes therein contained, are wel worth so small a travell to understand them.

⁴ Beheaded for treason.

⁵ Agent for the Queen of Scots. [See Vol. II. p. 480.]

The Scottishe Act of Parliament, touching the Retention of our Soveraigne Lorde's Mother's Persone.

ITEM, touching the article propounded by the Earles, Lordes, and other Noblemen, who tooke armes at Carbarie-hill, upon the xv. day of June last by past, and touching their convenynges of before, and of the cause of the apprehension of the Queene mother to our Soveraigne Lord: And whether the sayd noblemen and others, which tooke armes of before her sayd apprehension, and which joyned with them, and assisted them at that tyme, or any wayes sence, have done the dutie of noblemen, good and true subjectes of this realme; and no wayes offended, nor transgressed the lawes in that effect, or any thing depending thereupon, either preceding, or following the same.

Our Soveraigne Lord, with advise of my lord-regent, and three estates, and whole body of this present parliament, hath found, declared, and concluded, and by this present act, findeth, declareth, and concludeth, that the cause and occasion of the conventions and messages of the sayd earles, lordes, noblemen, barons, and others, (saythfull and true subjectes,) and consequently, their takyng of armes, and comming to the fieldes, with open and displayed baners, and the cause and occasion of the taking of the sayd Queene's person, upon the sayd xv. day of June last, by past, and holdyng and deteinyng of the same, within the houses and fortalice of Lochleum, continually, sence presently, and in all tyme comming, and generally all other thinges invented, spoken, written, or done by them, or any of them, to that effect, sence the x. of Febr. last by past; upon the which day, the late Henry Kyng, then the sayd Queene's lawfull husband, and our Soveraigne Lord the Kynge's dearest father, was treasonable, shamefully, and horriblely murdered, unto the day and date of this present act, and in all tymes to come, touchyng the sayd Queene, and deteinyng of her person. That the cause, and all thinges dependyng thereon, or that any wayes may pertaine therto, the intermission, or disponyng upon her propertie, casualties, or whatsoever thing pertainyng, or that any wayes might pertaine to her, was in the sayd Queene's own default, in so far as by divers her privie letters, written wholly with her own hand, and sent by her to James sometime Earle of Bothwell, chief executor of the said horrible murder, aswell before the committing thereof, as thereafter, and by her ungodly and dishonorable procedyng to a pretended marriage with him, sodainly and unprovokedly thereafter, it is most certain, that she was privie, airt, and part, of the actual devise, and dede of the foresaid murder, of the King her lawfull husband, and father to our Soveraigne Lord, committed by the said James, sometime Earle of Bothwell, his complices and partakers. And, therefore, justly deserveth what soever hath ben done to her, in any time by gone, or that shal be used towards her, for the sayd cause in time comming, which shal be used by advise of the nobilitie, in respect that our sayd Soveraigne Lorde's mother, with the sayd James, sometime Earl of Bothwell, yeid about by indirect and coloured meanes, to colour and hold backe the knowledge of the truth of the committers of the sayd crime. Yet all men, in their hartes, were fully perswaded of the authours and devisers of that mischievous and unworthie fact, awaityng while God should move the hartes of some to enter in the quarrell, for revengyng of the same. And in the meane time, a great part of the nobilitie, upon just fear to be handled and demeaned in semblable manner, as the Kyng had bene of before; perceivyng also the Queene so thrall, and so blindly affectionate to the private appetite of that tyranne, and that both he and she had conspired together such horrible crueltie, being therewith all garnished with a companie of ungodly and vitious persons, ready to accomplish all their unlawfull commaundementes; of whom he had a sufficient number, continually awaytyng upon him, for the same effect; all noble and vertuous men, abhorryng their tyrannie and companie, but chiefly suspecting, that they who had so treasonable put downe and destroyed the father, should make the innocent prince, his onely sonne, and the principall and almost onely comfort, sent by God to this afflicted nation, to tast of the same cup, (as the many invented purposes to passe where he was, and also where the no-

blemen were in) by their open confession gave sufficient warnyng and declaration, where through the sayd earles, lordes, barons, and others, faythful and true subjectes, taking armes, or otherwayes whatsoever joynyng and assisting in the sayd action, and in the sayd conventions, displaying baners, and commyng to the fieldes, takyng and reteinyng of the Queene's person, aswell in tymes by past as hereafter, and all others that have thereafter, or shall in any time comming adjoyne to them, and all thinges done by them, or any of them, touching that cause, and all other thinges depending thereon, or that any wayes may appertaine therto, the intromission, or disposing upon her propertie, or casualties, or whatsoever other thinges perteyning, or any wayes might apperteyne to her, was in default of her selfe, and the sayde James, sometime Earle of Bothwell, and by the horrible and cruel murther of our sayd Sovereigne Lorde's late dearest father, conspired, devised, committed, counseled, and coloured by them, and not condignely punisht according to the lawes, &c.

This act with the rest is thus subscribed in the Scottishe booke:---*Extractum de libro Actorum Parlamenti per me Jacobum Makgill de Rankelour nether Clericum Rotulorum Registri ac Consilii S.D. N. Regis sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus. Jacobus Makhill.* And is imprinted at Edinburgh, by Robert Lexprevik, printer to the King's Majestie, the vi. day of Aprill, in the yeare of God 1568.

A Declaration¹ of the favourable Dealing of her Majestie's Commissioners, appointed for the Examination of certaine Traitors, and of Tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for Matters of Religion. 1583.

[In Black-letter, Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

To the READER.

GOOD Reader, although her Majestie's most milde and' gracious gouvernement bee sufficient to defende it selfe against those most slaunderous reportes of heathenish and unnaturall tyrannie, and cruell tortures, pretended to have bene executed upon certaine traitoures, who lately suffred for their treason, and others; aswell spread abroad by runagate jesuites and seminary-men, in their seditious bookes, letters, and libels, in forreine countries and princes' courtes, as also insinuated into the hearts of some of our own countrie-men and her Majestie's subjectes: yet, for thy better satisfaction, I have conferred with a very honest gentleman, whom I knew to have good and sufficient meanes to deliver the trueth against such forgers of lyes and shameles slaunders in that behalfe, which he, and other, that do know, and have affirmed the same, will at all times justifie: and, for thy further assurance and satisfaction herein, he hath set downe, to the vewe of all men, these notes following.

TOUCHING the racke and torments, used to such traitours, as pretended them selves to bee Catholiques, upon whom the same have bene exercised, it is affirmed for trueth, and is offered, upon due examination, so to be proved, to bee as followeth. First,

¹ See No. 44. in the Catalogue of Harleian Pamphlets.

That the formes of torture, in their severitie, or rigour of execution, have not bene such, and in such maner perfourmed, as the sclaunderers and seditious libellers have sclaunderously and malitiously published; and that even the principall offender, Campion him selfe, who was sent and came from Rome, and continued here in sundrie corners of the realme, having secretly wandered in the greatest part of the shieres of Englande in a disguised sort, to the intent to make speciall preparation of treasons; and to that ende, and for the furtherance of those his labors, sent over for more helpe and assistance, and cunningly and traiterously at Rome, before he came from thence, procured tolleration for such prepared rebels to keepe them selves covert, under pretence of temporarie and permissive obedience to her Majestie, the state standing as it doth; but so soone as there were sufficient force, whereby the bull of her Majestie's deprivation might bee publikely executed, they shoulde then joyne altogether with that force, upon peine of curse and damnation. That very Campion, I say, before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherein he was charitably used, was never so racked, but that he was presently able to walke, and to write, and did presently write and subscribe all his confessions, as by the originals thereof may appeare. A horrible matter is also made of the starving of one Alexander Briant; how he should eat clay out of the walles, gathered water to drinke from the droppings of houses, with such other false ostentations of immanitie; where the trueth is this: that, whatsoever Briant suffered, in want of foode, he suffered the same wilfully, and of extreme impudent obstinacie, against the minde and liking of those that dealt with him. For, certaine traierous writings being founde about him, it was thought convenient, by conference of hands, to understand whose writing they were; and thereupon, he being, in her Majestie's name, commaunded to write, which he coulde very well doe, and being permitted to him to write what he woulde him selfe, in these termes: That, if he liked not to write one thing, he might write an other, or what he lysted, (which to doe, being charged in her Majestie's name, was his ductie, and to refuse was disloyall and undutifull,) yet the man woulde by no meanes be induced to write any thing at all. Then was it commaunded to his keeper to give unto him such meate, drinke, and other convenient necessities, as he woulde write for; and to forbear to give him any thing, for which he woulde not write. But Briant, being thereof advertised, and oft moved to write, persisting so in his curst heart, by almost two dayes and two nightes, made choise rather to lacke foode, then to write for the sustenance, which he might readely have had for writing, and which he had, indede, readely and plentifully, so soone as he wrote. And, as it is sayde of these two, so is it to be truly sayde of other, with this, That there was a perpetuall care had, and the Queene's servantes the wardens, whose office and act it is to handle the racke, were ever, by those that attended the examinations, specially charged to use it in as charitable maner, as such a thing might be.

Secondly, it is sayde, and likewise offered to be justified², That never any of these seminaries, or such other pretended Catholiques, which at any time, in her Majestie's raigne, have bene put to the racke; were, upon the racke, or in other torture, demaunded any question of their supposed conscience; as, What they beleevd, in any point of doctrine, or faith, as, the masse, transubstantiation, or such like? but onely, With what persons at home, or abroad, and touching what plots, practises, and conferences they had dealt, about attempts against her Majestie's estate or person? Or to alter the lawes of the realme, for matters of religion, by treason or by force? And howe they were perswaded them selves, and did perswade other, touching the Pope's bul, and pretense of authoritie to depose kings and princes; and namely, for deprivation of her Majestie, and to discharge subjectes from their allegiance? Expressing herein, alway, the kingly powers and estates, and the subjectes allegiance civily; without meutioning, or meaning therein any right, that the Queene, as in right of the crowne, hath over persons ecclesiasticall, being her subjectes. In all which cases, Campion and the rest never answered plainely, but sophistically, deceitfully, and traiterously; restraining their confession of allegiance onely to

² See *'The Execution of Justice,'* as published in this Collection.

the permissive forme of the Pope's toleration. As, for example, if they were asked, 'Whether they did acknowledge them selves the Queene's subjectes, and woulde obey her?' They woulde say, 'Yea; for so they had leave for a time to doe.' But, adding more to the question, and they being asked, 'If they woulde so acknowledge and obey her, any longer then the Pope woulde so permit them, or not withstanding such commaundement, as the Pope woulde, or might give to the contrary?' Then they eyther refused so to obey, or denyed to answer, or said, 'That they coulde not answer to those questions without daunger.' Which very answer, without more saying, was a plaine answer, to all reasonable understanding; That they woulde no longer be subjectes, nor perswade other to be subjectes, then the Pope gave licence. And, at their very arraignment, when they laboured to leave in the minds of the people, and standers-by, an opinion that they were to dye, not for treason, but for matter of faith and conscience in doctrine, touching the service of God, without any attempt or purpose against her Majestie, they cryed out, 'That they were true subjectes, and did, and woulde obey and serve her Majestie.' Immediately, to prove whether that hypocriticall and sophistical speach extended to a perpetuities of their obedience, or to so long time as the Pope so permitted, or no; they were openly, in place of judgement, asked by the Queene's learned counsell, 'Whether they woulde so obey, and be true subjectes, if the Pope commaunded the contrary?' They plainly disclosed them selves in answer, saying, by the mouth of Campion, 'This place (meaning the court of her Majestie's Bench) hath no power to enquire, or judge of the holy Father's authoritie:' and other answer they woulde not make.

Thirdly, That none of them have been put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason, or such like, but where it was first knowen, and evidently probable by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was guylty; and did knowe, and coulde deliver trueth of the thinges, wherewith he was charged: so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at any time tormented; and the racke was never used to wring out confessions at adventure upon uncertainties, in which doing, it might bee possible, that an innocent, in that case, might have bene racked.

Fourthly, That none of them hath bene racked, or tortured, unlesse he had first sayde expressly, or amounting to asmuch, 'That he wil not tell the trueth, though the Queene commaund him.' And, if any of them, being examined, did say, 'He could not tell, or did not remember;' if he woulde so affirme, in such maner as Christians among Christians are beleevd, such his answer was accepted, if there were not apparant evidence to prove that he wilfully sayde untruely. But, if he sayd, 'That his answer, in delyvering trueth, shoulde hurt a Catholique, and so be an offence against charitie, which they sayde to be sinne, and that the Queene coulde not commaund them to sinne, and therefore, howsoever the Queene commaunded, they woulde not tell the trueth, which they were knowen to know;' or to such effect: they were then put to the torture, or els not.

Fifthly, That the proceeding to torture was alway so slowly, so unwillingly, and with so many preparations of perswasions to spare them selves, and so many meanes to let them know, that the trueth was by them to be uttered, both in dуетie to her Majestie, and in wisdom for themselves; as whosoever was present at those actions must needes acknowledge, in her Majestie's ministers, a ful purpose to follow the example of her owne most gracious disposition: whome God long preserve!

Thus it appeareth, that, albeit, by the more generall lawes of nations, torture hath bene, and is lawfully judged to be used in lesser cases, and in sharper maner, for inquisition of trueth, in crimes not so neere extending to publike danger, as these ungracious persons have committed, whose conspiracies, and the particularities thereof, it did so much import and behove to have disclosed; yet, even in that necessary use of such proceeding, enforced by the offenders' notorious obstinacie, is neverthelesse to be acknowledged the sweete temperature of her Majestie's milde and gracious clemencie; and their slaundersous lewdenes to be the more condemned, that have, in favour of haynous malefactours, and

stubborne traytours, spread untrue rumors and slaunders, to make her mercifull government disliked, under false pretense; and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie to those, against whome nothing can be cruel, and yet upon whome nothing hath bene done, but gentle and mercifull.

A Description of the Sect called ‘the Family of Love:’ With their common Place of Residence. Being discovered by one Mrs. Susanna Snow, of Pirford near Chertsey, in the County of Surrey, who was vainly led away for a Time, through their base Allurements, and at length fell mad; till by a great Miracle shewn from God, she was delivered.

‘O Israel, trust in the Lord; for in the Lord there is Mercy, and with him is plenteous Redemption.’ Psal. cxxx.

London printed, 1641.

[Quarto, containing Six Pages.]

IT was in the county of Surrey, at a village called Pirford, three miles from Chertsey, there dwelt a gentleman by name Snow, who had to his daughter a very beautiful and religious gentlewoman, who was not only a joy to the father, but also an exceeding joy to the mother; she had not long gladdened the hearts of her parents with a virtuous and dutiful behaviour, when the devil, arch-enemy to mankind, sought to subvert and eradicate this well-planted virtue, and thus it happened.

This gentlewoman, Mrs. Susanna Snow, (for so was she called,) holding prattle with one of her father’s men, one day began to question with him about the new sects of religion which now were so much talked of, enquiring what news he heard of any of them.

He answered, that it was his chance to be at a little village called Bagshot, not six miles from thence, where he heard of a company that had got residence there, and every day had a meeting in a private place, which was mistrusted to be about the sign of the Buck, and they called themselves, ‘The Family of Love;’ and most have a great suspicion that they came from London, and their number is about an hundred: but he told her it was the talk of the whole country. This Mrs. Susanna heard with patience, and marked with diligence every particular; she gave the servant but little answer, but she vowed in her heart to see the fashions of this sect. Well, night grew on, and to bed they went; but she prevented the early sun in being up before her, so great a desire had this poor gentlewoman to thrust herself into danger. After she had broke her fast, and caused her man to set a side-saddle on a gelding, alone she took her journey, vowing not to return, till she had seen some of their behaviours which were of the Family of Love.

Thus she rode along undisturbed by meeting any passengers, till she came within half a mile of the village of Bagshot; but then she saw at the least an hundred persons, men and women, crossing over the heath, bending their course towards a wood called Birenwood;

to them-wards she rides, and overtaking a sister which lagged behind the rest, she cried, 'Well overtaken, sister:' the sister of the family bid her welcome. 'Sister, (quoth Mrs. Susanna,) is your habitation here about Bagshot?' The sister answered, 'That she sojourned in Bawwago.' 'Then (quoth she) sure you can resolve me one question, which is this, Do you know of any that came from London lately; there were about the number of an hundred, I was of the company, but they came away unknown to me; and I heard that they sojourn here about this coast.' The silly sister was not aware of her guile which she spoke, but answered her, 'That this was the company she meant sure.' Mrs. Susanna asked again, 'Are these of the family?' She answered 'Yes.' Then Mrs. Susanna rode after, and overtook them, where this woman revealed the conference she had with Mrs. Susanna, and how that she thought her to be very zealously affected to the family: on these words, although she were unknown, yet she was entertained into their society, and went along with them.

Now you must understand that they have certain days, which are dedicated unto Saints as they call them, as to Ovid, who wrote the Art of Loving; to Priapus, the first bawdy butcher that ever did stick pricks in flesh, and make it swell; and to many others, which they used to spend in poetizing in the woods: thither they come, and after many pastimes there enacted, the poet desired them to sit down on the green, and then he began to speak most strong language, as this or the like, 'Let not us persuade ourselves, although that many would have us to believe it, that our great god Cupid is obcecated, for he penetrateth the intrails of the most magnanimous;' after these or the like words, he recited part of a verse from Virgil's Epigrams:

—*Non stat benè mentula crassa.*

Which to English I forbear, because it is obscene: on this he built his whole discourse, venting very strange obscene passages: after this was done, they go to dinner, where they had exceeding delicacies, and after this repast they provided to return. Now here you must note, that the poet, viewing this new sister of the family, was so mightily inflamed with her, that either he must enjoy or perish; when they were walking home, therefore, he singled her out from the rest of the company, and spoke to her as follows:

'Fair sister, hard is that task, where I must die in silence, or else present unto you an unseemly suit; but so irksome is death, and so pleasant the enjoyment of my wishes, that I rather desire to be counted unmannerly than not amorous to your beauteous self.'

With these and such like words he courted her, till at length time and opportunity both favoured him so much, that she played a maid's part indeed; she said Nay, and yet took it. This novice, having had his desire, conducted her to the company, and there left her among the rest of the sisters, where she staid for the space of a whole week, viewing their fashions, as the manner of their prayers, of their preaching, of their christening and burying, with many more things which will be too long for this little pamphlet to bear.

Now when she had seen as she thought enough, she stole away from them, not ceasing to think of the wrong she had sustained, by her consenting to the lust of the poetical brother: well, discontented she passed the way till she came in the presence of her father; he asked with very mild and loving terms, Where she had been? She answered him, At her aunt's at Oakingham. With which answer her father was satisfied, but her mother was not, because she had sent thither before, to see if she had been there; yet her mother could get no other answer from her, than that she had been there: but seeing that she was come home again, they questioned the matter no more where she had been. But she had not been at home long, when she began to delight to be by herself, and to make much of melancholy, taking delight in nothing, wherein she did heretofore. This her loving parents took notice of, but would not speak of it; and thus she continued for the space of ten or fourteen days: at last, she began to be very untowardly, and they could not rule her, for she would break glasses and earthen-ware, and throw any thing at the heads of the ser-

vants, and incontinent she fell stark mad. I cannot express her father's grief, when he saw his only beloved daughter in this plight; but I would leave you to judge of it who have children of your own, how it would grieve you to see your children in such a plight. Her father, although he were almost distracted with grief to see his child thus lie on the wreck of misfortune, summons up his senses together, and at length he thought upon one Mr. Ybder, a very honest man, and a most reverend divine, living in Oxford: to him he sent, requesting him of all loves that he would come, and visit him in this his great distress; he presently dispatched horse and man, for Oxford they were bound. The man coming to Mr. Ybder's chamber, which is in Magdalen Hall, he found him within, to whom he delivered his message. Master Ybder came along with him. He was no sooner arrived at Master Snow's house, but the poor gentleman almost frantic for his daughter's distemperature, with tears in his eyes, began and related, what you have here before read, to Master Ybder, who presently desired that he might but see her. This good old man, with all diligence, being still in hope of her recovery, conducted him into the chamber where his daughter was; she had no sooner fixed her eyes upon them entering, but she shrieked out and cried, "The devil, the devil; I am damned, I am damned, I am damned:" with many such like horrid horrible exclamations. Then stepped forwards Mr. Ybder, and told her that she was deceived; God surely would not leave her soul so, if she would but endeavour as she had done heretofore, for said he, 'Christ came not into the world to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance;' and again, 'Seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto thee; and although thou hast played the harlot with many lovers, yet return again unto me, saith the Lord;' at the third chapter of Jeremy, and the first verse.

She hearkened unto Master Ybder very patiently, for the space of half an hour, but then she began to be very troublesome, and sometimes outrageous: at last, she called for some wine, for she was very thirsty, she said. Wine was brought unto her in a Venice-glass: her father, good old man, spoke to her to drink to Mr. Ybder, for he had taken great pains with her; she looked very wildly on him, and threw the glass to the ground, with these words, "That it was as impossible for her to be saved, as for that glass to rebound into her hand unbroken," which, contrary to the expectation of all, this glass did. "Well, (said this gentlewoman,) I will yet trust in the Lord my Redeemer, for he is merciful and long-suffering." With these words she praised God, and began, as from the beginning, to relate the case of her distemperature; desiring Mr. Ybder, that he would pray with her, and for her: and thus, by the mercy of God, was this gentlewoman delivered.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.



